Durham E-Theses

An introduction: British print media accounts of new religious movements 1975-1985

Cole, M.A.

Abstract.

This thesis is a sociological account of the controversy that surrounds New Religious Movements with special emphasis on the role of the print media in sustaining the controversy. The research that is reported here was conducted primarily by means of content analysis of articles appearing in four leading British publications between 1975 and 1985. Results are compared with on-going research in the U.S. and Belgium in an effort to gain some cross-cultural insight into the phenomenon. This thesis is not, however, confined to a presentation of statistical data for it attempts to make sense of the findings within an interpretative framework.

The thesis begins with a discussion of certain key concepts and then reviews the authoritative works on New Religious Movements, showing that the dominant theories do not pay enough attention to the role of the mass media in the development and maintenance of crucial moral boundaries. The sociological literature on the topic of deviance in the mass media and the social construction of moral panics is reviewed in Chapter Two, with special attention being given to the relevance of this topic to the treatment of New Religious Movements. The methodology of content analysis is outlined and assessed for its usefulness in the social sciences in Chapter Three. The findings from the British study are presented in Chapter Four and compared with those from studies in both the U.S. and Belgium. Wide variations were found in the treatment of individual NRMs. The predominantly negative tenor of print media items about them was largely a function of the overwhelmingly negative portrayal of one particular movement; the tenor of items changed over time; but endorsement of anti-cultism was weaker than expected. The image of a control group of older minority religious movements was found to be significantly different from that of the NRMs. Finally, conclusions are drawn concerning the present study, with potentially productive areas for future research being highlighted.

.1

Acknowledgements.

Within these formative lines the opportunity arises to acknowledge the 'special' people who have helped and guided me throughout my twelve months of study.

Dr. James Beckford must reign supreme for his unstinting encouragement, guidence and patience. For this I am deeply grateful.

To all the New Religious Movements whom I approached for information. I record my appreciation for the courtesy and helpfulness which I received on each and every occasion.

The valuable comments of Barry van Driel cannot go unnoted.

To Paul Nash for his encouragement and interest, plus the many hours of discussion combined with an endless supply of coffee - I say 'thank you.'

Last. but by no means least, to Peter and Lorna, my parents. Their support throughout has been 101 per cent, for this I am deeply grateful.

Contents.

An Introduction: British Print Media Accounts of New Religious Movements 1975-1985.

Organised religion has become a peripheral matter in many countries in the Western World. In addition to losing their power to set the agenda of public opinion, the impact of the major churches and denominations seems to be confined to matters affecting, at most, private conscience, the nuclear household and the local community. This 'domestication' of religion has been partly interrupted, however, by the appearance of the so-called cults or New Religious Movements (NRMs hereafter) which have occasionally caught the public's attention as a result of publicity about their unusual practices and/or the societal reactions to them. Some of the better known movements in this sphere include the Unification Church, Scientology, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (or Hare Krishnas), the followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, Transcendental Meditation, the Children of God (or the Family of Love), and the Divine Light Mission.

Embodying unique and hitherto unexplored concepts, these remarkable groups have proved to be sociologically significant, not least because of the controversy that surrounds them in each country. The recent growth of religious movements in Western society has evoked considerable opposition from various quarters. Since the mid 1970s an intense conflict has erupted between NRMs and their critics - a conflict that has helped to set the agenda for the development of these groups. NRMs have struggled against strong opposition in a number of arenas, with the anti-cult movement spearheading the attack on these religious bodies. Various societal institutions and their representatives have become involved in the controversies surrounding NRMs, including politicians, church organizations, the medical and mental health world, various scientific representatives, the judicial and legal community and, most importantly for this study, the mass media. Many of these domains have been the focus of social scientific discourses, although it may be shown that the character of the publicity given to

these NRMs has been crucially important in shaping the image of them that is widespread in Britain. James Beckford (1981) focuses upon this question in particular and argues that the mass media are frequently the single most important influence on people's attitudes towards NRMs. He specifically highlights the fact that many parents who had known nothing about the Unification Church when their child joined it acquired their first pieces of information from newspapers or (more rarely) the television. In relation to this, Beckford points out that:

'The number of mass media reports favourable to NRMs in Britain has been extremely small. Newspapers, in particular, have given almost free reign to moral crusaders wishing to stir up distrust in NRMs. A sense of balance and objectivity has been conspicuously lacking in all but a very few articles or programmes.'

Beckford, 1985,p.239.

This statement must be viewed alongside the fact that no movement (other than Scientology) has ever enjoyed many more than a thousand members at any given time, therefore meaning that it has not been possible for very many people to have had direct contact with these groups.

Elaborating upon the attraction of the so-called cults to the media, Bryan Wilson puts forward the view that:

'The movements are newsworthy partly because they are not local schisms, but are of exotic origin; the media are more effective; the movements themselves know how to exploit the opportunity for publicity, and devote themselves to this as a means of disseminating their ideas; and perhaps most importantly of

all, they now generally recruit a different and more conspicuous section of the population - the young.'

Wilson, 1981,p.218.

In this thesis I aim, through a content analysis of the British press accounts of new religious movements, to develop a better understanding of the process of mass communication, the precise image of NRMs in the print media, and the cultural context in which religion can be made to appear controversial in the U.K. This research fills what I perceive to be a gap in sociological theorizing on the phenomenon of NRMs. By specifically highlighting the theme of 'press reaction', the debate within the sociology of religion may be discussed alongside the work concerning the mass media and deviance, thereby emphasizing a new slant within this broader sociological field.

My research will involve explicit comparison with the work of B. Van Driel on the American media, and that of Dobbelaere, Voet and Verbeke on the press in Belgium. This analysis is intended to offer a modest form of cross cultural comparison. The Belgian study is also of interest as extra data (and interpretation) are presented, thereby allowing further comparisons and assessment. The major drawback of this study, however, is that the sole contributor of press cuttings is listed as being the Unification Church - a factor which does limit both the article itself and the comparisons that can be drawn from it. A more detailed discussion of both studies may be found in section two of Chapter Four.

This thesis will also contribute towards the debate that surrounds the interpretation of the patterns of cult - related controversy. Disagreement in this sphere is not simply about the social policies relating to the management of NRM based controversies - both from the point of view of defending the movements' freedom to practise their religion without undue hindrance and from the point of view of defending their critics' right to challenge what they consider to be abuses of the civil rights of members and ex-members. A disagreement also

exists about the social and cultural factors which generate the controversies. I therefore intend to illustrate the fact that controversy in Britain around the perceived problem of 'cults' is socially constructed, and that the media play a vital role in this construction. The 'cultic' label is used by the press in a pejorative way to enhance the image of these groups as predominantly deviant, thereby outlining a dominant interpretation for public use. A brief review of the literature on deviance and its applicability to the media may be found in Chapter Two, with this debate having a bearing on the conclusions which are drawn in the final chapter of this work.

The methods of my research are rooted in the widely accepted principles of content analysis as developed by Budd et al (1967), Holsti (1969), and Krippendorf (1980), a discussion of which will ensue in Chapter Three. The principles are applied to items centrally concerned with NRMs and published in *The Times*, *The Sunday Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and *New Society* in the period from January 1975 to December 1985. It is realised that these newspapers are not particularly representative, with *The Times* aiming at one sector of the population, the *Daily Mail* another, and *New Society* addressing itself to a smaller minority of slightly more specialized individuals. This press selection was made in part to facilitate comparisons between this study and van Driel's work on the U.S. print media. As a result, sweeping statements about 'the press' as a whole may not be made, yet it is hoped that through a close examination of the chosen publications conclusions may be made as to the ways in which these particular papers react. Some indication as to the broad outline of journalistic traits may also be tentatively reported. however. thereby contributing some input to the overall picture.

The term New Religious Movement implies a generic phenomenon, and points to the assumption that there are particular features within these contemporary groups which set them apart from earlier innovations in the religious sphere. 'New Religious Movement' refers principally to the groups which have attracted

the most publicity and/or notoriety, and although certain distinctive qualities may be identified once any form of interest is taken in the format, beliefs and practices of these movements, it becomes apparent that they do differ in very many ways. These differences are highlighted in the vignettes of these movements which may be found in Appendix One, yet it may be stated at the outset that their one overriding common feature is that they tend to be controversial.

For the sake of strict comparability with van Driel's analysis (the preliminary findings of which have already been published), only the following groups are counted as NRMs: the Unification Church, Scientology, Hare Krishna, Transcendental Meditation, the Divine Light Mission, the Family of Love (otherwise known as the Children of God), Meher Baba, the Rajneesh Foundation, the Way International, the Jesus Movement, Campus Crusade, Youth for Christ, Navigators, the Church Universal and Triumphant, and Eckankar. Published items about four other minority religious movements (not usually categorized as NRMs) are also analysed in order to control for the common factor of being a minority. They are: Christian Science, the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Salvation Army and the Amish or Mennonites. Adherence to the methods used by van Driel is felt to be important in this thesis, as useful comparisons may therefore be evoked. It has been noted, however, that other NRMs are potentially of interest in this sphere (for example the Bugbrook Fellowship and Emin Ten), the inclusion of which would be fruitful in any extension of this work. A brief outline of the background and teachings of each group will be given in Appendix One.

Chapter One discusses the debates that surround the phenomenon of NRMs in an attempt to show that the research reported in this thesis pursues a hitherto uncharted path. In Chapter Two the literature dealing with the mass media and images of deviance is discussed, thereby locating this work within the framework of the sociological interpretation of deviance. Following this, Chapter Three begins with a short discussion on the uses of content analysis in the social sciences,

which is then followed by the specific utilization of this method in the present study. Chapter Four contains the results generated through the application of this research method to the print media coverage of NRMs in Britain, followed by a comparison between this study and that of van Driel in the U.S. and Dobbelaere and his colleagues in Belgium. Lastly, I conclude with some comments which serve to further the debate surrounding NRMs by highlighting potentially productive areas for future research.

Chapter 1

Theories of New Religious Movements : A Critical Analysis.

i.   Introduction.

NRMs in Western democracies are a remarkable feature of the last fifteen years. Being totally unexpected, difficult to explain, and above all controversial, they have aroused great interest among sociologists. This chapter will review the literature centrally concerned with these movements. The aim of the first section is to illustrate the importance of prevailing controversy in the field, thereby establishing the sociological significance of this facet of the debate. Despite being relatively small numerically, these movements have generated a high level of public attention, the mass media of communication playing a central role in this respect. I shall argue that many theories tackling the problem of NRMs do not pay enough attention to the role of the mass media in the generation of cult controversies.

The scene therefore is initially set through a discussion of prominent theories, with specific emphasis being given to the question 'what is new about New

Religious Movements?' The next section of this Chapter examines the elements which may be cited as being particularly controversial, thereby highlighting the significance of these groups to many journalists through various channels. (1) Lastly, some conclusions will be drawn about the ways in which NRMs initiate relationships with the British press in particular, an element in the debate which is especially important in this study.

(a) or (b)?   Thomas Robbins (1985) sets the scene when he suggests that the spiritual ferment of the past two decades in America (and by inference in Britain) may be divided into three overlapping periods. The first stage is labelled as a period of 'diffuse counter - cultural protest,' beginning in the mid-1960s and coming to a close in the early 1970s. The second phase is seen to begin at the end of the 1960s, and is at present waning. The latter half of this period is characterized by increasing controversy over 'destructive cults', and a scholarly and journalistic preoccupation with 'brainwashing', conversion and commitment dynamics in religio-therapeutic movements. Robbins also situated the emergence of the 'anti - cult' movement in this juncture, as well as the diversification of NRMs as they moved away from their dependence on street solicitation and sought to retrench and consolidate themselves. Recruitment statistics are seen to have declined during this time, while legal challenges to the movements increased. The third phase, according to this theory, is said to begin in the late-1970s and to continue through to the present, being characterized by the growth of 'conservative' evangelical churches and denominations, and the politicization of these groups. A curious alliance between some NRMs and evangelical groups may be seen to have emerged during this time, as issues of taxation and freedom of religion came to the fore in the debate surrounding religion.

Robbins is concerned primarily with the second phase of development, and it is through an emphasis on this period that we may also gain an insight into the facets which are intrinsic to NRMs, qualities which make them controversial in this historical juncture. The format of Western capitalist society has encouraged

7

the growth of these bodies in a way that is idiosyncratic to this time period, and through an investigation of the forces working together to produce this phenomenon we may come to an understanding of this distinctive aspect of present-day societies.

Despite being largely overlooked by some theorists of NRMs, the power of the mass media in shaping public opinion and setting the agenda for ongoing debates in this sphere is central to the question in hand. This thesis is designed to remedy this general oversight partly by critically examining authoritative works on NRMs and partly by producing new empirical evidence about the accounts given of the movements in the British print-media.

The term 'New Religious Movement' has been coined in recent years to describe in an unbiased way the phenomenon popularly known as the 'cult' or 'sect'. The term implies that there are particular features exclusive to the present-day movements which are not shared by earlier generations of religious movements. Despite this definition, however, J. Gordon Melton (1987) highlights the debate which exists as to whether NRMs are truely a late 20th century phenomenon:

'The groups popularly called ''new religions'' did not suddenly burst upon the American public in the late 1960s. Alternative religions that participate in the theosophical - occult - Eastern world view popularly called the ''New Religious Consciousness'' have been part of the American scene for at least a century and a half and have steadily grown in force and size and influence since their first appearing in Swendenborgianism, Transcendentalism, and Spiritualism. Their dramatic blossoming in the 1970s can best be seen as the continuation of the growing presence of alternative religions within Western culture as a whole.' ·

Melton, 1987,p.87.

8

For the purposes of this study, however, it is important to note that recruits to NRMs tend to be young, single, white, middle class and well educated. This alone indicates that these groups are different from their nineteenth century 'counterparts,' for example. As Melton points out, the sudden upsurge of these movements also sets them apart, as does the Eastern origin of many of their philosophies. Their high visibility, controversiality and wide media coverage indicate not only the sociological significance of these groups themselves, but also important elements in their host societies, illustrating a phenomenon known as the construction and perpetuation of boundaries of the 'normal'.

ii.   Prominent Theories in the Field of New Religious Movements.

The counter culture of the 1960s is heralded by some theorists as being the initial spark which caused the explosion of NRMs in the West in the early 1970s. Steven Tipton,(1979) and Daniel Foss and Ralph Larkin(1976, 1986) fall into this category of theorists, with their emphasis upon the recent cultural changes of Western society as the most important factors in the propagation of these groups.

Tipton (1979) highlights the 1970s in particular as being a period which witnessed a conflict and confusion in the field of moral ideologies. He pinpoints the role of NRMs in particular in combining some of the products of the counter - culture with pre - existing sources of ethical feeling, thereby providing members of these groups with ways to overcome the problems thrown up in the 1960s:

'The conflict of values between mainstream American culture and
counter culture during the 1960s framed problems that alterna-
tive religious movements of the 1970s have resolved by mediat-
ing both sides of the conflicts and transforming their diver-
gent moral meanings. Contrasting styles of ethical evaluation

9

have shaped this conflict and its mediation. These styles dis-
tinctively characterize the romantic tradition of the counter
culture and the two traditions that underpin mainstream cul-
ture, biblical religion, and utilitarian individualism.'

<div align="right">Tipton, 1979,p.286.</div>

Tipton divides NRMs into three broad categories or ideal types. 'Neo- Christian' groups are seen to recombine the expressive ethic of the counter culture with the authoritative ethic of Biblical religion, (for example the Children of God), while 'Neo - Oriental' movements join the expressive ethic with the regular (or human) ethics. Lastly, 'human potential' groups are seen to combine the expressive ethic with a consequentialist ethic, whereby people join these groups in order to gain something practical and personal (for example Scientology).

In this way Tipton's analysis may be said to be an articulation of two interrelated perspectives, combining a societal integration thesis with the notion that the growth of NRMs responded to a broad cultural transformation and crisis of meaning, which was in turn due in part to the disruption of American civil religion. Although interesting on a classificatory and explanatory level, the role of the mass media in the shaping of the controversy and formation of boundaries (for example the 'culture versus counter - culture dichotomy) is not taken into acccount in this theory. This oversight is highlighted by Tipton's categorization of NRMs as 'neo-Christian', 'neo-Oriental', and 'human-potential' without reference to the public perception of 'cults'. Content analysis of British print-media reports of NRMs. as will be shown in Chapter Four, has found that little emphasis is put on these distinctions, while broad generalisations (for example, 'cults brainwash young people') encourage indiscriminate grouping of the various movements into a single, pejorative category.

The ideas of Daniel Foss and Ralph Larkin (1976) are based upon a similar analytical premise to Tipton's theory. They argue that the counter - culture

sparked off a number of groups which offered members ways of coming to terms with the 1960s phenomenon: 'On some level formerly dissident youth had to make peace with the dominant structure or die.'(1976 p.6.)

These groups were seen to take the form of either authoritarian communes, mechanistic Marxist parties, Oriental sects, or various Christian groups. In this way NRMs were classified as being the 'fag - end' of the counter culture; a facet which in itself may attract publicity. Yet the role of the mass media in the formation of public responses is not dealt with by Foss and Larkin.

Taking a somewhat similar stance (albeit with a different emphasis), Frederick Bird's (1979) tripartite typology aims to explain the reasons for the rise of the so called 'cults'. The theoretical basis of this scheme is the belief that, following the advent of 'multiple, relativistic and comparatively permissive moral expectations,'(Bird, 1979, p.344.) feelings of moral accountability have been aggravated. The nature of modern society is examined, and Bird argues that external and internal expectations concerning moral obligations are out of balance, producing a great dilemma for many. This allegedly increases the popularity of NRMs which, he feels, '..tend to encourage among their adherents a reduced sense of moral accountability.' (1979, p.335.)

Bird's argument is that the relationship between followers, masters and the sources of sacred power revered in NRMs falls into three broad categories of 'devotees,' 'disciples' and 'apprentices'. Devotees are seen to surrender themselves to a 'holy master or ultimate reality to whom they attribute superhuman powers of consciousness.' (1979, p.336), while disciples 'progressively seek to master spiritual and/or physical disciplines in order to achieve a state of enlightenment and self - harmony, often following the example of a revered teacher.' (1979, p.336.) Apprentices, on the other hand, '..seek to master particular psychic, shamanic and therepeutic skills in order to tap and release sacred powers within themselves.' (1979, p.336)

Bird's approach is useful in that it pays specific attention to the doctrinal, metaphysical and moral teachings of NRMs in such a way that their practical ethics may be examined, allowing clear distinctions to be made between groups. Most importantly, this scheme links the discussion of types of NRMs to the sphere of moral change and conflict in modern societies. NRMs are therefore shown to exist in an important relationship with major trends and forces, a facet of this theory which is of particular importance to our discussion.

Despite these advantages, however, Wallis criticizes Bird's theory for being too narrow; 'While it may be true for some converts and especially true for certain movements, the theory over - generalises a limited and particular feature into a universal explanation.' (1984, p.69.)

It can also be criticized for present purposes for ignoring the societal responses to NRMs' various ways of avoiding moral accountability. One wonders, for example, how each type of movement fits into 'cult controversies', but Bird is silent on this question.

The theory of Daniel Bell (1976) comes to a superficially similar viewpoint to that of Bird, but from a different starting point. Post - industrial society is seen to be fragmenting into three different spheres; culture, economy and society. Religion is said to become more marginal to the power centre of life in the West as a result. At the same time, however, Bell argues that direct experience is sought when the institutional framework of a society breaks up. He attributes this tendency to man's desire for personal feelings, and sees the cult as meeting this need for some. In this perspective NRMs are not seen to be authentically religious, but to be mainly about constraint and control - a phenomenon induced by the vacuum in meaning created by the decline of mainstream religions.

Both Bird's typology and Bell's theory may be seen to have explanatory value, as the eruption of NRMs into Western life and the nature of the controversy surrounding them are peculiar to this specific historical juncture. But neither Bell nor Bird examine factors such as the role of the mass media in both

framing, reporting and therefore helping to influence 'cults' and public opinion about them. This is surprising, for the public controversies about NRMs are pervaded by moral issues and should not, therefore, be divorced from wider questions about moral change in the host societies. Bell, in particular, could be accused of failing to distinguish clearly between the moral concerns *of* NRMs and the moral concerns *about* NRMs. Evidence about the latter can be found in mass-media accounts of the movements, as will become clear in Chapter Four.

A more sensitive approach to these contextual issues might be expected in Robert Wuthnow's (1976, 1978) examination of growing interest in alternative religion. He identifies a gradual yet profound change in the cultural sphere of American society, a change which he identifies as the 'consciousness reformation'. This altered consciousness is said to have affected people's basic conceptions of themselves and the meanings that they ascribe to their worlds.

Based on lengthy interviews with a thousand people who were randomly selected in the San Fransisco Bay area, Wuthnow's findings are not intended to represent what is happening throughout America; yet he does attempt to reveal the underlying causes and processes of cultural change in a way that holds true for the rest of the U.S. He accomplishes this by carefully relating data on the belief systems of those whom he sampled to actual changes in their lifestyles, values, political behaviour, and so on.

Belief in the supernatural is said to be in decline, and rugged individual-ism is felt to be no longer prominent. Correspondingly, Wuthnow identifies a greater reliance on science (and especially on social science), which emphasises the importance of social, economic and cultural forces in human affairs. More recently, the author cites an increase in the popularity of mystical or experi-ential understandings of reality which rely more on intuitive insights into the nature and meanings of life than on logical or philosophical explanations - a facet of life which he deems to be of great importance. Such changes, according

to Wuthnow, have in turn had a significant impact on the economy, political life, standards of moral conduct and styles of family life.

The new consciousness examined in this theory has, claims Wuthnow, 'ushered in a new era of increased social experimentation, novelty and diversity which promises to remain a basic feature of our society.' (1978 p.19). This diversity is seen to offer greater freedom of choice, as well as to increase greatly the difficulty of maintaining social harmony and cohesion.

Wuthnow's contribution to the New Religious Movement debate is of some interest, as he not only looks at the problem in a broad perspective, but he also attempts to anchor this information in empirical research. It must be said, however, that this theory does not examine the public controversies that have emerged due to this 'consciousness reformation'. Indeed, a major shortcoming of the whole project was the complete neglect of the most controversial NRM, the Unification Church. This movement was totally neglected in the collection of papers on NRMs that was edited by Glock and Bellah (1976) as part of the San Fransisco Bay area study. Moreover, as questions were not asked in interviews about the controversial aspects of NRMs and the new religious consciousness, a valuable opportunity to discover whether moral assessments of NRMs were also changing was therefore missed. Only Lindt (1979) and Beckford (1985) have subsequently paid attention to the public response to NRMs.

A considerably more negative assessment of NRMs can be found in Bryan Wilson's work (1976). Like Wuthnow, Wilson discusses the distinctiveness of contemporary religious groups and feels that it is to be expected that new and often highly specialized religious cults should come into being as old religious institutions and beliefs lose their social significance and appear culturally less and less credible to more and more people. These modern 'religious cults,' as Wilson calls them, are seen to offer new therapies. new access to power. new modes of personal assurance, '...and occasionally. though with less emphasis and

more vagueness, even suggest something like the new social order.' (Wilson, 1976, p95).

Wilson notes that some theorists regard the NRMs as representing a religious revival, but he sees them as confirming the process of secularization which he finds to be intimately related to the decline of community, to increased social mobility, and to the impersonality of role - relationships in the modern world. He states:

'They indicate the extent to which religion has become inconse-
quential for modern society. The cults represent, in the Amer-
ican phase, ''the religion of your choice'', the highly priva-
tized preference that reduces religion to the significance of
pushpin, poetry or popcorn. They have no real consequence for
other social institutions, for political power structures, for
technological constraints and controls. They add nothing to
any prospective reintegration of society, and contribute noth-
ing towards the culture by which a society might live.'

Wilson, 1976, p.96.

Despite their supposed ineffectiveness in bringing change, Wilson feels that the 'cults' reject the instrumental rationality of modern society and large scale impersonal social order, and argues:

'...whereas earlier religious revivals, revivalism within a re-
ligious tradition, led to a reintegration of the individual so-
cial order, the new cults proposed to take the individual out
of his society, and to save him by the wisdom of some other
wholly exotic body of belief and practice.'

Wilson, 1976, p.98.

Contemporary society is said by Wilson to be less legitimated than any previously existing social system, partly due to the collapse of a shared conception of a transcendent order. Consumer ethics demand the rejection of the 'culture of postponement' and in its place they offer a cult of 'present realization.' Within this change of focus Wilson characterizes the value of the NRMs as follows:

'It is wholly characteristic for new religious movements to facilitate mobililty, quicker ways to the spiritual top, that cut through the encrustations of ritual, institutionalism, intellectualism, and the whole apparatus of scholarship that religions tend to accrete. Thus, the instancy and the urgency are not in themselves new, but their combination with intensive subjectivism, rejection of the culture, and the preoccupation with the self is new.'

<div align="right">Wilson, 1976, pp.100-101.</div>

Wilson's conclusion is that; 'Secularization...is the major contemporary transformation of religion, against which the cults are likely to be no more than transient and volatile gestures of defiance.' (1976,p.112.)

Wilson's basic premise may therefore be seen to be the Parsonian view that a 'normal' society is integrated by shared values, and a 'normal' person is controlled by internalized restraints. In this way religion is regarded as a functional requirement for the maintenance of the social system and the personality, providing that it performs the controlling functions. These important assumptions help to explain the disqualification (by definition) of certain groups which do not restrain emotion, as well as aiding the formulation of a general critique of the theory.

Wilson's theory can be used as a tool for highlighting some of the more controversial aspects of NRMs which in turn lead journalists to generate a generally

unfavourable view of these groups. He emphasises the inability of the cults to radically change the 'dominant' social order, and he stresses that the alternative views perpetrated by the new religions tend to be 'world rejecting' and therefore perceived as somewhat threatening by outsiders. Finally, the supposed lack of legitimation that is said to exist in society is cited by Wilson as one reason for people to be sensitive to competing conceptualizations of the world.

One particularly interesting facet of Wilson's views of NRMs is his emphasis upon the role of stereotyping in the mass media. A stereotype is regarded as a widely held, constructed image of a group which uncritically ascribes certain stock descriptions which tend to be one - sided, exaggerated or biased. The stereotype of cults is seen by Wilson to conform to prevailing prejudices, reflecting and reinforcing them. It is therefore felt to be resistant to change - even in the face of disconfirming factual evidence. In this way, the stereotype is seen to be most frequently used with respect to social groups or movements about which there is widespread ignorance, and which do not share conventional assumptions. Thus, the stereotype presents a simple but biased image of a complex phenomenon, and Wilson reiterates the fact that stereotypes of unfamiliar or new religions have almost always been negative. Today's NRMs, for example, are condemned because they are held to promote commitment to exotic countries or cultures. The amassing of wealth has been another perennial accusation, as has been the onslaught of 'brainwashing', the break up of families and 'unhealthy' living conditions. Wilson states; 'What is remarkable about these stereotypes is that they have been recurrent in recent history and have been widely applied to quite diverse religious movements at various times.' (1976,p.114).

Rumours or authentic facts about one group can thus be recycled to fit other groups, the assumption being that all so - called cults can be lumped together and described in the same way. One particularly prominent example of confusion occurred in *The Times* (4.11.85) where an account of parents 'kidnapping' their

son, who had joined the Church of Scientology, appeared under the headline 'Parents Kidnapped Moonie Son.'

In sum, although Wilson has paid little explicit attention to the controversies surrounding NRMs, it is possible to infer that he would expect them to arise because of the challenges that some movements represent to prevailing moral sentiments and social structures. It might also be expected that controversies would arise from conflict between movements competing for followers in roughly the same religious 'market place'. Only a study of the precise mechanisms of societal response to NRMs, however, would be able to test these expectations.

A rather different theoretical and conceptual approach to NRMs is found in the work of Roy Wallis. Although he has not subsequently refined the terms in which he analysed the societal response to Scientology (1976) as an example of deviance amplification, his typology of NRMs' responses to the world deserves scrutiny for any light that it may throw on cult-related controversies (Wallis, 1984). The early work merits close attention before the usefulness of the latter typology can be assessed for present purposes.

Drawing heavily upon the work of the deviancy amplification theorists (and Stanley Cohen in particular), Wallis puts forward the idea that Scientology has been viewed by society in a manner approaching moral panic. He acknowledges the fact, however, that the moral entrepreneurs and social control agents involved appear to accept the classic model which sees deviance leading to societal reaction, while the Scientologists themselves prefer the notion of social reaction leading to deviance in a (crude) form of the labelling theory.

Whatever the sources of moral panic, Wallis views the mass media as being central to its propagation. He cites the work of Cohen, who states :

'The mass media operate with certain definitions of what is news-
worthy. It is not that instruction manuals exist telling news-
men that certain subjects (drugs, sex, violence) will appeal

to the public or that certain groups (youth, immigrants) should
be continually exposed to scrutiny, rather there are built-in
factors ranging from the individual newsman's intuitive hunch
about what constitutes a ''good story'', through precepts such
as ''give the public what it wants'' to structural ideologi-
cal biases, which predesposes the media to make a certain event
into news.'

<div align="right">**Cohen, 1980, p.45.**</div>

Wallis elaborates upon this idea by saying that: 'The media typically build upon labels imputed to individuals and groups, elaborating a stereotype which will render the phenomenon intelligible and "predictable" to the readership in terms of general cultural images.' (1975, p.92.)

We may see the term 'stereotype' being used once more to explain the labels imputed to NRMs and the subsequent picture that emerges. This concept may therefore be deemed to be of great importance in the handling of the present phenomenon.

The 'moral crusaders' located by Wallis as being instrumental in the effective attack on Scientology include; state agencies, doctors and psychiatrists, disgruntled ex-members, relatives of Scientologists, neighbours of Scientology establishments, and the press. Each group is seen by Wallis to benefit in some way from the crusade, however righteous their moral indignation. Characterizations of Scientology as 'fraudulent', 'brainwashing', 'hypnotic', 'quack' and so on served to legitimate attitudes adopted by the crusading groups and individuals, and their demand for social control of the movement.

The press found what Wallis outlines as 'sensational copy' in Scientology and the allegations made about it. In the words of Young :

<div align="center">19</div>

'The mass media in Western countries are placed in a competitive situation where they must attempt constantly to maintain and extend their circulation. A major component of what is newsworthy is that which arouses public indignation. Thus the media have an institutionalized need to expose social problems, to act as if they were the personified moral censors of their readership.'

Young, 1971, p.103.

There certainly appears *prima facie* to be a lot of truth in Young's view as well as in Wallis's interpretation of the interests at stake in attempts to control Scientology. In neither case, however, are the assertions confirmed by empirical evidence except by way of illustration. It is one thing to collect press cuttings which confirm the 'moral entrepreneur' thesis: but it is quite another matter methodologically to examine a random sample of *all* mass-media items in order to determine accurately the extent and intensity of labelling, stereotyping, and moral indignation. Wallis's arguments are, of course, plausible, but they need to be supported by more reliable evidence than was available to him.

The question now is whether Wallis's subsequent construction of a typology of NRMs affords greater leverage on the issues of societal response to deviant movements. The typology has the form of a logical trichotomy, the elements of which constitute an exhaustive set of ways in which a New Religious Movement may orient itself to the social world. The resulting types are world-rejection, world-accommodation and world-affirmation. Wallis sees social differentiation as leading to the emergence of distinctive social groups and strata whose world-view might overlap with those of neighbouring groups only marginally. Underlying his typology is the belief that; 'New Religious Movements have - in substantial measure - developed in response to, and as attempts to grapple with the consequences of, rationalization.' (1984, p.41) In this way advanced industrial

societies are seen to maintain a situation of religious pluralism in which religious institutions and collectivities are in competition for a clientele. Shifts in market demand are felt to lead to a shift in the character of products supplied, and in this way Wallis explains the upsurge of the New Religious Movements with their idiosyncratic beliefs and practices.

Wallis aims to explain the attraction of various groups to people in different social circumstances, while acknowledging the extensive 'middle ground' between the different forms of movement. This scheme is helpful in that it emphasizes the fact that no NRM actually conforms with the depiction of any logical type and that specific groups may represent complex mixtures of orientations. It also draws attention to affinities between the messages of certain NRMs and the social circumstances in which potential recruits find themselves, an important addition to any general theory in this sphere. But the classificatory criterion of Wallis's typology has been criticized for being too ambiguous as the term 'response to the world' is very much open to personal interpretation (Beckford, 1985). Moreover, distinctions are not made in this typology concerning the varying relationships between the movements' teachings and practices and the beliefs of individual members, and this is another cause of criticism.

But for present purposes the most serious shortcoming of Wallis's typology is that it refers almost exclusively to matters of doctrine, belief and value *within* NRMs and entirely neglects the social forces which come to bear on these movements from the *outside*. Thus, while Wallis plausibly demonstrates affinities between types of NRM and distinctive clienteles, based on the assumption that the movements' teachings, practices, and values are differentially attractive to different social strata and constituencies, he is unable to explain differences in societal responses to NRMs in terms of his typology. In fact, the question is not even broached in the monograph (1984) which contains the most fully developed version of his typology. It is not surprising, therefore, that the typology plays no part in a more recent attempt to discover cross-national responses to NRMs.

21

In another informative article forthcoming in *Sociological Analysis*, Roy Wallis (1988) examines specifically the differences between the public response to NRMs in the U.K. and U.S.A., and therefore may be seen to link directly with this present study. He reduces this differentiation primarily to a matter of the level at which public regulation of the movements is effective within the bounds set by the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution and by the unwritten constitution of the U.K. His argument is summarized as follows :

'The high level of institutionalised toleration and protection
of minority and civil rights, plus the constitutional protec-
tion of religion in America has created a situation where the
state machinery has little effective power to control NRMs.
Thus problems escalate until the Federal apparatus can inter-
vene or the local machinery can overcome its natural reluctance
to act. In the U.K. controls are stricter earlier. Public of-
ficials are less susceptible to pressure not to act in enforce-
ment of regulations; many of the legal rights claimed in the
U.S.A. do not exist, and there is less recourse against exec-
utive or legislative (sic) action by constitutional rights or
''due process''.'

Wallis, 1988.

In this way, Wallis sees the U.K. as being more repressive earlier, but it possibly has a more tolerant climate in the long run. Massive differences undoubtedly separate the American and British systems of law and politics, and they have clearly shaped the development of cult controversies in each country. Despite the relevance of this insight, however, Wallis places such a high level of importance upon the differences between the two countries that he overlooks the

grounds on which, and the processes whereby, issues are publicly defined as controversial in the two countries. In short, Wallis's argument entirely ignores the fact that, in the U.K. and the U.S.A. alike, the print media have accounted for NRMs in such a way as to create a highly unfavourable image of them. This may have been done more for the sake of journalistic appeal than with the intention of combating the movements directly, yet it remains the case, as will be made clear in Chapter Four, that the mass media present a largely uniform image of controversial NRMs as abnormal and threatening on both sides of the North Atlantic. Given the dependence that most people have on the mass media for their opinions about public matters, it would be very surprising if journalistic accounts did not therefore constitute an irreducible and effective constraint on the activities of most NRMs, and in this way Wallis's account may be viewed as incomplete due to the lack of reference to this sphere.

The regulation argument may also be criticized on a number of relevant points: the level of frustration experienced by the leaders of NRMs in the U.K. is likely to be considerably lower than among their American counterparts due to the more modest expectations of religious freedom in the U.K.; the size of the movements in both countries and the location of their leaders and headquarters are important here; as is their differential levels of wealth and power (meaning that expensive law suits could not be embarked upon as easily in Britain.) For the purposes of this study, however, the neglect of mass media coverage of the phenomenon may be seen to be of vital importance.

Stark and Bainbridge (1981) also attempt to rationalize the recent growth of New Religious Movements and define secularization as being a self - limiting phenomenon, the reversal of which is manifested in the development of NRMs. They argue that the countervailing processes of 'revival' and 'religious innovation' are both important. The concept of revival refers to the schismatic formation of new sects which emerge from decaying religious traditions which have 'secularized' in the sense of having become tame and worldly. Religious innovation, on the other

hand, embodies the process of controversial NRM development, a phenomenon which is interpreted as the replacement for the weakened older faiths.

In this way Stark and Bainbridge acknowledge the existence of secularization, yet it is felt that the market for religions is dynamic, having a constant flux of new organizations and a frequent demise of others. In this way secularization is seen to be a constant feature of the life - cycle of religious organisations. Successful religious organizations may therefore fail to maintain a high level of tension with the surrounding society and thereby drift towards churchly accommodation. Stark and Bainbridge maintain, therefore, that controversy surrounding any NRM is likely to be transient rather than permanent, adding an interesting twist to the debate. The implication seems to be that as a NRM cannot remain controversial, it must either become more conformist or fade away. This overlooks the possibility that the grounds for considering a NRM controversial may change over time. The role of the mass-media in framing the terms of such controversy would be important, but Stark and Bainbridge have seen no reason to study it specifically.

Robbins (1985) argues that the emerging crisis of religion is in part a consequence of the increasingly comprehensive state regulation within society. He believes that any expansion and diversification of the activities of religious groups can easily lead to an increase in tensions with the state. This is especially likely to happen with controversial NRMs: 'Groups such as the Unification Church or the Church of Scientology are situated at the cutting edge of the church/state tension because they are highly diversified and multifunctional entities with their fingers in numerous pies.' (1985,p.9)

Robbins is quick to point out that this frontier position is also held by many other religious organizations (such as the resurgent evangelical movements), yet he feels that the various groups that are stigmatized as 'cults' would appear to provide extreme examples of this phenomenon on the grounds that: '...cults

are controversial in part because they are particularly diversified and multifunctional enclaves lying outside the web of regulation which increasingly enmeshes "secular" organizations.' (1985,p.9.) The unfamiliarity of NRMs to the public at large, coupled with their lack of 'grass roots' support, may well be important in their vulnerability to stigmatization, stereotyping and social control, facets which are of great importance for present purposes.

Although Robbins has not methodically studied the processes whereby NRMs are stigmatized and therefore rendered even more vulnerable to control by agencies of the state, it is implicit in his perspective that the mass-media play an important part in these processes. In particular, he has suggested (1985) that the 'problem of cults in the U.S.A. has been 'medicalized' by various moral entrepreneurs and agents of social control in order to bring unconventional spiritualities and life-styles within the ambit of approved methods for coping with perceived pathologies in social and psychological realms'. It remains to be seen whether a similar process of the medicalization of deviant religion can be detected in the British print-media.

There has been only one empirical study of the British mass media's portrayal of religion, namely, the project on 'Media portrayals of religion and their reception', which was conducted at Leeds University by Dr. Kim Knott between 1982 and 1983. Two reports on this project (Knott, 1983, 1984) describe its theoretical rationale, methods and principal findings. The aim was to complement a parallel project on 'Conventional and common religion' by investigating the complex relationship between religion in general and the mass media. The investigation took the form of, first, a content analysis of five selected publications and television programmes and, second, a questionnaire survey of public responses to the media's portrayal of religion.

Although the project was not designed to investigate the media's portrayal of NRMs in particular, some of its conclusions have a bearing on this topic. It

was found, for example, that 'The media are almost directly responsible for contemporary knowledge and opinions about astrology and horoscopes, the Turin Shroud, other world faiths and the "Moonies".' (Knott, 1983,p.17) This finding appears to justify the decision to focus the present study on print media accounts of NRMs such as the U.C. More important for present purposes, however, was the conclusion that two processes were central to the media's portrayal of religion in Britain: 'the media reflect and reinforce contemporary wisdom; they bring new ideas into the public arena and popularise them' (Knott, 1984,p.32). It will be argued in Chapter Four that the British print media have indeed been active in reinforcing public stereotypes about 'normal' and 'deviant' religion as well as about religious innovations such as NRMs. Finally, there will also be confirmation of the view that 'Religion in the media, just like anything else, is subject to the media's own irrepressible rhetoric and style'. (Knott, 1984,p.31).

James Beckford (1985) tackles the societal response to NRMs specifically in his book entitled *Cult Controversies, The Societal Response to New Religious Movements*, and this work also merits a close examination. Looking at the rise of NRMs and their subsequent highly controversial status, Beckford warns that:

'New religious movements, in the most general sense of the term, are by no means restricted to the present historical juncture. Indeed, the religious history of the west in modern times could be written as a continuous dynamic activating, at one moment, massive structures of religious stability and, at another, forces for change and restructuring.'

Beckford, 1985,p.24.

The author follows on from this, however, by tentatively suggesting that present-day NRMs are significantly different at least from their predecessors in the post-Reformation era in the western world in respect of their visibility,

the form of opposition to them, the religious 'career' of their members and the political economy of the groups.

This approach highlights the ways in which NRMs are inserted into their host societies, allowing us to view these groups as distinctive sets of social relationships. With this aim in mind Beckford constructs an 'internal-external' axis thereby enabling special attention to be given to the processes in which NRMs are produced, reproduced, and transformed. Thus:

'The main object of the proposed framework is to emphasise the association between NRMs profiles of internal relationships and their differential susceptibility to controversy. In short, the ways in which people join, participate in, and eventually leave NRMs all help to explain why certain movements become embroiled in particular controversies. In turn, the character of controversies feeds back into the way in which NRMs recruit, mobilize and lose their members. The framework is designed to highlight this dynamic association.'

Beckford, 1985,pp.77-78.

In this way Beckford illustrates that the political and moral economy of NRMs is concerned with the production of both ideas and material resources, thereby emphasizing the fact that ideas and values do not evolve in a vacuum, but play an important part in reflecting and affecting the material circumstances in which religious movements have to operate. This typology illuminates the high degree of organizational purpose, control and direction of these movements, with the theorist stressing that they have at their centre carefully circumscribed collectivities of actors and resources oriented towards specific goals. This image contrasts with the hitherto popular feeling that NRMs are nothing but 'currents of diffuse sentiments or dispositions' voiced by many.

Beckford argues that the inclusion of 'economy' is essential to the aim of explaining the process of change which takes place in the mode of insertion of NRMs in society, as it attempts to account for the establishment of priorities which in turn help to determine changes in the interaction of members of these groups with outside people, collectivities and institutions.

The typification of internal relationships is based primarily on the character, strength, and valency of the bonds between people in NRMs. Because of this, Beckford feels that the configuration of bonds reflects a movement's distinctive profile, and he outlines several forms of membership, including 'devotees', 'adepts', 'clients', 'patrons' and 'apostates'. This enables Beckford to typify NRMs on the basis of their external relationships with various institutional spheres and organizations. The terms 'refuge', 'revitalisation' and 'release' are used to describe the basic patterns of relationships, and in this way it is felt that an explanation of subsequent controversies may be generated.

In his discussion of these patterns of internal and external relationships Beckford emphasises several points. He argues firstly that the dominant modes of economic activity in the host society are reproduced to varying degrees in most refuges, the highly utopian ones being the only groups to differ. The associations between the modal types of internal and external relationships in NRMs are shown to be both loose and variable, and here Beckford stresses the point that the profile of each movement's modes of insertion can help to explain how and why it is involved in controversies.

A positive link between the strengths of a movement's relationships with the outside world and its readiness to defend its interests by resorting to judicial procedures and secular notions of constitutional rights is shown to exist in many of the NRMs in question. This shows that a NRM may use the resources of the wider society in its 'mode of insertion' to further (or protect) its own collective interests, and in this way Beckford attempts to explain the means by which the beliefs of members are cultivated by NRMs, rather than the reasons why people

hold these ideas. This major tenet of his theory sets it apart from earlier work in this field, echoing in part the work of Thomas Robbins. For him the changing focus of sociological inquiry concerning the phenomenon of NRMs reflects a growing concern with 'cult - controversies' and pertinent church - state issues, which in turn overshadow an earlier drive to illuminate the cultural meaning of NRMs and what these new groups meant for societal transformation.

The essence of Beckford's scheme is therefore that the modern 'cult - controversies' are a result of numerous overlapping fears and grievances about NRMs which reflect the movements' modes of insertion in society. Allegations of brainwashing, deception, fraud, exploitation, profiteering, the break up of families, manipulation, authoritarian leaders, links with undemocratic political forces and regimes, plus unjustifiably harsh treatment of perceived enemies are outlined, to name but a few.

Critiques of this work include; Champion, 1986; Hexham, 1986; Wallis, 1985; Regan, 1986; Hemming, 1985; Hill, 1986; Roberts, 1986; and Turner, 1985. Although these articles do not go into any great depth in their discussion of *Cult Controversies*, one or two interesting points do emerge in the course of their discussion.

Roy Wallis highlights what he feels to be an over-emphasis on one NRM; the Unification Church. Beckford's conceptual scheme is seen by Wallis to offer a successful explanation for controversy surrounding the U.C., yet he puts forward the view that; '...this conceptual scheme seems to be of relatively little use except to point out that movements possessing different configurations along these dimensions are likely to provoke different forms and degrees of controversy.' (1985) Despite this criticism, Wallis does comment that Beckford's interviews '...provide valuable insight into the personal struggles and anxieties that culminate in disengagement, and into the subsequent difficulties faced by former members.' (1985)

Irving Hexham also comments upon the work of James Beckford. He puts forward the veiw that; 'Each study contains a wealth of information and is valuable for the contribution it makes to the scientific study of religion. But, taken together in one book, the studies fail to provide he reader with a coherent whole.' (1986). Hexham feels that issues are raised and topics discussed which merit far more attention than the author gives them. This critic also puts forward the view that Beckford avoids discussing in any depth the psychological aspects of the cult phenomenon, and in this way encourages this topic to be 'swept under the rug and ignored.' (1986).

Daniel Regan promotes a largely favourable view of Beckford's work. He does, however, outline what he feels are two shortcomings of *Cult Controversies*. First,

'....although the program of comparative research – different
countries, different movements, varying responses to them – is
a great advance, it seems tacked on to the book. The reader
does learn about public responses to NRMs in France and West
Germany, but in fact most of the volume is a report of the au-
thor's research on the Unification Church in Britain. Little
systematic use is made of his genuinely innovative conceptual
framework, to locate and compare NRMs.'

Regan, 1986,p.648

Second, Regan feels that some sections are 'disappointingly' devoid of data. He states; 'Often the reader is asked to take a great deal on faith, without much in the way of supporting evidence.' (1986,p.648) The present study there-fore aims to move on from this point, by providing empirical evidence within

the specific field of media responses to NRMs, and the general sphere of 'cult controversies.'

iii.   Controversial Aspects of New Religious Movements; A Summary of Recent Discussions.

At this stage in our analysis it is useful to draw together the salient points gained from a review of the prominent theories in the sociological study of NRMs insofar as they touch upon the qualities which contribute to the societal definition of these groups as 'controversial'. In particular, methods of recruitment (including allegations of brainwashing), form of membership, the break up of families, physical and medical deprivation of members, elements of Eastern Mysticism intrinsic to NRM theologies, plus the sudden upsurge of these groups all contribute to the 'news ratings' of NRMs, as does the strong anti-cult feeling voiced eloquently by various bodies both in Britain and abroad.

Central to virtually all the controversies about NRMs are the themes of 'brainwashing' and mind control. The basic thesis is that conversion and recruitment are the product of devious but identifiable strategies acting upon unsuspecting and therefore highly vulnerable individuals. The common brainwashing models are bound up with the explanation in the 1950s of the radical changes observed in prisoners of war in communist thought reform camps in China and North Korea. Richardson and Kilbourne (1983) state, however, that:

> 'Unfortunately, the actual value of coercive techniques to ex-
> tract information and false confessions to demoralize, to con-
> fuse, to break up a group, and to function as an effective pro-
> paganda strategy has been largely lost from view as some re-
> searchers of the new religions attempt to compare early thought
> reform techniques with recruitment and resocialization prac-
> tices in new religious groups.'

31

In this way it is felt that an uncritical acceptance of classical models of brainwashing has led some investigators to incorporate various elements of these models into their contemporary explanations of resocialization into the new religions, as if these elements were firmly established and agreed upon. All in all, this tendency is seen to result in a form of 'moral panic' within the media and society alike.

Richardson and Kilbourne argue that a close examination of both classical and contemporary models of brainwashing suggests that the continuity of explanations is more a function of common ideological, conceptual, metaphysical and methodological bases than of similar conditions in thought reform camps and new religions. Thus they claim that the strength of the brainwashing models is their comprehensive nature and pseudo-scientific tendencies, which treat the 'cult syndrome' as a stereotypical phenomenon which may be explained simply through a process of definition. Relating the popularity of this concept to modern day American society Richardson and Kilbourne argue:

> 'The brainwashing label functions effectively in a boundary main-
> tenance fashion to define acceptable behaviours, and to cut the
> deviant individual off from his/her social group. Moreover, it
> becomes an effective means to delegitimate demands and to mis-
> attribute the origin of new values and ideas to a pathological
> state or condition.'

<div align="right">Richardson and Kilbourne, 1983, p.44</div>

The brainwasing rhetoric may also be seen to provide the victim with a ready-made justificatory account, acceptable to both the 'victims' and their parents.

Robbins and Anthony (1981) argue that current applications of thought reform concepts to 'cults' generally entail a number of gross distortions. These are based on the pejorative use of brainwashing models as conceptual models to justify and legitimate the use of coercive measures to abduct allegedly brainwashed victims.

The key problems associated with the use of brainwashing models to explain membership in NRMs are seen by these authors to be fourfold. The use of over generalized cult stereotypes is highlighted, as is the implicit equation of religious movements with governmental operated institutions employing forcible constraint. The lack of 'free will' involved in a member's recruitment, plus various methodological issues (for example the over-emphasis on apostate stories) are also emphasized.

Robbins and Anthony conclude:

'The metaphor of brainwashing can probably best be understood as a social weapon which provides a liberation rationale for persecuting unpopular social movements and ideologies. There are three aspects of the current use of the metaphor which allow it to serve this purpose: its subjective status, a concealed concern with the content of others' beliefs, and an authoritarian denial that unpopular beliefs could be voluntarily chosen.'

Robbins and Anthony, 1981,p.265.

In a more recent paper (1982), the same authors outline what they term the 'medicalization of deviant religious groups'. They argue that the use of the brainwashing concept involves an application of the medical model to religion, with certain religious beliefs being consigned to the realm of involuntary pathological symptoms. Robbins and Anthony therefore feel that the role of the medical profession and the mental health community is becoming increasingly

important in giving plausibility to pathological conceptions of cultists' involvement, thereby confirming the so-called 'brainwashing hypothesis'. Lastly, the authors highlight the close proximity of several 'brainwashing issues' (2) in the 1970s as being responsible for bringing this phenomenon to the forefront of public concern.

Eileen Barker (1984) sought an objective means of distinguishing between conversion to NRMs in which the converts were responsible, active agents, and conversion in which they were the passive victims of forces or techniques beyond their control. She came to the conclusion after a long study of recruitment into the Unification Church that although environment did play an important role in this process, there was no evidence of 'brainwashing' or physical coercion. She states:

'There is, however, plenty of reason to believe that the Moonies will do their best to influence their guests' perception of the situation in which they now find themselves. Some of the guests' memories are more likely to be evoked than others; hopes and fears and, sometimes, feelings of guilt may be played upon; care is taken to find out what ''resonates'' with each individual; options are painted in terms most favourable to the Unification Church's alternative; less attractive aspects of the movement are suppressed or occasionally denied; in some places, most particularly in California, there has been little opportunity for potential recruits to be exposed to a countervailing influence; and, most significant of all, the experience of loving, caring community within the Unification environment can foster feelings of personal involvement and may encourage the guest to accept, more readily than he would otherwise, the world from a Unification perspective.'

34

She goes on to say, however: '...it is also obvious that the Unification environment is not irresistible. Conversion to the movement is the result of a *limited* number of *individual* experiences, it is not the result of mass induced hypnosis.' (Barker, 1984,p.233.)

Barker discusses the social sources of the brainwashing hypothesis, making references to the role taken by parents of converts, the media and the anti-cult movement in particular. She puts forward the view that, at a fairly obvious level, the proposition 'my child was brainwashed by the Moonies' makes a better headline than 'young man decides to adopt Unification faith'. Although these accounts are often full of inconsistencies, they do provide a coherent explanation for something which might otherwise seem inexplicable.

The role of deprogrammers in popularizing the brainwashing hypothesis is highlighted by Barker, as it is shown that their interests lie very much in this field.(3) Barker goes on from here to point out that enthusiasm and devotion are a fairly normal phenomenon among new converts to a faith, yet she does acknowledge the effects that this could have upon parents, relatives and friends of these individuals in their perception of the situation, thereby explaining the lure of the all-encompassing brainwashing metaphor to some extent. She states:

'Once the story that brainwashing takes place gains a certain currency, it is easy enough for bewildered and anxious parents to believe that everything seems to fit in with this most plausible explanation. Confirmatory evidence is accepted and repeated; other explanations are suppressed or ignored.'

Barker, 1984,p.253.

In the course of her study Barker found that in some instances the Moonies themselves fanned parents' fears by not allowing free access to their children (the argument being that this was for fear of kidnapping). She concludes her book by attempting to explain the phenomenon in general by putting forward the view that many new members of the Unification Church do not make a calculated decision to join the movement, consciously taking into account all the relevant details. According to Barker:

'Although a few Moonies do claim to have made an entirely ratio-
nal choice, most will have been swept along by the excitement
of having discovered what seemed to be the very answer they had
always been looking for, and they commonly give non-rational
(which is not the same as irrational) reasons for their deci-
sions to join.'

<div align="right">Barker, 1984,p.254.</div>

In a further extension of this line of reasoning, Anson Shupe and David Bromley (1981) have captured the essence of the pressures which led some victims of 'deprogramming' (mentioned in Barker's work) to manufacture 'atrocity stories' in the U.S.A. They emphasize the humiliation of parents and the money that they have often paid to a 'deprogrammer' for help in their plight, plus the threat to them from the law. They conclude that 'public contrition for having abandoned parental values became the cost of re-admission into the mainstream community.' (1981, p.195.)

In this way the authors attempt to illustrate the interactive process which exists between the responses of the wider society and the development of NRMs themselves. They emphasize the role of atrocity stories by apostates in this process, claiming that virtually all of the public 'knowledge' about NRMs has been obtained indirectly from accounts in the media, a substantial proportion

of which were initiated by opponents of the NRMs in general and 'apostates in particular'. In this respect, Shupe and Bromley believe that 'Because these individuals have been readily accorded credibility by the media, they have had a disproportionate influence in setting the agenda for public discussions of NRMs.' (1981, p.181.)

Brainwashing is therefore shown to be an idea developed (by parents of devotees in particular) as a key to conversion, and this convinces Bromley and Shupe that the thesis is unsubstantiated. They reject the standard brainwashing hypothesis which suggests that a stereotypical 'zombie' personality syndrome is produced, arguing that in fact people display differential, individualistic receptivity to recruitment methods, manifesting nothing like the uniformity of consciousness attributed to them.

Bromley and Shupe observe that most of the 'cult' stories in the American press were reprinted from wire services and other newspapers since most newspapers did not have the financial resources or expertise to cover the complete issue of the cult phenomenon. As a consequence, numerous antagonistic stories that appeared in one location were subsequently reprinted verbatum across the nation, without any check on the accuracy of allegations contained in such articles. The authors state: 'This sequence, of course, raised the distinct possibility that stories which were superficially researched and published initially, assumed through widespread publication the quality of a national level rumour.' (1980, p.170.)

However, James Beckford has sounded a cautionary note about Shupe and Bromley's argument. For him, this work is of limited use when considering the role of apostates in shaping NRMs in Britain, as it tends to be specifically linked to the U.S. The definition of apostasy is also questioned, as is the emphasis on so-called 'atrocity' tales (a title Beckford feels is too dramatic for most of the reports which appear in the press.) Yet it could still be argued that another of Shupe and Bromley's articles (1981) is of use to our present discussion, as it highlights more

specifically their theme of boundary maintenance by claiming that: 'Every age possesses its own paradigm that incorporates ideas of evil.' (1981, p.251.) Evil is seen in this account to be introduced by some rarely encountered source in the routine of daily life. It is 'knowable but not commonly known or experienced', being powerful yet almost preternatural; out of the ordinary order of things but operating within that order. The example given by Shupe and Bromley is that of the Unification Church in the U.S., with the themes of brainwashing and possession being stressed in particular. They state: 'Evil is antisocial. It makes no contribution to social order or to established institutions. Often, in fact, it operates to subvert them. Its goals and purposes thus come to be seen as parasitic, if not overtly harmful.' (1981, p.254.) This evil is identified by many as being a transient phase if help can be provided in the form of 'deprogrammers'. These people are seen to confront evil, overcome its resistance, and bring about a transformation or restoration of the original non-evil identity. This twist to Shupe and Bromley's work adds substance to the brainwashing debate, highlighting this theme within the broader umbrella theory of boundary construction, which again is of use in any discussion of the mass media and NRMs.

Beckford (1985) draws attention to the theme of the 'break up of families', a facet of the NRM controversy and debate which links in closely with the reasons behind the elaboration and perpetuation of the brainwashing hypothesis. He claims that:

'What comes as a shock to many families... is the realization
that something claiming to be a religion can engage the in-
terests of a member of the family to the exclusion of other
kin. It is the contrast between this atomism and the deeply
entrenched cultural mode of religion as a communal and/or fa-

milial activity which alarms so many close kin of the U.C. re-
cruits.'

<p style="text-align: right">Beckford, 1985,p.104.</p>

Recruits are often encouraged by the movements involved not to discuss their new beliefs with any outsiders, including their family and friends. This aspect of many NRMs has been developed for a variety of reasons, including the anxiety of well established members that new recruits may be swayed by the 'unfounded' beliefs of outsiders that their groups are not to be trusted, and so on. A 'catch 22' situation often occurs in so far as parents become anxious when their offspring refuse to discuss their new religion, thereby promoting various responses in these 'outsiders' which prove unfavourable to the NRMs. This in turn encourages these movements to warn future members against outside discussion, and so on. The mass media, influenced by anti-cultists, play a crucial role in this scenario. (Beckford, 1981.)

To summarize the discussions so far, the composition of the membership of most NRMs sets them apart from their 19th century predecessors, with the people attracted to these groups tending to be caucasian, middle class, well educated, single, and in particular young adults - all qualities which cause the groups that they have joined to be thrust into the limelight. Because of the characteristics of the membership, NRMs may effectively be shown to be a threat by the anti-cult movement in particular, a constituency which in itself is made up mainly of parents of people involved in the NRMs. If whole families were being recruited (as in the early Mormon movement, for example), there might be much less opposition to the groups because close kin would not be so adversely affected by the choice of recruits.

If we turn to the *organized* sources of opposition to NRMs, it is clear that the brainwashing scenario has enjoyed special favour because of its potential for explaining apparently sudden changes of outlook and identity in cult recruits.

It also provides a rational for the practive of 'deprogramming' or methodically breaking a person's religious commitments which have allegedly been made as a result of deception and manipulation.

The first anti-cult organization was FREECOG (Free the Children of God), founded in San Diego, California in 1972. Among its founders was Ted 'Black Lightning' Patrick, who developed the practice of 'deprogramming'. This group formulated a stereotype of what happens in all the 'cults', a stereotype which was successfully applied to NRMs, and even to certain Christian Charismatic and Pentecostal Churches. That stereotype included the depiction of these movements as being led by an authoritarian 'guru', the presence of brainwashing in conversion, sexual and/or economic exploitation of new members, food and sleep deprivation, and estrangement of recruits from families.

In comparison with the intensity of anti-cult campaigns in France, West Germany and the States, there has been little in the way of a formal response to NRMs on behalf of 'related' organisations in the U.K. The leaders of political parties, Trade Unions, youth movements and student associations, for example, have been largely silent on this topic, although in some cases there has been a very localized response to some groups. In this way the topic of NRMs may not be seen to have entered into the wider debate about 'youth problems'. (Beckford, 1985.)

The two main anti-cult organizations existing in Britain are FAIR (Family Action Information and Rescue), and the Deo Gloria Trust. The former is manned primarily by relatives of members of various 'cults'. The latter is a multi-purpose organization of evangelical Christians which became almost accidentally involved in trying to extricate members from the Children of God. It has adopted a rather low profile in anti-cult circles since the early 1980s. Thus, FAIR is the more visible and active organization despite a number of internal problems concerning policy and image. FAIR describes its role as follows; 'We are anti-deception, anti-exploitation and against the splitting up of families.

But we have no religious axe to grind, and cult members are not enemies but somebody's children, people in great need of caring concern.' (FAIR News.)

Being voluntary associations, the groups depend upon donations for finance, and therefore rely upon the good will of various individuals in this sphere. The nature of their campaign also demands a favourable response by the general public, an objective helped along greatly by the backing of the mass media.

FAIR's main services include the collection, analysis and distribution of information about NRMs by newsletters, meetings and personal contacts. It also intervenes on request in a conciliatory role with NRM members or ex-members (or a relative or friend of a member), as well as participating in public debates, public relations activities and political lobbying. In the mid-1980s FAIR was taken over by what one might term the more 'hard line' members of the group, and it will therefore be interesting to observe how FAIR will develop in the future especially now that the Home Office and various mainstream religious bodies agreed in 1987 to fund a more conciliatory organization (INFORM) to mediate between NRMs and their critics.

In August 1985 a new organization announced its arrival, with 'Cultists Anonymous' adopting its name from the successful 'Alcoholics Anonymous'. This group offers a 24 hour telephone service to members of cults who may wish to talk to someone outside their religious community. Cultists Anonymous may be seen to have heightened the dramatic quality of its operations by emphasizing the indispensability of anonymity to safeguard its members from alleged 'reprisals' by the cults. Little is known about this group except that it is staffed by ex-cultists and prefers to keep out of the public gaze. Leaders of some NRMs have criticized it for allegedly favouring cloak-and-dagger practices leading to coercive deprogramming.

The source of the anti-cult associations' greatest support has often been said to be the mass media. This was explained in terms of the 'newsworthiness' of stories presented by anti-cultists, plus the fact that media representatives tended

to share the same set of cultural assumptions and biases as did the families of members of the NRMs. Shupe and Bromley (1980) outlined the factors which contributed to what became a wave of anti-cult articles (in the U.S.). Firstly, once cults became a 'story', every major publication appealing to potentially interested individuals published a relevant expose of cults. Most of the stories about NRMs in the U.S. tended to be in local newspapers, and this led Shupe and Bromley to stress the low level of resources available to journalists and the consequent lack of substantial research. The third factor was the pressure on individual journalists to produce dramatic and lurid stories as a result of pressure emanating from editors, colleagues, and potential 'customers'.

Shupe and Bromley reiterated the fact that most of what people 'knew' about NRMs was obtained through stories reported by the mass media, and for this reason the overwhelmingly negative quality of such reporting was seen to have a noticeable impact on the public at large. This was echoed in Beckford's (1985) belief that:

'The number of mass media reports favourable to NRMs in Britain
has been extremely small. Newspapers, in particular, have given
almost free reign to moral entrepreneurs and moral crusaders
wishing to stir up distrust of NRMs. A sense of balance and
objectivity has been conspicuously lacking in all but a few ar-
ticles or programmes.'

Beckford, 1985,p.239.

It must be added, however, that neither Shupe and Bromley nor Beckford conducted a methodical analysis of large enough samples of mass-media accounts of NRMs. Their information was derived from limited sources and was more illustrative than analytical. This criticism assumes further importance in the

light of some of the findings from Richardson and van Driel's (1987) research into American print media accounts of NRMs.

This main argument of this Chapter was that sociological discussions of NRMs have tended to pay inadequate attention to the contribution of the mass media towards the movements' predominantly controversial image. This is considered to be an important weakness in many of the available studies because it indicates that they have failed to ask pertinent questions about the dynamics of public responses to the movements. These responses are felt to be central to a sociological understanding of the conditions affecting the growth and/or decline of NRMs.

Chapter Two will attempt to bridge this gap to some extent through a review of some of the more important theories centrally concerned with the portrayal of deviance in the mass media. It is hoped that this discussion will outline further theoretical reasons for investigating in more depth the social processes whereby NRMs have been defined as controversial.

Endnotes:

(1) Anti-cult movements figure prominently in this relaying of information about cults, putting forward their own version of events. Journalists also pick up information from other publications (partly due to the lack of time and resources for valuable investigative journalism), and in this way the whole phenomenon is perpetuated in an interesting way.

(2) The concept of brainwashing was developed in the 1950s, with initial attention being focused on the treatment of U.S. prisoners of war in Korea, whose susceptibility to Chinese Communist propaganda provoked concern. In the 1970s several issues brought this theory back into the limelight, including the case of Patty Hearst and the U.S. hostages in Iran. These cases helped to develop the view that brainwashing was a serious threat, opening up the possibility of NRMs being classified in these terms.

(3) The First Amendment of the American Constitution and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms guarantee the right of every (U.S.) individual to believe in any religion that he may choose. Because of this facet of modern law, it is in the interests of so-called 'deprogrammers' to insist that their subjects did not in actuality freely *choose* to believe whatever it is that they say they believe. In this way, deprogrammers and counsellors are likely to claim that they can always deprogramme a member.

Chapter 2

The Mass Media and Images of Deviance.

i.   Theoretical Perspectives.

From a review of the literature centrally concerned with NRMs in the last chapter it was concluded that the topic of cults in modern Western societies has aroused much interest in the public realm. It was argued that this interest is due in part to the extensive reporting of the phenomenon by the mass media. It is therefore essential to review the sociological literature on the relationship between the mass media and images of deviance. In this way insights into the social construction of moral panics will be used to fill in some of the perceived gaps in the sociological theories of deviant religion. Parallels will be drawn between various facets of the deviance studies and specific coverage of the so-called 'cults'. The aim is to produce a rounded picture of the phenomenon, although it must be emphasised that for my present purposes only a relatively small selection of theories of deviance will be reviewed.

A good place to start is Karl Marx's observation that:

'Up till now it has been taught that the growth of Christian
myths during the Roman Empire was possible only because print-
ing was not yet invented. Precisely the contrary. The daily
press and the telegraph, which in a moment spread inventions
over the whole earth, fabricate more myths....in one day than
could have formerly been done in a century.'

Marx, 1871.

This quotation highlights the beginning of an important debate within the
study of deviance, reporting, and public perceptions of deviance, from which
much research has emanated in recent years. Studies specifically focused on the
phenomenon of the mass media and images of deviance include the association
between crime, reporting and public assimilation of information; the dynamics of
moral panics; the role of rumour in society; the 'uses and gratification' approach
to the media; the ideology of crime waves; and the effects on culture that the
media produce. This body of research has helped both to define and expand a
fruitful field in the sociology of deviance, illuminating an interesting and vital
area concerning the ways in which public perceptions of events are shaped,
validated and perpetuated. A selective review of this literature is therefore
essential to any successful assessment of both the media response to NRMs and
the significance of this response in shaping peoples' understandings of these
controversial groups.

Tomatsu Shibutani (1966) directed his attention in particular to rumour in
society. While discussing the role that rumour plays in the process of under-
standing events, he insisted that:

'Societies, no matter how stable they may appear, are on-going
things. The world is in a state of continuous flux, and as

life conditions change, knowledge must keep pace. Crisis situations arise whenever new events are incomprehensible in terms of established assumptions. Existing expectations are violated; new sensitivities arise; and new ideas emerge to be tested. In order that they may continue to act in association with one another men must alter their orientations together. Thus, the emergence of new hypotheses and their acceptance as part of a modified outlook is a social process.'

<div align="right">

Shibutani, 1966,p.182.

</div>

It is in this light that we may review the work of David Glover (1984), as he looks specifically at the sociology of the mass media and the way in which images are formed and validated, setting out a broad historical outline of research within this sphere. The earliest studies were based on the idea that the effects of the media upon our lives were very simple and direct, with the mere portrayal of criminality, for example, being enough to stimulate a rise in deviant behaviour among a vulnerable audience. Glover calls this the hypodermic syringe model, due to the simplicity of the images portrayed. These ideas were formulated in the 1920's and were based on the portrayal of crime in cinema films. Despite the popularity of these ideas at the time, Glover shows that the evidence has proved to be inconclusive. Some remnants of this theory may still be found in public discussions of the media, however, and are often resurrected during debates surrounding the levels of violence on television, to give one example. It is notable that such debates do not extend to the coverage of cults in the media, as this topic appears in the guise of factual 'news'.

Glover goes on to discuss the two step flow model of Katz and Lazarsfeld. Their research heralded a new paradigm in theorizing about the mass media, and may be seen in part to be a reaction against the simplistic model of the 'hypodermic syringe'. The authors felt that the media were important in the

shaping of attitudes, yet they also pinpointed a section of the populace whom they call 'opinion leaders', stating that it is this minority who are susceptible to the imagery generated in the press, television, and radio, and that through them the effects of the media were transmitted. This process was not seen as automatic, however, and the theorists emphasized the role of personal decisions made by opinion leaders as a result of their greater exposure to the media than non-leaders. In practice the link between exposure and decision was quite complex.

Glover criticizes this model by highlighting the difficulty, first of all, of dividing audiences into active and passive members, and secondly by criticizing the unnecessary simplifications of the process of influence. Other criticisms include the limited view of 'power' held by the authors, the fact that the concentration of newspaper ownership in fewer and fewer hands (and the domination that this might entail) was ignored; and the limitations of the theory which emanate from the focus on short term changes alone.

The third theory examined by Glover is what he calls the 'uses and gratification' approach. Although there are several versions of this theory, all of them start from the view that human beings purposefully strive to shape their lives in accordance with the needs which they have. A complex psychological make-up is usually assumed, with lower level needs for safety and security, and higher level needs for love, acceptance and self-realization. It is the latter which are seen to figure most prominently in people's relation to the mass media.

Glover outlines criticisms of this model on three main levels. The danger of losing the social dimension completely in the wake of the psychological viewpoint is stressed, as are activities such as the casual watching of television (in an effort to show that not all interactions with the media are purposeful). Lastly, the popularity of programmes, rather than the needs of people alone, is shown by the author to affect the size of the audiences.

More recent work within the field of media influence has led to a re-thinking of the nature of effects, and may be categorized under the umbrella heading of 'cultural effects theory'. According to Glover:

'This approach assumes that the media can have important effects on their audiences. However, these effects are not the immediate changes of opinion studied by earlier researchers, but rather the slow, cumulative build-up of beliefs and values through which we understand the world.'

Glover, 1984,p.14

Exponents of this approach do not look at media images in isolation: they also look at the social situation of their audience. Thus, the cultural effects theory seeks to bring together both the methods by which meanings are created by the media, and the ways in which these meanings relate differentially to the cultures of particular groups. This theory has particular relevance to the interpretation of NRMs in the print media and the effects of this on peoples' subsequent perceptions of them. Chapter Four elaborates upon this theme, but suffice it is to say here that journalists tend to promote a consistent image of these groups. Although the question of how this image is assimilated by the public is not broached in the present work, it must be acknowledged that these theories have stimulated an interesting debate and that further research on this topic would be worthwhile.

Glover's own ideas on the topic of audience response were summarized as follows: 'The mass media have an important role in developing the labels by which social problems are publicly recognised.' (1984,p.14.) Glover feels that such problems are typically conveyed to us in dichotomous terms, as a conflict between forces of good and evil. The result of this common imagery is that the social problems represented by modern 'folk- devils' becomes magnified out of

all proportion. This idea complements the notion, introduced in the previous chapter, that the 'normal' is created by means of boundary maintenance devices. It was hypothesised that the topic of NRMs is often used to legitimate the idea of the 'normal' person.

The term 'folk-devils' is derived directly from the work of Stanley Cohen, in particular in his book entitled 'Moral Panics and Folk Devils' (1980). Although primarily about the 'moral panic' surrounding the clash of the Mods and Rockers in 1963, Cohen's book also examined the role of the mass media in generating moral panics and defining social problems. A similar approach may be adapted to the upsurge of NRMs in the west over the last 20 years and to the reactions of both journalists and the public to these groups.

According to Cohen:

'Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods
of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of per-
sons emerges to become defined as a threat to social values and
interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotyp-
ical fashion by the mass media; the moral barracks are manned
by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking peo-
ple; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnosis and
solutions, ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted
to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates
and becomes more visible. Sometimes the object of the panic is
quite novel and at other times it is something which has been
in existence long enough, but suddenly it appears in the lime-
light. Sometimes the panic passes over and is forgotten, ex-
cept in folk-lore and collective memory; at other times it has
more serious and long-lasting repercussions and might produce

such changes as those in legal and social policy or even in the way the society conceives itself.'

Cohen, 1980,p.9.

In this way Cohen emphasises that there is a cycle in the presentation of media images of deviance and that they subsequently influence the society in question. He goes on to say:

'In the gallery of types that society erects to show its members which roles should be avoided and which should be emulated, these groups mods and rockers have occupied a constant position as folk devils: visible reminders of what we should not be.'

Cohen, 1980,p.10.

Cohen therefore feels that the student of deviance should no longer take for granted the process of labelling that is undertaken by society or certain powerful groups within it. He therefore accepts the arguments of Howard Becker and Edwin Lemert (1), that definitional questions must at all times be added to those of the behavioural type. In this way the media are identified as agents of moral indignation in their own right, '...even if they are not self-consciously engaged in crusading or muck-raking, their very reporting of certain "facts" can be sufficient to generate concern, anxiety, indignation or panic.' (Cohen, 1980,p.16.)

Cohen's argument is that when such feelings coincide with a perception that particular values need to be protected, the preconditions for new rule creation or social problem definition are present. Although this is a straightforward concept, Cohen is at pains to show that, despite the presence of this climate of opinion, the outcome might not be as conclusive as the actual creation of new rules or the

more rigid enforcement of existing ones. Instead, he feels that what might result is a form of 'moral passage', in which there is a change in the public designation of deviance. Following Gusfield, Cohen cites one example of the way in which the problem drinker changes from 'repentant' to 'enemy' to 'sick'. Parallels can also be drawn here with the treatment of NRMs and their members in the British press and the public response to these groups. Roy Wallis (1976), for example, cites the work of Cohen at some length in his discussion of Scientology.

Another effect of the media is said to be the creation of feelings of anxiety. Cohen states that such 'vague feelings' are crucial in laying the ground for further moral enterprise and cites the work of Jock Young who has shown how, in the case of illegal drug-taking, the media play on the normative concerns of the public, thrusting certain moral directives into the universe of discourse and thereby accentuating social problems both suddenly and dramatically. This potential is deliberately exploited by those whom Howard Becker calls 'moral entrepreneurs', to aid them in their attempt to win public support.

Becker (1974) elaborates upon his pioneering labelling theory. He indicates that in the early stages of Cohen's 'moral panic' some person or group perceives a certain topical condition as being a potential threat to their values. Widespread concern develops gradually after the 'instigators' of the panic point out the situation to others, and convince them that it is also their problem. Enough support is thereby established for institutions to be formed and charged with the responsibility of monitoring, controlling and eradicating the undesired condition. At this stage an offical agency usually assumes responsibility for taking care of the 'problem' (as the livelihoods of officials often depend on this) by repeatedly redefining the situation as problematic to various segments of society. Cases, information and data are generated by the agencies, ensuring that there is a continuous process of valuation and public definition of 'problematic conditions'.

This theoretical framework is relevant to cult controversies, as the anti-cult movement is of central importance in the perpetuation of this 'problem'. Being

the chief providers of information on NRMs for journalists, these groups directly shape the image of cults that is presented through this medium of communication. Once a story is 'on file', journalists tend to refer back to it every time a new incident merits reporting, and in this way a dossier on the cults is built up. Restrictions upon time and money mean that crude but clear images of cults are presented, often without substantial investigation. The personal views of the reporters involved may also have an effect upon the stories presented (Shupe and Bromley 1980), and once more the versions provided by anti-cult bodies may be seen to be effective.

Bearing the theories of both Young and Becker in mind, Cohen goes on to outline the media responses to the clashes of the Mods and Rockers in 1963 by summarizing the cumulative effect of the inventory in four main stages. Firstly, the initial deviation is identified, from which further 'stereotyping, myth making and labelling' could then proceed. Secondly, the expectation is created that this form of deviation would occur again before, thirdly, wholly negative symbolization in regard to the Mods, Rockers and objects associated with them can be created. Lastly, all of the elements in the situation are made clear, so much so that 'full scale demonology' may develop, and the target groups are thus made into 'folk devils'.

One of the main distinguishing features of Cohen's theory is his suggestion that, in addition to the ordinary deviation amplification sequence (initial deviance, societal reaction, increase in deviance, increase in reaction, and so on), a similar process is at work within the reaction itself. This is indicated during the moral panic, by the occurrence within the control culture of such pressures as sensitization, diffusion, escalation, dramatization and exploitation. These are seen by Cohen to be parasitic upon each other, as were the different groups of reactors. One example of this process is the fact that the media react not so much to the deviance but to what the magistrates said the deviance was. Cohen feels that in this way the reactors amplify the situation almost independently

from the deviance. Once more, parallels may be drawn with the media coverage of anti-cult bodies, Parliamentary debates about NRMs, legal cases in the 'cult' sphere, the attitudes of parents of young people in the movements, and so on. Would-be agents of control over NRMs typically have difficulty in maintaining contact with the movements, so they are forced to 'joust' with their popular images instead. This sometimes results in 'stories' in the press which are not much more than reports of anti-cultists' reactions to earlier 'stories'.

Another facet of Cohen's theory that may be picked out and loosely applied to the situation of NRMs is the observation that was made on the format of social reaction. He felt that social reaction in general, and the inventory in particular, reinforced and magnified a predisposition to expect trouble, as well as providing the context for rumours and the milling process, thereby structuring the objects of observation into potential or actual deviance. In Cohen's words, '...such rumours and images facilitated deviance by solidifying the crowd and validating its moods and actions.' (1980, p.175.) In addition, a set of culturally identifiable symbols are seen to be created which further structure the situation and legitimate action.

Foreshadowing the work of Cohen, Erikson felt that, '...a considerable portion of what we call "news" is devoted to reports about deviant behaviour and consequences.' (1966,p.164.) He denied, however, that this was just for entertainment or to fulfil some psychological need for either identification or vicious punishment. Such 'news', as Erikson has argued, is a main source of information about the normative contours of a society. It informs us about right and wrong, about the boundaries of the 'normal' (beyond which one should not venture), and about 'the shapes that the devil can assume'. The workings of the media in relation to NRMs have been shown to conform with this model (Beckford, 1979).

Steve Chibnall (1977) reinforces this point in his analysis of crime reporting in the British press. He emphasises the fact that :

'Newspapers and television do not merely monitor the events of
the real world; they construct representations and accounts of
reality which are shaped by the constraints imposed upon them:
constraints emanating from the conventions, ideologies, and or-
ganization of journalism and new bureaucracies.'

<div align="right">**Chibnall, 1977.p.205.**</div>

Chibnall argues that media representations create preconceptions and new
situations which are then negotiated by participants to fit them. He feels that
newspapers do not necessarily distort reality in random ways but rather 'trans-
form the world of life in a systematic fashion.' (1977,p.207.) According to
Chibnall:

'Newspaper fiction is not the antithesis of factual reality,

it is a distortion of that reality, pulled and puckered out

of shape by the interests and the everyday practices of news-

men and their informants. As a distortion of reality it is far

more persuasive than mere fiction.'

<div align="right">**Chibnall, 1977,p.206**</div>

To anticipate some of the findings from Chapter Four, it will be shown that
a notion such as 'brainwashing' has been quite extensively used in print-media
accounts of NRMs' recruitment practices. It is a suggestive and highly charged
notion which does, however, bear just enough relation to the reported experience
of some cult recruits to appear plausible. But it also distorts that experience
by making it fit into a powerful image deployed by journalists who write about
brainwashing in NRMs and can therefore be said to 'take a short cut' in the
search for a good story by trying to make events conform with a convenient,

but unclear, model. In doing so, they may exercise considerable influence, for according to Chibnall:

'The news media are our central repositories of knowledge and, as such, exert a considerable influence over our perceptions of groups and life styles of which we have little first hand experience. They have the power to create issues and define boundaries of deviance ..... They provide interpretations, symbols of identification, collective values and myths which are able to transcend the cultural boundaries within a society like Britain.'

Chibnall, 1977,p.226.

The recognition that a phenomenon is deviant or problematic can occur in the course of a long-term process of cultural definition. According to Hubbard. DeFleur and DeFleur (1975) the media can have a special impact during what they term the 'emergent' and 'legitimizing' phases of social problems. The emergent stage would typically involve persons or groups lobbying for attention and support from politicians, social agencies, the media and others. Through group activities and social exchanges, public awareness of the conditions is thought to increase, and shared definitions of them begin to be formulated. Judgements are then made that there are objectionable conditions needing correction, and some type of ameliorative action is urged. This occasionally results in no further action being sought, as the conditions in question are felt not to warrant it. By contrast, a problem may be given wide recognition and then be legitimized.

During the legitimation phase there is usually considerable consensus that the condition in question constitutes something about which people should be concerned. In these cases an institutionalized stage may occur, once an unofficial social machinery is established to alleviate the problem. In the institutionalized

stage bureaucratic vested interests may act to maintain the social problem as a rationale for their continued existence, and social problems become part of a society in the form of more or less permanent 'cultural definitions and organizational structures. (See also Kituse and Spector, 1975). This approach is therefore of relevance to any research into the influence of the media on the development of social values, and the responses of the media to defined 'social problems' at different stages of their development. Hubbard and his colleagues come to the conclusion that:

' ...it could be argued that media coverage of social problems not only creates an awareness of these problems, but also a sense that something is being done about them... since news of actual events is in short supply, there is a continuing need for 'pseudo-events', to fill the front page or the newscast.'

Hubbard *et al,.* **1975, p.3.**

Chapter Four will examine the evidence from Britain concerning the role of the print-media in defining NRMs as a social problem and in legitimating remedial action. But it needs to be made clear at this stage that the evidence does not lend itself entirely to the interpretive model offered by Hubbard *et al.* In particular, the print media appear to be much more active in defining this problem than in seeking or promoting remedies. A question mark must therefore be raised against any simplistic assertion that journalists are necessarily as clear-sighted, instrumental or manipulative as some models of the processes of mass-communication seem to imply. It is probably safer merely to agree with Ball-Rokeach (1974) that many people are dependent upon the media for discovering what is happening in the world around them because the media have vast information resources, and by utilizing them they may have a number of indirect effects on their audiences. Ball-Rokeach feels that in this way the media

can play a role in setting action and cognitive agendas for people, in initiating attitude formulation about certain topics or events, and in the formation and development of significant public issues.

This view accords well with Roshier's argument about the influence of the selection of crime news on public perceptions of crime and criminals. He came to the conclusion that, '....it is at least plausible that the selective portrayal of crime in the mass media plays an important part in shaping public definitions of the "crime problem" and hence also its "official definition".' (1981,p.28). Roshier therefore felt that the newspapers gave a distorted impression of the relative frequency of different types of crime and that this distortion was in the direction of an over-representation of more serious offences (or offences of serious topical concern, as in the case of the controversy surrounding NRMs). He also found that these distortions show a remarkable consistency both over time and between newspapers, with several features making stories particularly newsworthy. The seriousness of the offence plus the involvement of famous or high status people in any capacity influence the appearance of certain stories in the press, as do what Roshier calls 'whimsical' circumstances that were often felt to surround these groups. 'Sentimental' type stories were included in this field with parents making pleas to their children, and the theme of the 'break-up of families' being played upon. This has been a major aspect of the framework within which the British print-media have accounted for NRMs.

In his analysis Roshier also suggests that the press does use the considerable power at its disposal to keep alive, direct and to some extent exaggerate the problem as it is perpetuated over time, with the same themes occurring again and again. It is emphasised that people tend to use the mass media selectively in such a way as to reinforce the existing views that they hold, and again this may be seen to be important in the field of NRMs, as certain images of 'cults' have gained precedence in society thanks both to the media and to the anti-cult agencies. But attitudes are seen partly to reflect the 'official' picture of crime

that is held by society, rather than the media view of crime alone, and in this way Roshier rejects the simple deterministic conception of the effects of the mass media suggested by some early theorists in this field. This is in accordance with the findings of Beckford's (1982) research on the families of Unification Church members and ex-members, namely, that the mass media are (at least initially) the *main* source of information on this and other movements, and in this way print media articles may be seen to play a definitional role. But there are also other sources of information which may conflict with the print-media accounts, for example, ministers of religion and medical practitioners.

In analysing crime waves Mark Fishman highlights another interesting facet of the reporting of events in general which has a bearing on print-media accounts of NRMs. According to Fishman:

'....journalists' methods for detecting events and determining faciticity are integrally tied to burearctatic idealizations of the world. Such methods lead the journalist to present an ideological view of the existing social and political order because newswork is predicted on the assumption that bureaucracies function properly..... Routine journalism communicates an ideological view of the world. What newsworkers end up reporting is not what actually happens, not what is actually experienced by participants or observers of news events. Instead, the journalist winds up weaving a story around hard data, which means the bureaucratically defined events that agency officials mean to happen and need to happen.'

<div align="right">Fishman, 1980, pp139, 155</div>

In addition to this idea, Fishman puts forward the view that crime waves begin as crime themes that journalists perceive in the process of organising and

selecting news to be presented to the public. He feels that because journalists depend on one another for their sense of "what's news", a crime theme can spread throughout a community of news organizations, and as each news organization sees the theme presented by other organizations, they learn to use the theme and present it in their news.

Evidence will be presented in Chapter Four to show that many print media items ostensibly about NRMs are actually about the involvement of journalists in investigations of NRMs or legal boundary disputes with them. In other words, the mass media have a tendency to feed off one another and thereby to keep certain themes on the public agenda.

It is one thing to observe the impact of mass-media on the definition of what is to count as news; but it is quite another to claim that they actually choose to favour one particular version of reality over possible competitor realities. Molotch and Lester (1981), for example, attempt to explain the relationship between different kinds of news and how it is that news needs of people differently situated in the organization of journalism produce the social and political 'knowledge' of the public. The authors see the media as reflecting not a world 'out there', but the practices of those having the power to determine the experiences of others. Molotch and Lester do not therefore look for reality in the media. Instead, they look for the purposes of creating one reality instead of another. They feel that for the public to read the newspaper uncritically selecting topics of study, is to accept as reality the political network by which events are constituted by those who happen to hold power currently. The crux of this theory is that it is only through accidents, and, secondly, in scandals, that the routine political work is transcended to some significant degree, thereby allowing access to information which may be directly hostile to those groups who typically manage public event making. But Molotch and Lester may be criticized for suggesting that it is possible to define a 'world of real events' in juxtaposition to

a world of news reporting. Their argument relies heavily upon the questionable assumption that there is a world out there 'to be objective about.'

Similar criticisms can be levelled at the Glasgow University Media Group's definition of news media as '...the cultural arm of the industrial order from which they sprang' (1976 p.15.) And the same problem arises in relation to Stuart Hall's (1981) claim that news is not merely a cultural product but is also the product of a set of institutional definitions and meanings which is commonly referred to as 'news values'. In this way it is argued that journalism's basic model of society is that of a democratic consensus where a considerable measure of agreement occurs over the legitimate nature of the existing political and economic agreements.

Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (1981) discuss Hall's proposition about the journalistic paradigm and suggest that this framework might well be useful for many events, but that problems and contradictions arise when the media are asked to explain these groups and phenomena which explicitly deny the consensual world view. The authors give as examples Black Power, the New Left, and the Women's Movement, and we could add NRMs to this list. In these cases, state Cohen and Young, the media adopt an analysis (and implicitly a mode of selection) which diffuses the reality of alternative conceptions of social order. It does not allow such phenomena an integrity of their own, but instead characterizes them as 'meaningless', 'immature', or 'senseless', as involving a misunderstanding of reality rather than an alternative interpretation of its nature.

In examining the roots of the consensual paradigm theory which developed in mass media analysis during the 1960s and 1970s, Young (1981), claims that the image of consensus is a mystification foisted upon the public, as reality for Young is seen to consist of conflicting definitions of what is normal and deviant. The key characteristics of the consensual paradigm are seen to be a rational, voluntaristic notion of human action, a notion of society held together

by a mystification directly functional to the ruling class, and the coercive nature of reality hidden beneath the surface of consensual appearances. Young has introduced the notion of the active subject struggling to make sense of this world, generating both the desire for news and the accommodative culture. The mass media is seen in this way as being a central agency in this process, and Young stresses that it is in this context that we must understand news.

This statement is a valuable acknowledgement that the selection of what is to count as news is far from being a simple matter of ideological bias or social class interests. Rather, the reality is more complex and inconsistent. Chapter Four will confirm the usefulness of this interpretation by displaying the varied content of British print media accounts of NRMs.

ii.   Conclusions.

Sociological research into the mass media of communication has shown that their *direct* effects on the opinion of individual consumers are elusive and possibly fleeting. By contrast, there is a wealth of evidence in support of the arguments that, firstly, the media enjoy the power to frame the terms in which opinion is formed by setting the public agenda, and, secondly, the media are selectively used by consumers to confirm or reinforce their pre-existing ideas. The development of public controversies therefore owes much to the ways in which journalists mould them. This is evident in the importance attached by the leaders of NRMs and anti-cult movements to monitoring and influencing print media accounts of cult controversies. The character of these accounts is a major aspect of the public response to NRMs.

The main argument of Chapter One was that sociological discussions of NRMs have tended to pay inadequate attention to the contribution of the mass media towards the movements' predominantly controversial image. (2) This is considered to be an important weakness in many of the available studies because it indicates that they have failed to ask pertinent questions about the dynamics

of public responses to the movements. These responses are, in turn, considered central to a sociological understanding of the conditions affecting the growth and/or decline of NRMs.

This chapter examined sociological discussions of the processes whereby the mass media may influence the terms in which deviance, social problems and public controversies are framed. It was argued that, for a variety of reasons associated with moral concerns, the economics of the mass media, news values and ideological interests, journalists are often key actors in the identification, definition, and sanctioning of perceived departures from public norms and mores.

If the theoretical insight from the two chapters are combined, a number of questions arise about the mass media's portrayal of NRMs. This project was designed specifically to answer some of these questions by means of an empirical investigation. In order to strengthen the empirical foundation of the project, it was decided to concentrate exclusively on British media and, in particular, to conduct a content analysis of selected print media publications. This decision was imposed partly by limitations of time and other resources and partly by the wish to make the results comparable with those of an American project. As a result, this study can make no claims to exhaustiveness or definitiveness but it can certainly claim to make a positive contribution to debates in both the sociology of NRMs and the sociological study of the mass media and deviance.

In the light of Chapters One and Two, we may see that NRMs are both an interesting and controversial topic, especially if viewed from the angle of the mass media. Precise questions now need to be asked about how the media portray NRMs, whether this portrayal is completely negative, or whether it is in fact varied. The level of support in the media for anti-cult groups is also of interest here, as the treatment that the mass media gives to these groups helps both to create general impressions about these bodies themselves and to illustrate important facets of NRMs. The content of articles about NRMs is also important, with certain topics appearing more controversial than others. The volume of

articles published concerning both individual NRMs and the control group of non-controversia minority religious groups also tells us important information about the movements. From this information a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon in hand may be constructed. Lastly, comparisons between this study and work conducted in other countries (in particular in the U.S.) will be useful in analysing broader cultural questions. Through an examination of the results gained through this empirical investigation of the press reaction to NRMs in the Chapter Four an insight will be gained into these fundamental questions. The next chapter will discuss the methods employed in the empirical investigation of British print media accounts of NRMs.

Endnotes:

(1) Interaction and labelling theory originated in the 1960s in America and was fairly popular until the 1970s in both the United States and Britain. Variously called 'social control theory', 'social reaction theory' and 'labelling theory,' this body of theorists attempted and executed an attack on the positivist and determinist stance in criminology.

The ultimate preconception of the labelling theorists is with the way in which being labelled by a social audience, or by an agency of control, can change one's conception of self. This, in turn, may possibly lead to a situation where even if there was no initial commitment to deviation, there could be a progressive turn to such a course of action. In this way the process of self control is seen as often leading to a 'negative self image', (Erikson, 1966), or to a 'symbolic reorganization of self' (Lemert, 1972), where one comes to see one's self as deviant and progressively to act out such deviancy.

In Howard Becker's (1964) formulation the crux of the matter is the re-assertion of 'the connections between the study of deviance and the growth of sociological theory and method.' (p.8) He feels that the traditional writings in the sphere of deviance ignore the central facts within the phenomenon of crime,

and his much quoted work provides a catechism of the 'labelling theory'. He states:

'...deviance is created by society...social groups create de-
viance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes de-
viance and by applying those rules to particular people and la-
belling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance
is not a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a con-
sequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions
of an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has
been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that
people so label.'

1963,pp8-9.

Critics of this approach include Akers (1967), Matza (1964), Mankoff (1971), Pollner (1975), Pearson (1975), and Taylor, Walton and Young (1973).

(2) Exceptions include Meher Baba, Youth for Christ, Campus Crusade, and Navigators. These movements are exceptional in the double sense that (a) they have escaped the attention of writers for the publications sampled in the present research, and (b) they are not regarded as controversial in the U.S.A. where accounts of their activities have occasionally appeared in the press.

Chapter 3

Methodology.

i. Content Analysis as a Methodological Approach.

The research conducted in the present study follows the widely accepted research method of 'content analysis'. The first part of this chapter reviews some of the debates surrounding content analysis in general. The second part concentrates upon the relevance of this methodological design to the present study of print media accounts of NRMs. I do not intend to discuss the technical aspects of content analysis in full, (see Holsti, 1963; Budd et al, 1967; Danielson and Mullen, 1965; and Krippendorf, 1980 for a more detailed review of the method); instead I wish to review the methodology with a specific view to the utilization of these methods in the present work.

Content analysis is a multipurpose research method which has been developed with the specific aim of investigating any problem in which the concept of communication serves as the basis of inference. It provides systematic and quantitative descriptions of the manifest content of communication by transforming this information into data that can be summarized and compared, a process achieved in turn through the application of categorization rules. In this way, content analysis has evolved into a scientific method that promises to yield informative inferences from essentially verbal, symbolic or communicative data. David Hays captures the essence and drive of this system of research succinctly when he states:

'The analysis of content is a central topic in all of the sciences dealing with man. The capacity for speech is man's most striking characteristic, and language is bound up with rational thought, the emotions, and all of the distinctively human parts of man's internal life...Rightly viewed, content analysis is a core problem in the study of man, and to work at solving it could alter the social and behavioural sciences in fundamental ways.'

Sociology may therefore be seen to benefit directly from the use of content analysis in research, although care is needed in the application of this technique. Allegations of subjectivity and bias have been levelled by some at theorists who use this method of research, while the static nature of study has also been criticized. One example of this former criticism is that any reading of articles necessarily involves individual subjective decisions as to the form of content. Decisions concerning the tenor of an item may be singled out here in particular, as individuals may come to differing conclusions. Later on in this Chapter I discuss the tests performed in an effort to monitor 'inter-coder reliability', but suffice it is to say here that checks have been made in this study along these lines. It is also important to note that in this particular area general impressions were deemed to be useful to the analysis, general impressions that are backed up by information supplied through the inclusion of far less subjective criteria such as the monitoring of metaphors and key words. One example of the latter criticism is that the motivations of journalists cannot successfully be gauged in the present study, thereby restricting any conclusions that may be drawn from the data provided. While this is indeed a valid comment concerning this research technique, it must be emphasised that although it would be beneficial to gain information on this aspect of media reaction to NRMs, it would require a completely different study to accomplish just that. The review of deviance literature based on studies of the mass media in Chapter two touched on the development of sociological thinking along these lines which must be borne in mind when reviewing the present research in the field. It is noted, however. that further research specifically on journalistic motivations concerning the reporting of NRMs would be productive. It must be emphasised at this present juncture that the present research is one small aspect of a much larger whole.

Despite their diversity, definitions of content analysis reveal broad agreement on the requirements of objectivity, system and generality. Objectivity stipulates that each step in the research process must be carried out on the basis of explicitly formulated rules and procedures, while the term 'systematic' points to the interpretation, inclusion and exclusion of content according to consistently applied rules. Lastly, generality requires that the findings must have theoretical relevance to a broader field of analysis, and in this way the work in hand becomes useful as it extends the boundaries of knowledge.

The content analyst is required to describe the conditions under which data are obtained, justify the analytical steps taken, and see to it that the process is not biased in the sense that it favours one kind of finding rather than another. Explicitness about the process is required so that others may evaluate the work, replicate the process, or qualify the findings. According to Krippendorf; 'A content analyst is obliged to make everything transparent..' (1980,p.180.)

Holsti (1969) locates data for content analysis in the context of communication between a sender and receiver, and he surveys studies in terms of three principal purposes. First of all, Holsti turns his attention to those pieces of work which describe characteristics of communication, asking 'what', 'how', and 'to whom' something is said. He then goes on to look at those studies which make inferences as to the antecedents of communication, asking why something is said, before lastly examining content analysis which makes inferences about the effects of communication, asking with what effects something is said. In this way Holsti's book identifies the range of material that may be approached specifically through content analysis research, as well as emphasizing both the benefits and draw backs of this method of study.

Comparisons underscore the basic framework of content analysis research, and three forms of this may be identified concerning texts. One application of this method is the comparison of messages over time from which the analyst may draw inferences about secular trends (for example the rise in interest amongst

the British mass media in NRMs and the implications that this has for society), while a second highlights situations as the important variable. Third, audiences may also be targeted for analysis, the proposition being that the character of audiences affects the content and style of communications.

Comparisons of communication content across time, situation or audience are labelled 'intermessage analysis'. In addition to these, a research design may also be based on the relationship of two or more variables within a single document, and 'contingency analysis' is one of the many techniques designed specifically for such cases. Studies within which the text is analysed in order to make inferences about the causes or antecedents of the message, and more specifically about the author, are distinguished from those in which inferences are made about the effects of messages (the decoding process) upon the recipient.

We may ascertain from this, therefore, that in any content analysis the task is to make inferences from data to certain aspects of their context and to justify those inferences in terms of the knowledge about the stable factors in the sphere of interest. It is by this process that data become recognised as symbolic or are rendered informative about something of importance to the analyst, in whatever field is being tackled. At this stage a theory of the relationships between the data and context is formulated so that the data appear as its independent variables and the target appears as its dependent variables, a process labelled an 'analytical construct'. In this way, rules of inference are provided, and so-called 'analytical constructs' serve as the logical bridge between available data and the uncertain target in their context.

The first task of any piece of empirical research is to decide what is to be observed, recorded, and thereafter considered a datum. 'Unitizing' involves defining these units, separating them along their boundaries, and identifying them for subsequent analysis. The smallest segment of content counted and scored in content analysis is the coding unit, which may be a word, sentence, theme, assertion, paragraph, item, character, group, object or institution. The nature

of the analysis must influence the format of the unit recorded. For example, in this study each newspaper article was coded as a separate entity, due partly to the size of the overall study and the volume of items analysed. Smaller coding units were also used, however, through the coding of metaphors (brainwashing, mind control and so on), and through the recording of key labelling words (for example 'sect' and 'cult'). Moving on from here, Budd and his colleagues maintain that; 'No content analysis is better than its categories, for a system or set of categories is, in essence, a conceptual scheme.' (1967,p.39)

These categories must ideally be appropriate, mutually exclusive, exhaustive, reflect the purposes of research, be independent and derived from a single classification principle so that the analysis may be successful. Content, form of content, type and form of statement, themes and intensity of message, may all serve as viable category frameworks.

. From this stage in the analysis decisions must be made about the path to be pursued concerning data collection and appraisal. Once the universe of relevant communication has been defined, it is often necessary for a process of sampling to be imposed upon all of the available information, a method guided by a 'sampling plan'. Some studies require only a single-stage sampling design, but a multi-stage sample is usually required, involving as many as three steps. In this latter method, selection of sources of communication may be followed by the sampling of documents, and then the process is repeated within documents themselves, although two of these stages may adequately fit the needs of the study. The process of analyzing print media accounts of NRMs over an eleven year period meant that although only four publications were coded, all of the relevant articles could be reviewed.

The findings of most content analysis studies are often expressed in terms of relative frequency of occurrence of some unit such as the column inch, item, theme, or key word. The choice of unit depends on the purpose of the study and the kind of content being analysed. The inclusion of key words and metaphors,

for example, in this present study is a useful indicator of the general tenor of print media coverage of NRMs.

In mass communication research, three indicators of measurement are important. First, the frequency with which a symbol, idea or subject matter occurs in a stream of messages tends to be interpreted as a measure of importance, attention and emphasis, and this facet of communication has been the framework for many studies. Second, the balance of favourable and unfavourable attitudes towards a symbol, idea, or subject matter tends to be interpreted as the direction or bias, and this has also structured research. Third, studies have looked at the kind of qualifications made about a symbol, idea or subject matter, and this in turn has tended to be interpreted as a measure of the intensity or strength of a belief, conviction or motivation.

Tests of direction are important in many studies involving content analyses, although objectivity is often difficult to maintain when dealing with this phenomenon. According to Budd:

'Determination of direction in content analysis is probably one of the most frustrating problems facing the researcher, because it is one area in which the element of subjectivity is difficult to control and impossible to eliminate entirely. At the same time, content analysis can be most productive when it is able to show direction - or the lack of it.'

Budd, 1967,p.50.

To be useful, definitions of direction must be broad enough in scope to cover almost every situation that might arise but not so general that they fail to provide the desired discrimination. Such definitions operate as a frame of reference within which the research can work.

After inferences have been made, the data must be summarised and reported so that interpretation of the results can take place. Patterns and relationships may now be outlined in an effort to test the relational hypotheses, and comparisons made with information from other sources. But it is important to add that problems of reliability and validity must be tackled at every stage. A *reliable* procedure should yield the same results from the same set of phenomena in any situation. To test *validity*, on the other hand, the results of the procedure must match what is known to be 'true' or assumed to be already valid. Reliability therefore sets limits to the potential validity of research results, yet reliability does not guarantee the validity of research results.

In the light of these considerations we may see that content analysis is an invaluable but not unproblematic tool for the social scientist, a tool which may be used to illuminate previously 'grey' areas of sociology as a whole. Bearing in mind Holsti's claim that: 'Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specific characteristics of messages,' (1969, p.14.) it may be inferred that this method of research is useful in the analysis of print media accounts of New Religious Movements. In the following section, this specific application of content analysis is discussed alongside the broader themes of analysis concerning print media accounts of NRMs.

ii. Methodology Employed in This Study.

All items about NRMs appearing in four British print media publications were subjected to content analysis in this study. The data cover the period between January 1975 and December 1985, and this time span has been subdivided into 22 smaller periods of 6 months in order to detect trends more easily. The basic guidelines contained in Holsti (1969) and Budd et al (1967) were followed for sample selection procedures, measurement, and the use of categories. The structure of this study was designed to replicate the work of van Driel (1987)

on the print media accounts of NRMs and some other minority religious groups in the U.S., thereby facilitating the construction of fruitful comparisons.

Four British publications were selected to match, as closely as possible, the same broad types of publication as had been used in the American research: *The Times*, the *Sunday Times*, the *Daily Mail* and *New Society*. It has been noted that these publications are nationally distributed in Britain (unlike van Driel's choice of the *New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times* and *San Fransisco Chronicle* plus a number of weekly publications.) Differences in the size of country and nature of publications must be borne in mind here, as it may be argued that the local press in Britain does not serve the same function as its American counterparts. The fact that three out of four of the chosen publications provided an index was also instrumental in the choice of these newspapers, a factor which also influenced van Driel. The *Daily Mail* was included in this study (despite its lack of index) due to the important influence of the libel trial brought against Associated Newspapers by the Unification Church on the perpetuation of cult controversies in the U.K.

This study does not claim to have applicability to all print media accounts of NRMs, as the results refer specifically to the selected publications only. (1) It is suggested that in future studies this limitation (produced by restrictions upon time) could be removed by the use of a bigger and more varied sample. It could be argued that the selected British publications are not, however, entirely unrepresentative of those publications which have shown an interest in NRMs.

For the sake of comparability, all items about exactly the same NRMs (and other religious groups) were coded for analysis in the two projects even though no items had appeared about some movements in the sampled British publications. The following seventeen groups were counted as NRMs for present purposes: The Unification Church, Scientology, Hare Krishna, Transcendental Meditation, the Divine Light Mission, the Children of God (currently known

as the Family of Love), Meher Baba, the Rajneesh Foundation, Centers Network, Ananda Marga, the Way International, the Jesus Movement (an umbrella term), Campus Crusade, Youth For Christ, The Navigators, the Church Universal and Triumphant, and Eckankar. (2) Items about four other minority religious groups were analysed in order to check whether print media accounts of NRMs are significantly different from accounts of these other religious minorities. The minority groups were: Christian Science, the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Salvation Army, and the Mennonites. Again, this list was used in both the American and British projects. Appendix one contains brief descriptions of all these groups, with a short summary of their history, beliefs, membership and controversial aspects.

A total of 764 items appearing in the four sampled publications between 1975 and 1985 were coded for content and analysed by means of the SPSS-X computer programme. 665 of the items referred primarily to the 17 organizations deemed 'NRMs' in this study. In addition, 19 items about the People's Temple which appeared in three of the sampled publications, but not in the *Daily Mail*, were analysed separately.

The scope of this project was not wide enough to cover such other media of mass communication as television, radio, cinema, comics, advertisements and specialist magazines. Items about NRMs have certainly appeared in all of these media, and on the basis of findings about research on the influence of television in particular, (3), it might be suggested that the most formative influence on public opinion is not the print media. Since television probably sets the tone and agenda for other popular media, it must be borne in mind that print media items about NRMs occur against a background which was not available for analysis in this research.

The code book contains 27 variables and is based upon the 21 variable version used by van Driel (for codebook see Appendix 2). The additional variables were prompted by a variety of observations, with the work of Dobbelaere, Voet and

Verbeke (1985) in Belgium, for example, bringing to the attention of the author the emphasis placed in that country upon the international wire service for stories about NRMs, while problems concerning certain aspects of the coding produced the impetus for the other changes.

A pilot study consisting of 30 contextual units about NRMs (not included in the further analysis) was conducted, with each article being independently coded by the author and one other person. Only 25 differences were found in the coding of all 675 coding units, indicating a high degree of reliability even before the modifications had been effected. The inter-coder reliability rate of 0.92 is regarded as highly satisfactory. Some minor changes were made to the codebook in the light of experience gained from the pilot study.

The variables in the final version of the code book related to the following major issues:
                                      -Source of data.
                          -Date.
                 -Front/inner page coverage.
                   -Wire service usage.
                   -Group(s) covered.
            -Manner in which information is given.
          -Length of contextual unit in column inches.
                     -Graphics.
            -General tenor of contextual units.
               -General tenor of headline.
           -Categorization of religious groups.
                -Topics covered.
                  -Quotes.
                -Metaphors.
       -Atrocity/Positive tales of NRMs/anti-cult groups.
              -Address/telephone nimber details.
             -Distinctions, links to other groups.

-Focus.

-U.K./Foreign base for item.

-Serial articles.

Discussion of these basically quantitative variables has been supplemented by consideration of more qualitative issues. They include:

-The effect of the Daily Mail trial on press coverage of NRMs.

-Norms and values conveyed by the print media.

- expressed in print media towards NRMs and the annti-cult movement.

-The construction of 'boundaries of the normal' in the mass media.

-Comparisons between the print media coverage of NRMs in Britain and elsewhere.

This Chapter has examined the methodological technique of content analysis with direct reference to the methods employed in this study. It was argued that, despite one or two draw-backs of this method of research, fruitful results could be gained from their application. Pertinent questions have been outlined for discussion in the next Chapter, where the results gained from an assessment of the print media accounts of NRMs in Britain are presented alongside cross cultural comparisons with the U.S. (in particular) and Belgium, before conclusions are drawn.

Endnotes.

(1) Circulation figures for the first half of 1978 relating to Fleet St. newspapers include: *Daily Mail.* 1,932,808; *The Times.* 293,989; The *Sunday Times.* 1,409,296. The Thompson Organization owns *The Times* and the *Sunday Times.* while Associated Newspapers Group Owns the *Daily Mail.* (Figures derived from *Using the Media,* 1983. Denis Macshane.

(2) Groups within this category such as British Youth for Christ, The Navigators, and Campus Crusade are not normally categorized as cults. These groups are treated as NRMs in this study because of the exact replication of van Driels work on the American press. It is hypothesized that van Driel had

been influenced in his development of categories by the debate which exists in the Netherlands concerning the classification of NRMs. For further information in this sphere see Kollen, 1980, and Staten, 1984.

(3) This proposition, however, is still debateable. For a recent discussion of the topic see: Bogart, L., 1984, 'The Public Use and Perception of Newspapers', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 48, (4), pp.709-719. Thanks are due to B. van Driel for this observation.

Chapter 4

Results.

i   Results Gained From the Sample of British Publications.

The 754 items in the sample of four British publicaations were distributed by religious group and source as illustrated in Table 1. (Appendix Three).

Table 1

In addition, 19 items about the People's Temple which appeared in three of the sampled publications, but not in the *Daily Mail*, were analysed separately.

The fact that the topic of NRMs occupies a very minor place of importance in British publications must be borne in mind throughout the analysis of these findings concerning the print media treatment of NRMs. While topics such as crime and violence, and even the lives of television personalities (among others), may be found in the news every day, it must be acknowledged that the 'cult' issue is relatively infrequently reported. Table 2 indicates the exact amount of coverage of this topic, with the distribution of items concerning NRMs being contrasted with items concerning the control group of other minority religions.

Table 2

These findings are illustrated more clearly in Figure 1, as this graph clearly shows the fluctuating pattern of coverage pertaining to NRMs between January 1975 and December 1985. During the first part of this period NRMs received relatively little print media coverage, but a sudden surge in attention occurred between January 1980 and December 1981.

Figure 1

Initial reporting (1975 to 1977) was of five major movements:- the Divine Light Mission (8 items), the Unification Church (28 items), Transcendental Meditation (11 items), Scientology (7 items), and ISKCON (8 items). This relatively low level profile of NRMs was soon to be altered dramatically, however. The massacre of the People's Temple in Jonestown, Guyana, in November 1978 brought the subject to the notice of the public, and this incident sparked off a number of feature articles about Jim Jones and his movement. It is interesting to note that, despite this new focus, reporting of *other* groups at this time did not immediately increase. (See Figure 2.) By contrast, the massacre in Guyana was the cue for a flood of items about NRMs in American publications (van Driel and Richardson, 1988).

Figure 2

The start of 1980 may be seen to mark the beginning of the upsurge in press reports of NRMs. The major factor in this change was the impact of the legal battle between the Unification Church and the *Daily Mail*. The libel action in this court case was brought by Dennis Orme, the British Moonie leader, against the newspaper because of an article featured in the *Daily Mail* (29.5.78) in which the Unification Church was described as a 'sinister group who brainwash young people and split up families'. Associated Newspapers, publishers of the Daily Mail, contested the case. The record-breaking length of the libel trial (from October 1980 to March 1981) and the stunningly high level of legal costs involved on both sides (around 1.5 million pounds) were extensively reported in the press. The plaintiffs were defeated both in the High Court and on appeal, and leave to approach the House of Lords was not granted. The movement therefore incurred most of the legal costs, and this action led directly to a significant reduction in the scale of the Moonies' operations in the U.K.

In the period from 1975 to 1985 items about the Unification Church amounted to 70 per cent of all items concerning NRMs (as is shown in Figure 3). This figure fluctuated between 42 per cent of the total before the libel case, to 91 per cent during the trial, and 76 per cent after June 1981.

Figure 3

The trial provided the *Daily Mail* and other newspapers with an opportunity to deploy what James Beckford called the 'negative summary event' (1) as a device for maintaining the momentum of what it termed its 'crusade against the church that breaks up families.' Special emphasis was placed by the press on the High Court Jury's recommendation that '....the tax-free status of the Unification Church should be investigated by the Inland Revenue Department on the grounds that it is a political organization'. The government's response to

the recommendation provided further scope for recurrent items about both the Unification Church and other NRM's long after the case had been concluded. What began, therefore, as a newspaper article about one NRM eventually turned into a story about a campaign against the movement and a long running saga about the law on charities in England. By contrast, the greatly reduced level of the Unification Church's activities in the U.K. since 1981 has gone virtually unnoticed in the press.

Controversies surrounding the 1984 European Parliamentary debate which focused upon the topic of NRMs also received little attention in the press. Although this motion seemed likely to have serious repercussions for both NRMs and their critics alike (Beckford, 1986), the implication for the media appeared to be slight, helping to explain why the event received very little coverage. Even the agitations of the anti-cult lobby and of its opponents who were worried by perceived threats to civil liberties and/or the freedom of religion, failed to catch the lasting attention of journalists. The number of items on the topic of the debates in the sample was extremely low.

Surprisingly, the attention brought to the 'cult issues' by the 1980-1981 legal proceedings did not influence the frequency of reports concerning *other* groups in this sphere to any great extent, as Figure 3 illustrates. A peak for 'other NRMs' did occur just before the Unification Church peak, yet after this the volume of reports decreased to a relative low. The rise in the frequency of items concerning other NRMs in July to December 1984 and July to December 1985 may be seen to be due firstly to the return to the news of Scientology (the classification of this group as an 'evil sect' by a Judge in court in the legal battle for the custody of a child was instrumental in this). The continued visibility of the Hare Krishnas in the press also contributed to these figures, with this group maintaining a relatively high social profile. In the latter period followers of the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh also became particularly newsworthy due partly to the controversy surrounding this group in the United States, and partly to the Bhagwan's spectacular sale of his 91 Rolls Royces.

Among the comparison groups, the Salvation Army received the largest amount of attention in total (54 units). Overall coverage of the groups remained at a fairly consistent, minimal level, with numbers fluctuating between an all-time low between January and June 1979 when no units were recorded, and a relative high between January and June 1981 when 10 units were published. Most periods produced approximately 4 contextual units. The general implication therefore is that minority religion is never a prominent theme in the U.K.

Further distinctions between NRMs and the comparison groups surface when we take into account the kind of information that has appeared over the years. The print media operate in an agenda-setting function when it comes to outlining the controversy that surrounds NRMs, (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) providing a public definition of the reality as it is perceived.

Table 3

Table 3 lists the topics encountered most often in the sampled publications in order of priority. (2). When dealing with NRMs the British print media have covered the topic of legal and judicial conflicts, investigations, and illegalities (274 units) far more often than any other topic. Items centrally or peripherally concerned with group or leader history and/or leader profile amounted to 160, and therefore came a poor second. It is interesting to note, however, that this topic also figured relatively highly (19 units) in items concerning the comparison groups. The third topic concerns press cross-references (130 units), whereby one newspaper refers to stories printed in other publications, or items covered in their own previous editions. This emphasis provides a vital pointer to the ways in which the press perpetuate the controversy. A significant influence upon this figure is the lengthy trial of the *Daily Mail* brought by Denis Orme of the British Unification Church, and reported frequently by other newspapers. Topic 4 centres upon the role that NRMs play in family break up (120 units), a central feature of the 'cultic' debate. Topic 5 refers to Parliamentary references, with 109 references containing this theme being found. The Unification Church /*Daily Mail* legal battle of 1981 may be seen to have influenced these figures greatly, as 23 references occurred in the six months between January and June 1981 alone. Brainwashing, manipulation and psychological abuse of members feature as the sixth most frequent topic in the sample (57 units), and echoes one of the central accusations levelled by the anti-cultists and journalists against NRMs. Topic 7 relates to the teachings of the groups concerned, and the 52 references in this area may be seen to be fairly evenly distributed over the eleven year time span. Business activities, and the wealth of the group and its leaders constitute topic 8 in this analysis. (49 items), and once again January to June 1981 appears to be the peak for this topic, although interest in this topic also occurred at other periods.

As far as the control groups are concerned, group or leader history/leader profile are the central topics discussed in 19 items, while legal conflict and the teachings of the groups make up the central body of the articles in six instances each. The Salvation Army (in particular) was reported on a fairly regular basis with regard to events that took place within the group and activities by the

movement for the benefit of others. When we turn to the tenor of items about NRMs, the contrast with the control groups grows sharper.

Following the work of van Driel, a Likert-scale was used to investigate the general tenor of each unit under study. The five values constructed to assess this were labelled and defined as follows:

Extremely positive: The religious group is defended, supported and/or allegations of opponents are rejected; no sign of suspicion or rejection of group.

Somewhat positive: A favourable approach to its opponents; some reservations and/or suspicions are implicitly or explicitly evident, however.

Neutral: Position-taking on issues is avoided; no support for either the religious group or its opponents is voiced.

Somewhat negative: Although the religious group is not severely criticized, it does meet ridicule, suspicion and/or doubts; there is no clear-cut support for the opponents of the group.

Extremely negative: The religious group is rejected and attacked and/or the opponents of the group receive sympathy and support.

Table 4

Table 4 documents the varying tenor of press coverage of the different NRMs specifically. This information confirms our view that the Unification Church represents what many journalists see as a typical 'cult'. The volume of reports on this group and their tenor are significant in the perception that many have of the cultic phenomenon, with 57 per cent of the items being negative. 190 neutral items were found, consisting of 40 per cent of the total, although these items did tend to be small in size. Only one 'extremely positive' item and 11 'somewhat positive' items were located for the Unification Church.

Reports concerning Scientology are by far more neutral (with 69 per cent of items falling into this category), although again a negative slant does exist (23 per cent of items). The Hare Krishnas have also recieved neutral coverage on the whole (85 per cent of articles), with the other 15 per cent being 'somewhat negative'. Transcendental Meditation has received more positive than negative reporting, although again 57 per cent of items are seen to be 'neutral'.

Another NRM of note is the Rajneesh Foundation, with the followers of the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh receiving 55 per cent neutral coverage, 32 per cent negative coverage, and 13 per cent coverage of a positive nature. As has been noted, this latter group has come to prominence in recent years mainly due to the dissolution of its commune in Oregon, U.S.A., and the problems that this brought with it (Milne, 1986). Hugh Milne provoked a strongly negative reaction from this group when his book was published in 1986. Being a former body guard to Bhagwan, Milne provided an 'insider' account of the movement,

and in particular the goings on in Rajneeshpuram during the turmoil there in the mid 1980's. This book is seen to have created a particularly negative image of the movement, and as such provided information for a television programme in which various allegations were levelled against the group. (3)

Lastly, the category entitled 'NRMs in general', a term used to describe those 'bridging' articles in this sphere, elicited neutral accounts in 52 per cent, positive accounts in 12 per cent, and negative accounts in 16 per cent of cases. There will be further discussions of this composite category below.

Of the comparison groups, it was the Salvation Army that attracted the most attention, with 2 extremely positive reports (4 per cent), 22 somewhat positive items, (41 per cent), 24 neutral articles (44 per cent), and only 6 (12 per cent) negative pieces. The Jehovah's Witnesses elicited a somewhat more negative response (22 per cent negative, 78 per cent neutral, with no positive accounts), and Christian Science and the Mennonites received very little coverage at all.

On closer examination, Table 4 reveals that the unquestionably negative image of NRMs that occurs widely in the British print media does not go un-challenged, despite initial appearances. 55 per cent of all items about NRMs *and* other religious minorities can be characterized as neutral, positive, or extremely positive. These findings do conceal two interesting facts, however. First, the percentage of items about NRMs *alone* in this upper group of categories falls to 52 per cent. Second, as we shall see below, many of these items were merely brief news reports, with a number of them being read directly from the international wire service.

Moreover, items that are characterized as somewhat and extremely positive in tenor account for only 5 per cent of items about NRMs, but for the control group of other religious minorities this figure was 30 per cent. Headlines of a positive character, at 2 per cent, are even harder to find.

Table 5

As Table 5 illustrates, the majority of contextual units relating to NRMs were published in the form of news-reports, which have been defined (following the work of van Driel, 1987) as 'information based on an occurrence, event, decision, and so on.' The ratio of news reports to feature articles, defined as 'information designed to discuss trends, phenomena, subject of interest,' was approximately 8:1. Other categories of note included letters (also sporting a ratio of 8:1 to news reports) columnist articles (12:1) and editorials (20:1). In comparison, the control group maintained a ratio of 2.5:1 of news items to feature articles, 3:1 of news items to letters, and 4:1 of columnist articles to news reports. These figures give an insight into the 'newsworthiness' of these respective groups.

The degree of newsworthiness clearly changes over time, however, reflecting the changing circumstances in which NRMs fing themselves. Table 5A shows that the tenor of items about NRMs has also undergone significant changes.

Table 5A

Table 5A indicates three things in particular. First, there is considerable stability over time in the small number of items about NRMs which are either positive or extremely positive. Second, the neutral category shows fluctuations but remains fairly consistently strong. Third, the negative and extremely negative categories display the greatest fluctuations. If these latter categories are combined into a single measure, it exceeds he strength of the neutral cattegory in 9 out of the 22 periods. The preponderance of items with a negative tenor occurs between 1981 and the middle of 1984, suggesting that the *Daily Mail* trial and its aftermath had an imporant influence on the periodicity of negative reports about NRMs.

There is some confirmation of this argument in the finding that the *Daily Mail* not only carried more items about NRMs and the UC in particular at this time, but the stories that it published were also twice as likely as those of other publications to be negative or extremely negative. See Table 5B.

Table 5B

The number of items published by the *Daily Mail* about other minority religious groups was so small that comparisons with other publications would be hazardous.

The relationship between the length of published articles and other variables also helps to outline in clearer terms the treatment given to NRMs by the print media. To facilitate analysis of these factors, articles were grouped into four categories of roughly equal size in Table 6.

Table 6

Each six month time span contains, on the whole, a fairly even distribution of articles of varying sizes, as short news bursts appear to be accompanied in the same juncture by lengthier articles explaining the background of the groups and the issues involved.

Table 7

When we observe how this information was distributed per group (see Table 7), it becomes apparent that the Unification Church attracted the largest share of attention, though the less familiar groups were covered more extensively per contextual unit. It could be reasonably hypothesized that the larger feature articles are more likely to convey negative images of NRMs and to have a lasting effect on readers' attitudes towards them. The negative tenor of news reports concerning NRMs may therefore be filtered out by readers whose basic

attitudes have already been established by other publications and other mass media (Curran, 1970). Table 8 helps to substantiate this view.

Table 8

Graphics of one form or another have been used in 153 articles concerning NRMs, and the pictorial representations used here help to reiterate the basic themes pursued by the print media concerning NRMs.

Table 9

As we may observe from Table 9, 45 per cent of the print media items which were accompanied by one or more photographs carried a picture of a cult leader. By comparison, the next most frequent subjects of photographs in items about NRMs were 'other' items, which included pictures of relatives, for example. After this category, cult members featured highly (34 per cent), followed by pictures of ex-members (16 per cent). The central focus on group leaders in the press is not surprising when we take into account the central theme of many cult stories, i.e. the 'fact' that most members display total devotion to their leaders and selfless dedication to their movements' goals. Images of fanaticism abound in this realm, with various indicators pointing the reader to this conclusion.

The use and form of quotations are a further indication of the treatment given to NRMs by the press. Feature articles, for example, made greater use of quotations, and quotations favourable to NRMs (18 per cent of all quotations) are heavily outnumbered by unfavourable ones (82 per cent). The mean number of favourable quotations per item is 0.17, and the mean number of unfavourable quotations is 0.82. This disparity is considerably sharper than the 7:10 ratio of favourable to unfavourable quotations about NRMs in American publications.(B. van Driel, 1987).

Moreover, the sources of quotations about NRMs are much more likely to lie outside the movements than inside them. The single largest source of quotations (31) is from parents of NRM members. Second come politicians and government officers (28), followed by ex-members (22). By comparison, only 3 quotations originated with members and 6 with NRM leaders. Only 9 quotations came from scientists and academics, an important indicator of the ways in which these stories are researched, the people contacted for information (often anti-cult groups), and the final presentation of the item.

Another indication of the generally negative character of print media accounts of NRMs is the pattern of metaphors which are applied to their practices and personnel.

Table 10

The brainwashing metaphor was used most extensively, occurring in 24 per cent of the sampled items about NRMs. The next most common metaphors

included 'deprogramming' (4 per cent) and 'mind control' (2 per cent). The pattern of negative metaphors in items about NRMs in the American print media is quite similar: 'brainwashing' (21 per cent), 'deprogramming' (13 per cent), 'mind control' (7 per cent), and 'zombies/robots/automatia' (4 per cent). It should be added, however, that these metapohors may occur in contexts where their intended use was positive. For example, cultists may refer to the brainwashing metaphor in order to defend themselves against it. These findings must, therefore, be treated with caution.

The generally negative image of NRMs portrayed by British journalists is also indicated by the number of so-called atrocity tales recounted in the print media. It should be emphasized, however, that the term 'atrocity' is being interpreted 2n this study in accordance with van Driel's usage to mean 'an event or series of events which have severe negative consequences for individuals, groups or society'. (van Driel, 1986) This usage is weaker than all but the fourth and colloquial meaning stipulated by the Oxford English Dictionary. The stronger meanings are 'savage enormity, horrible and heinous wickedness,' 'fierceness, implacability,' 'an atrocious deed; an act of extreme cruelty and heinousness,' and 'a very bad blunder, violation of taste or good manners, and so on.' Usage is also more moderate than the sense of the term utilized by Bromley, Shupe and Ventimiglia (1979: 1983) and Bromley and Shupe (1981b). Some degree of caution must therefore be excercised in interpreting the data in Table 11 which are based on the relatively weak sense of the term employed by van Driel.

Table 11

The results show that 31 per cent of items about NRMs in the sample of British publications contain atrocity tales about the movements, and only 3 per cent of them recount atrocity tales about their anti-cult opponents. The majority of these tales highlight the plight of young people who became involved in these groups in one way or another, and the effects that this involvement had on their families. Warnings were periodically issued by the *Daily Mail* in particular, these articles being aimed mainly at the parents of young people.

By contrast, 'positive tales' have been defined by van Driel as 'an event or series of events which result in the vast improvement of the well-being of an individual. a group or society'. In this study only 5 per cent of items were found to have this form of story at some point in their analysis. But only one article contained a positive tale about anti-cultists, suggesting that journalists perceive newsworthiness more frequently in the negative aspects of NRMs than in positive aspects of the movements' opponents. This is reflected in the finding that only 8 out of the 665 items about NRMs in the sample supplied an address at which readers could contact an anti-cult organization. This is even more

significant when it is borne in mind that four items actually supplied a contact address for an NRM.

A disparity may therefore be detected between the strongly negative tenor of items about NRMs and the weakly implicit support for anti-cultism, although this finding must be examined alongside tentative conclusions drawn from a broad analysis of journalistic motivations and allegiances. The popular argument that journalists favour anti-cultism because they share the same cultural assumptions as the anti-cultists does not do far enough. (Shupe and Bromley, 1980). More importantly, print media accounts of NRMs are structured primarily in terms of dramatic oppositions between the normal and the abnormal or deviant, and it is specifically this framing of the cult/anti-cult controversies that makes them intermittently newsworthy (Beckford, 1979). The sensationalism serves as the eye-catching packaging of deep structural oppositions.

The ways in which NRMs are categorized in the mass media may be seen to substantiate this argument.

Table 12

Lindt (1979) encountered the concepts 'sect' and/or 'cult' in approximately two thirds of her sample of American publications, a finding repeated in the work of van Driel. Table 12 indicates the frequent use of these two value-laden terms by journalists in Britain to describe the phenomenon in hand. Over the eleven year period 175 references to 'sects' have been published, and 213 references to 'cults'. These figures contrast sharply with the relatively infrequent use of the descriptive terms 'new religion' (4) 'new religious movement' (5), 'religious movement' (2), and 'church' (88). It is interesting to note in particular that the phrase 'new religious movement' is disregarded in the press despite the wide use of the term in the social sciences.

All of the prominent NRMs that came under scrutiny by the press were labelled as both 'sect' and 'cult'. The whole question of categorization and the importance of certain usages are highlighted when we examine the classifications applied to the comparison groups. Despite the references to these bodies as 'sects' on 10 occasions, (and church on 2), no articles made use of the term 'cult' on any occasion.

These ambiguously applied terms were rarely defined in any systematic way by the press, and on the occasions that this did take place anti-cultist terms seemed to be more readily taken up than the social-scientific formulations of academics in this sphere. Van Driel puts the situation in the U.S.A. succinctly when he states:

'...merely by adopting the concept "cult", as a descriptive
category, NRMs were, willingly or not, indelibly condemned to
occupy a position in the same category of groups that include
the People's Temple....and other marginal religions that arouse
public fear and horror.'

van Driel, 1985, p.35.

Table 13

Table 13 shows that only 34 items in this study covered more than one NRM
in its report, while 631 units looked specifically at one group alone. These figures
help to characterize the stance taken by journalists concerning the cults, as in
22 out of the 34 items the groups are 'treated as one'. This means that 65 per
cent of the reports containing references to 2 or more NRMs infer that there
are little differences between the groups, thereby encouraging blanket coverage
of the phenomenon. Conversely, in only 8 per cent (3 items) of reports in this
category are distinctions between the movements pointed out. Parallels are
drawn with other marginal religions in 33 instances. These figures must be
looked at alongside the percentage of items in which this topic was broached,
which amounted to 13 per cent. On the other hand, in 98 per cent of the articles
about NRMs no mention was made of their relationship to *mainstream* religious
establishments. In 7 cases distinctions were pointed out, and in 5 items parallels
were drawn. At no time were distinctions made explicitly.

Finally, there is a question about the provenance of stories about NRMs. It
might be thought that the relative insignificance of NRMs in a country could
be concealed by stories imported from abroad as part of a strategy to alarm the
public. International orchestration of news reports is said to be central to the
treatment received by NRMs in Belgium, for example, according to Dobbelaere,
Voet and Verbeke (1985). Powerful news agencies are seen to telex facts and
interpretations of the groups all over the world - stories which in the course of
time get translated into the language of the newspaper. The situation in Britain
is, however, rather different, as can be seen in Table 14.

Table 14

In total, 90 articles in the four publications were based upon information
given by international wire services - a mere 13 per cent of the total. Another
finding of note is the fact that 74 per cent of all stories were U.K. based, while
only 26 per cent originated outside of this country. These figures reflect the vary-
ing structures of the media in both Belgium and Britain, as well as the relative
size of the country and the activity of NRMs within them. Another important
factor is the location of two of the main wire service agencies. Both Reuters and

AP are based in London, and it is probable that while the newspapers did not gain a high proportion of their stories through the official wire service channels in this country, some information is gained from this source before it is officially disseminated by these agencies.

From the results described so far, we may conclude that journalists set the agenda for public discussions of NRMs by framing them in ways which accentuate their negative and controversial features. This interpretation does not disregard the reality of the painful and divisive disputes that undoubtedly surround NRMs: it simply argues that supposedly objective or balanced accounts are nevertheless framed in ways which tend to present NRMs as essentially negative and problematic. In short, the kind of material that is regularly reported about NRMs and their opponents only qualifies as 'the facts' because of the frame of reference in which journalists choose to situate it. Parental accusations of brainwashing or a movement's defence of its recruitment methods may, for example have the appearance of a 'balanced' item in the press, but this so-called balance is only achieved within a framework which constitutes NRMs as predominantly controversial.

ii   Comparisons between American, British and Belgian Research.

B. van Driel (1987) has conducted research in the U.S. on the response elicited by NRMs in the American print media. The present work in part replicates van Driel's study, thereby facilitating comparisons between both the workings of the media in the U.S. and Britain, and between the different cult-related controversies that exist in the two countries. Dobbelaere, Voet and Verbeke (1985) have conducted a content analysis on the press cuttings kept by the Unification Church in Belgium, and although this work is more limited than both the present study and the research of van Driel, it nevertheless provides useful information from a comparative point of view.

In this section I shall emphasize a number of points which illustrate the role that the print media play in the formation of cult controversies, and the fact that the messages perpetuated in this way remain fundamentally similar in all three countries under consideration. The Unification Church was the group to receive most attention in all three countries, with Dobbelaere and his colleagues looking solely at articles collected by this group. While the figures for this particular NRM are of interest in both America and Britain (amounting to 42 per cent of items in the U.S. and 71 per cent in the U.K.), the method of data collection in the Belgian study means that the conclusions reached from this work must be treated with great caution. The authors, freely admitting to the biased

nature of their study, admit that 'Unfortunately, almost all articles exclusively devoted to sects or new religious movements other than the Unification Church, were unavailable, having been discarded by the public relations officer of the U.C.'(Dobbelaere et al., 1985,p.1)

Figure 4

Figure 4 illustrates the frequency of reports pertaining to both NRMs and comparison groups in the United States. We may see from this graph that the peak period for cultic reports is between November 1976 and April 1977, four years before the British reports came to a peak. The Belgian study covers the period between July 1980 and June 1985, and the number of items increased from 55 articles between July 1980 and June 1981, to 180 articles between July 1984 and June 1985. This latter increase was found to be mainly due to the publication of serial articles in the Socialist newspapers.

In both the American and British studies, items on NRMs came largely in the form of news reports, with the ratio in the States being 2:1 to other forms of reporting, in comparison to the much higher rate of 8:1 in Britain. Dobbelaere and his colleagues do not monitor the format of reporting in Belgium in this way, but they do highlight the fact that only 22 per cent of articles referred principally to stories originating in the country. 78 per cent of Belgian articles therefore had their focus elsewhere, although some allowance must be made for the fact that Unification Church headquarters are in the United States. As has been mentioned, the role of the wire service is emphasised by the authors as being of vital importance in the provision of news stories, as they found that many items are simply translations in Dutch or French of telexed news. In this way Dobbelaere and his associates feel justified in stating that, for Belgium, media treatment of the cult-issue is 'internationally orchestrated'.

Given the basic similarities between the methods and instruments of content analysis adopted by van Driel and the present author, comparisons between their respective findings for the U.S.A. and the U.K. are considerably easier. A number of issues have been prominent in the news reports on 'cult controversies' in the U.S.A., and the order of topics mentioned most often is as follows: legal conflicts, brainwashing, group events, organised opposition to NRMs, beliefs and teachings of ther movements, business activities and, finally,internal developments. Van Driel points out that the last category related to the comparison groups specifically. In Britain, it was found that legal conflicts also occupied the central core of media interest (due mainly to the Unification Church vs. the *Daily Mail* legal battle). This topic was followed in frequency by references to group/leader history, press cross references (again connected to the prominent

position given by the media to the *Daily Mail* trial), family break-up, Parliamentary references, brainwashing, teaching and/or beliefs, and, lastly, business activities. Dobbelaere's study also found 'legal conflict' to be the major NRM-related topic to be reported in the Belgian press. The prime importance of this aspect of cult controversy in the three countries cannot, therefore, be exaggerated. The essence of 'legal conflict' is an adversarial feeling of antagonism and struggle, and it follows that the picture of NRMs presented to the public by means of this topic is by definition 'controversial'.

Van Driel's analysis of the American findings alone points out the 'alarming discrepancy' between reports of the negative consequences of NRMs and reports which were otherwise positive. Again this finding also occurs in the British material, and is therefore compatible with the current argument that newspaper reports of NRMs are largely negative. According to van Driel, 'We can safely assert that the wide range of beneficial effects found to be related to NRM membership forms a "black hole" in the print media's reporting.' (1985, p.28.)

Referring to the general tenor of coverage specifically, Van Driel points out that the print media accounts in the U.S. were predominantly neutral, but showed a marked shift towards negativity in the period between May, 1976 and October, 1976 (67 per cent negative). A decrease in negativity became manifest in the two periods subsequent to November 1978 to April 1979, although it was found that an overall negative slant persisted. Coverage in the U.K. mirrored this general pattern, both over time and per group, with the peak of negativity occurring around 1981 to 1982. Work conducted in Belgium also echoes this negative tenor, with articles about the Moonies being found to report either actions against the cults or 'media events' which were largely anti-cultic in inspiration. Dobbelaere and his colleagues found this negative attitude being portrayed in 'slogan-like titles'. Fewer than 1 per cent of the sample articles were found to be strongly positive.

An interesting variant on this theme is the fact that, in 28 articles in the Belgian research parallels between NRMs and either fascism and/or Nazism are drawn. This negative attitude is seen to have begun definitely in 1982-1983, but to have become still more antagonistic in 1984-1985. Van Driel found 14 articles in a similar vein in his American study, although no such parallels were to be found in the British press. American research also located articles which drew parallels between cults and other groups with a very poor public image (such as the People's Temple), yet once again no British articles were found in this category.

Van Driel argues at some length that the utilization of the terms 'sect' and 'cult' in this sphere deserves close examination, thereby echoing an on-going

debate surrounding the categorization of religious groups.(Wilson, 1976). Suffice it is to say that in the U.K. both terms are used extensively to describe the phenomenon in hand, (175 references to sects, 213 references to cult), with journalists apparently intending the pejorative sense of these terms. A telling example is the recent (14.8.87) headline in the *Daily Mail* regarding Scientology: 'Weeping Father Accuses "Evil" Cult'.

The use of metaphors in articles also helps to develop a powerful image of the phenomenon in question in a 'punchy' style. 'Brainwashing' was found in 21 per cent of items in the U.S. sample, and in 24 per cent of the U..K. study, while the uncritical application of the term infers that something like 'brainwashing' does actually exist, and that this process probably has some form of scientific validity. Other metaphors used in the American press include deprogramming (13 per cent), mind control (7 per cent) and zombies/robots/ automatia (4 per cent). But deprogramming is used in only 4 per cent of British articles, and mind control in 2 per cent. This amounts to a fairly important distinction between the metaphorical coverage of NRMs and comparison groups in the two countries.

The use of quotations also gives an insight into print media accounts of NRMs. Van Driel found that the newspapers gave special status to both individuals and groups directly involved in the issues at hand, as well as to those people deemed to be 'experts' in the field. Of this latter category it was found in the American study that the individuals quoted most often were those opposed to NRMs, a finding echoed in the British study. Van Driel concludes from this that:

'It is... relevant to note here that on only two occasions did a social-scientific study serve as the basis of a media report. This reality, combined with the large discrepancy between the print media's and social- scientific categorization of NRMs, and the dearth of quotes stemming from social scientists, tells us a lot about the relationship between the social scientific world and the media.'

<div align="right">Van Driel, 1986,p.44.</div>

The percentage of parental quotations used in British reports amounted to 31, with only 13 quotations originating with NRM members and 6 with NRM leaders. Van Driel (1988) has indicated that these findings were in fact at variance with those gained in the U.S. study. The antagonistic slant was obvious in both countries, however.

Dobbelaere and his colleagues cite the work of James Beckford (1982) in their analysis of the Belgian press cuttings, using his concept of 'negative summary events' to explain the ways in which NRMs were portrayed in the media. They illustrate this by listing the warnings issued against NRMs in the articles studied, with 12 per cent being found to contain general warnings, and 73 per cent specific warnings given under the form of 'negative summary events'. The number of warnings have increased since July, 1983. The most frequently used negative summary event in the Belgian press, occurring in 64 per cent of items, is the story that 'NRMs are involved in crime and/or fraud'. The second most frequently used scenario refers to brainwashing of members (46.5 per cent), another popular topic in both America and Britain. Closely behind this, in 46 per cent of items, came the inclusion of stories concerning the practice of cults infiltrating the economic and political world in order to get power. References were made most often in this connection to the Reverend Moon's personal dealings in business and politics, most recently in South America.

'Atrocity stories' are, by their very nature, unlike any form of social scientific accounting, but this method of reporting is widely used in journalism. In the comparison between the American and British studies in particular, it has been found that the British news items incorporated atrocity stories about NRMs on many more occasions than did their American counterparts. As has been mentioned, the use of this term in van Driel's study was very weak. and this must be remembered when accounting for the frequent usage. In the British sample 211 stories were found to include 'atrocity tales' out of a total of 665 articles (32 per cent of the total) in comparison to 23 out of the 1855 American cuttings (1 per cent). Despite an attempt to control the research so that valid comparisons could be made, it is probable that some differences in interpretation have taken place, although this would not explain the huge differences located here. It is hypothesized, therefore, that these figures are indicative in part of the different set of issues covered in each country. In particular, the libel trial between the Unification Church and the Daily Mail sparked off a large number of reports containing atrocity tales in the U.K., with witnesses being brought in by the newspaper to confirm their supposedly libellous allegations. The references to atrocities in the U.S. media, when they did occur, dealt mainly with the plight of 'healthy, idealistic and especially intelligent young persons who became unwilling victims of manipulative groups and had been subsiquently transformed into psychological wrecks, devoid of individuality,' (van Driel, 1985,p.44), a trait which is echoed in British reports. Portraying cult members in this fashion is essential to the sensationalization of the news in a highly competitive market.

The act of reporting atrocities in the press may be seen as an effort by journalists to highlight the violations perpetrated by the cults against otherwise culturally accepted norms and values. The moral integrity of the 'normal' person in modern Western liberal democracies is brought neatly into question, as NRM members are portrayed as following their cultic leaders without 'normal' or rational forethought. The key to the dominant assumptions that exist about the normal person is the notion of autonomy. A person is usually expected to act in such a way as to be able to give adequate reasons for his or her actions and to assume responsibility for them, with this incorporating the idea that the normal person does not willingly choose to commit self-harm or to be subjected to external control. It is also expected that the normal person freely chooses to live in some form of family unit or, at least, to remain emotionally close to the members of his or her family, thereby providing for 'family break-up' as a widely accepted cause of cultic entanglement.

Anti-cultists in the U.K. and abroad cultivate the image of NRM members as people who manifest many of the characteristics which appear to be the very opposite to those shown by 'normal' people, an image reiterated and reinforced by the writings of many journalists. In this way, the cult member is often depicted as a mirror image of the normal person, thereby building and maintaining boundaries of 'the normal'. (Beckford, 1982)

One concluding comment on cross cultural comparisons of the media response to NRMs comes from Ted Nordquist concerning the mass media in Sweden:

'While the mass media in America, Great Britain, and West Germany have paid particular attention to NRMs, the Swedish media have, relatively speaking, ignored them. On the whole the mass media and the general public...... seem to be uninterested. Articles which have appeared have been heavily influenced by news from abroad (concerning the People's Temple and other cults in America in particular) while factual information about Swedish groups has been minimal.'

Nordquist, 1982. p.188.

This observation illustrates that media coverage of this topic in the west is not universally similar, despite the similarities detected between the U.S., Belgium and Britain.

iii   Conclusions.

To sum up the findings presented in this chapter, the print media in Britain promote a heavily but not exclusively negative image of NRMs. Despite this emphasis, deliberate anti-cultism has received only weak support in this sphere. Legal debates dominate the arena, (4), with coverage of cults centering upon the the involvement of the Unification Church in the libel trial brought by the British Moonie leader, against the *Daily Mail.* Differences between this movement and other groups are evident in press reporting of the phenomena, although the pejorative terminology, including the terms 'cult' and 'sect', tended to be applied to NRMs indiscriminately; thereby encouraging blanket treatment of the topic. A sharp contrast must be drawn, however, between NRMs and the other minority religions in the control group - with the latter gaining relatively favourable but infrequent coverage.

Comparisons between the British and American press (in particular) have proved to be interesting, and have shown that the mass media in both countries promote a broadly similar image of NRMs. Although the methods used in a comparative study are somewhat different from those used in a replicatory study, (where, for example, statistical tests are carried out extensively), it is felt that some general impressions can be based on a study such as this. Findings reported here indicate that the societal response to cults is not merely influenced by political and judicial proceedings (Wallis, 1988), but that in fact the print media do promote a definite image of these groups which helps to set the agenda for public debate. (See Beckford and Cole, 1987).

The last chapter in this thesis contains concluding comments upon the treatment of NRMs in the mass media and suggests some areas for further research in this sphere.

Endnotes.

(1) A 'negative summary event' is the term that J.A. Beckford, following Rosengren, Arvidssen and Sturesson (1978), uses for categorizing the journalistic descriptions of a situation or event which captures its negative essence as part of an intermittent or slow moving story. He feels, therefore, that an apparently isolated incident can serve in this way as an occasion for keeping the broader, controversial phenomenon in the public eye.

(2) The coding criteria in this instance were adapted from those used by van Driel (1987). A number of codes were added, and one code was modified

after the inter-coder reliability tests had been executed. In this case category 12 became 'group or leader history and/or *leader profile*', as it was felt that this added emphasis filled a gap in van Driel's coding. Problems with this form of coding were greatly reduced when the emphasis was taken off the 'main topic' category, and a list of topics in order of priority was introduced. Once again this modification of the work of van Driel was added after the inter-coder reliability tests had taken place.

(3) Impressions gained during my visit to the Rajneesh centre in Holloway, London, in the spring of 1987, indicated that the negative image of the group presented in the media was considered by members to be largely a result of this publication - and was not therefore deemed to be based on 'objective fact'.

(4) This finding may be seen to conflict with Wallis's (1988) argument about the differences between cult controversies in the U.S.A. and the U.K.

Chapter 5

New Religious Movements and the British Press : Some Conclusions.

The aims of this thesis were to develop a better understanding of the processes of mass communication, to identify the precise image of NRMs in the print media, and to outline the cultural context in which religion can be made to appear controversial in the U.K. To this end the problem of NRM coverage in the mass media was viewed from three specific angles: through the analysis of the literature concerned with NRMs; by a review of work within the field of mass media and images of deviance: and finally through a content analysis of print media coverage of the topic. This last angle also permitted a number of cross-cultural comparisons, thereby adding more depth to the study.

Chapter One put forward the view that many theories tackling the problem of NRMs - while being of interest - did not pay enough attention to the role of the mass media in the generation of cult controversies. This was considered to be an important weakness because it indicates that these studies have failed to ask

pertinent questions about the dynamics of public responses to the movements. It was suggested that these responses should be considered, in turn, as central to a sociological understanding of the conditions affecting the growth and/or decline of NRMs. (See Beckford and Cole, 1987.)

In the search for a potential remedy to this oversight it was argued that a review of literature about the mass media within the sociology of deviance would be beneficial. It was hoped that an insight could be gained into the social construction of moral panics, thereby producing a more rounded picture of the phenomenon. Chapter Two therefore examined sociological discussions of the processes whereby the mass media influence the terms in which deviance, social problems, and public controversies are framed. It was argued here that, for a variety of reasons associated with moral concerns, the economics of the mass media, news values and ideological interests, journalists are often key actors in the identification, definition, and sanctioning of perceived departures from public norms and mores. Evidence was therefore collected to support the arguments that, firstly, the mass media enjoy the power to frame the terms in which opinion is formed by setting the public agenda and, secondly, that this form of information dissemination is selectively used by consumers to confirm or reinforce their pre-conceived ideas. It was inferred from this that the development of public controversies owes much to the way in which they are presented in the print media. These findings were indeed of interest, yet no methodical research had been conducted on accounts of NRMs in the British press.

Chapters Three and Four set out the parameters of a content analysis of mass media accounts of NRMs, and more specifically of the ways in which these groups are presented in the British press. The intention was therefore to fill perceived gaps within sociological theorizing by generating precise and reliable data relating to the topic in hand.

In the research findings reported in Chapter Four, previous accounts of the role of the print media in shaping cult controversies were largely substantiated

(Beckford, 1979, 1982,1985; and Wallis, 1976). A heavily (yet not exclusively) negative image,was indeed found to exist in the overall portrayal of these groups, with journalists being seen to set the agenda for cult controversies by framing NRMs in an overwhelmingly contentious way. Surprisingly, explicit support for anti-cultism was weaker than expected.

This analysis of the phenomenon argued that supposedly objective or balanced accounts were nevertheless framed in ways which tended to present NRMs as essentially problematic. The 'factual' appearance of many articles about NRMs was shown to be the result of careful building of a suitable frame of reference by journalists, with 'balance' being achieved within this framework through selective discussion of certain topics (for example, brainwashing and suppression of others.)

Economic pressures, plus a feeling of 'what the public wants to hear' both determine the guidelines for a 'successful' story in the eyes of journalists. Being generally uninterested in routine religious issues, the press devotes considerable attention to this topic when religious bodies or individuals can be represented as engaging in scandalous or weird activities. NRMs are particularly likely to be reported in this way just as, it should be noted, the press readily reports instances of misdemeanours by clergymen, particularly where sexual or financial matters are at issue. Whereas matters of this nature are treated as random and episodic in the case of what are considered 'mainline' churches, however, there is a tendency for press reports on NRMs to give the impression that such items are more or less to be expected within these minority groups. The findings of this study show that the comparison movements were usually reported very differently from NRMs.

The themes which are central to press accounts of 'cults' arise from cultural assumptions about the moral integrity of the 'normal' person in modern western liberal democracies (Beckford, 1979). The concept of 'autonomy' is all important in this context, with individuals being expected to exercise free will in decision

making. It is also expected that the normal person freely chooses to live in some form of family unit or, at least, to remain emotionally close to the members of his 'natural' family. Beckford (1979) puts forward the idea that the image of the normal person is thrown into sharp relief by the pre-occupations of anti-cultists and by many journalists in the U.K. The characteristics of cult members are frequently presented as its very negation. The present thesis helps to confirm this proposition.

It is important to note at this juncture that although NRMs are reported in each of the four publications analyzed here, they do not constitute what might be termed a 'high priority topic' in any of them. Minority religions enjoy an even lower profile. The *Daily Mail* did, however, conduct a 'moral crusade' against the Unification Church. Describing this movement as a 'sinister group who brainwash young people and split up families' (29.5.78), this newspaper took a stance of vehement opposition on this issue. The record-breaking length of the legal trial relating directly to this article meant that the topic of cults was featured in a number of news reports. 'Legal conflict' was found to be the most reported topic, and reports of this trial often served as main 'negative summary events' (Beckford, 1979) in this sphere.

Findings reported by van Driel on the American press (1987) and by Dobbelaere and his colleagues (1985) on the Belgian press indicate that the present research has not generated completely unique data. Parallels between the U.S. and U.K. are of particular importance, as the methodology used in this study was intended to replicate van Driel's work in the U.S.A.

The methodology employed in this work was found to be adequate, yet in further research I feel that improvements could certainly be made. Content analysis as a sociological tool has been examined on a number of occasions (see Holsti, 1963; Budd et al, 1967; Danielson and Mullen, 1965; and Krippendorf, 1980) and found to be well adapted to an examination of problems similar to the one in hand. Although my aim throughout has been to remain as 'scientific' as

possible in coding the newspaper articles on NRMs, however, it is acknowledged that content analysis is to some extent open to question in this respect. The test of inter-coder reliability conducted before the main body of data collection began uncovered certain flaws in the research design, and appropriate changes were made to the codebook (see Appendix Two). Some ambiguities undoubtedly persisted. In particular, the addition of a coding unit entitled 'statements' might have been beneficial to the study, as this would have enabled me to assess the tenor of discrete statements in addition to that of entire items. Additional specification of 'topics' which would have facilitated, for example, a clearer distinction between debates in the European Parliament and those in the House of Commons would also have aided analysis.

It is suggested that future research should concentrate upon a greater variety of publications (including sections of the so-called 'gutter press' and more news weeklies). Additional coverage of NRMs should include, for example, Emin Ten and the Bugbrooke Fellowship in order to improve the grasp of the British situation. But this could only be achieved at the cost of making comparisons with the findings from other countries more difficult.

Furthermore, although there are plenty of theories on labelling within the literature on deviance and the mass media, the specific area of religion is not examined. Further research is needed in this sphere, for it would advance debates about both NRMs and deviance in general. Print media accounts of the apparent resurgence of religious extremisms at home and abroad are especially in need of examination.

It is important to note that the present research has replicated, in part, work conducted by B. van Driel on the American mass media, but it is not a truly comparative project. If more attention were paid to *strict* replication, it would by rewarding to employ statistical tests to measure the strength of relationships between the two sets of findings. It is therefore suggested that further research of a strictly comparable nature should be conducted, thereby

facilitating extensive cross-cultural comparisons of mass media presentations of NRMs. But the formidable problem of trying to control for different cultural milieux should not be overlooked.

Lastly, I acknowledge the fact that the findings presented in this thesis will not affect the controversy surrounding cults. I have, however, endeavoured to document the precise image of NRMs presented in the British press over the eleven years between January 1975 and December 1985. Insights on a sociological level have therefore been achieved, with special reference to the processes of mass communication and the cultural context in which religion can be made to appear controversial. The reaction of the press in a so-called secular society has, therefore, come under close scrutiny, opening up a wide range of further questions about the significance of the findings presented in this study. Above all, this work has helped to substantiate the claim that societal response is not merely political and judicial (Wallis, 1988) and that cultural factors do play an important role.

Appendix 1.

Ananda Marga.

Ananda Marga was founded in 1955 in India by Shrii Shrii Anandamurti (born Prahabat Ranjan Sarka in Jamalpur, West Bengal, 1921). This guru states that the aim of his organization is to bring 'self realisation and service to humanity.' The spiritual practices, developed from Tantric Yoga, seek to help superior individuals unite to establish a world government based upon their moral superiority and enlightened judgement. To this end each member is given detailed instructions as to how to gain spiritual strength through daily meditations, chanting, rituals, diet, personal habits, and so on. Followers are encouraged to 'mercilessly fight sin' wherever it is found, including the use of arms where necessary.

The social philosophy of Ananda Marga is grounded in the view that all humanity constitutes one extended family. Distinctions based on nationality, religion, race and language are seen to express the natural variations between people, but all attempts to divide the world and set people against each other are denounced. This idea is promoted in one of the movements publications:

'Ananda Marga's scheme of social development proposes that, in
the progressive evolution of the planet, all should develop to-
gether. The resources of the planet are the common heritage
of all. It is the responsibility of a moral government to see
that all of society progresses unitedly and that no one lags
behind.'

Ananda Marga, 1984.

The organization is extremely hierarchical, authoritarian, and missionary in character. Members are encouraged to place the needs and purposes of the organisation above all personal considerations. Ananda Marga claims millions

of followers, the majority of them being around thirty years of age. It also maintains that centres exist in over 160 countries all over the world, although absolute figures were not available to the present author. Centres in Britain are to be found in London, Birmingham, Liverpool and Leeds, with around 40 to 50 full time members in total. The main services provided by Ananda Marga in this country centre mainly on education, with one nursery and two primary schools in operation. A soup kitchen for the down-and-outs in London is also provided by the group, and a number of vegetarian health food shops are run in accordance with Ananda Margan dietary requirements.

Since 1970 the Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team (AMURT) has been providing assistance to disaster victims in various countries. It is through this channel that the group has had most of its contact with other bodies, and it is a popular public relations exercise to promote this work. The main source of income for the group seems to be through donations of members, the voluntary work of devotees, and profits made in the various Ananda Margan retail outlets.

Controversy has surrounded Ananda Marga on a number of accounts, and press coverage has been limited to these issues. In 1971 Anandamurti was imprisoned for murder in India, but was released after 5 years when Indira Ghandi lost power. A popular practice used in protest by one or two members of the group is self immolation, and in 1978 one devotee hit the headlines when she burned herself to death in front of the United Nations building in Geneva. In 1979 the organisation became visible once more when a Swedish group of followers attempted to hijack an SAS plane en route to the U.S.S.R.

For further reference: Acarya, 1984; Sarkar, 1973, 1983.

British Youth for Christ.

Robert White, the National Director for British Youth for Christ, sets out the central idea behind this movement as follows:

2

'Young people are crying out from boredom and social problems, and our responsibility as Christians is to stir up the gift of God in us and to reach these people using every available resource, mobilizing a vast army of young people to meet their peers and to make an impact on their lives.'

'Time to Stir', 1986, p.1.

In 1944 the virtually unknown Billy Graham arrived in Britain to meet evangelical churchmen to discuss the possible development of a British arm to the American Youth for Christ organization. The following year British Youth for Christ was inaugurated in Birmingham Town Hall to follow the mission statement of the group which is: 'To participate in the body of Christ in responsible evangelism of youth, presenting them with the person, work and teachings of Christ and disciplining them into the church.' ('Time to Stir', p.2.) The phrase 'Geared to the times, Anchored to the Rock' was promoted as the movement's chatechism. In accordance with this view, methods of evangelism have changed from the massed rallies with bow-tie bedecked choirs to helping in the inner cities in schools, coffee bars, high unemployment areas, and so on.

In this way, throughout the movement's history, British Youth for Christ has placed the emphasis on taking the Gospel to young people, rather than expecting them to come to the Gospel. A recent statement of intent runs as follows:

'British Youth for Christ believes that God is raising up a people who will stand fearlessly as a mighty army to invade even the worst strongholds of evil, to release captives and establish Christ's Kingdom. Over recent years the Church has been rediscovering the weapon of spiritual warfare. But now the ''exercises'' and ''training'' are over - it is time for the army to stir and to engage in *real* action as never before. The

3

ministry of British Youth for Christ is all about identifying
strategic battle fronts, and leading the army to war!'

The movement feels that the 'way in' with British youth is through the circulation of products specifically designed for communication with them (for example magazines with cartoons, and videos and slide/tape shows) rather than the traditional form of books. The range of products is geared to the 13 to 19 age bracket.

There are currently around 60 regional centres in Britain (with 200 full time and part time workers). Cleobury Place, situated ten miles from Kidderminster, houses the national headquarters. Acting as a training centre and conference complex, this location is promoted as being a true 'nerve centre' to the group. Family holidays are advertised to be taken here, as well as youth training courses in the form of the one month 'Street Invaders' and one year 'Teams' courses. A quarter of a million pounds is to be injected into this site over the next two years to update facilities.

Well known activities initiated by British Youth for Christ include the annual Easter teaching and worship sessions entitled 'Spring Harvest'. This form of holiday 'aims to equip Christians to serve God effectively through their local church - with a balance between spiritual, social, practical and theological teaching', ('Time to Stir', 1986, p.15.) This group does not see itself as a church, but rather as a movement working in league with other Christian bodies.

British Youth for Christ has not come under sociological scrutiny and information about the organization is difficult to obtain. No newspaper articles have been reported on this movement in the publications sampled in the present study, and one could deduce from these two factors that the group is relatively uncontroversial in Britain. It was regarded as a controversial 'youth religion' in

the Netherlands, however, by Kollen (1980) who may have thereby influenced van Driel's devision to include it among his sample of NRMs.

Campus Crusade For Christ.

Campus Crusade For Christ was established in Berkeley, California, in 1951 by Bill Bright, who described the vision which prompted him into action as follows:

> 'Suddenly, without any warning, it was as if I was in the very
> presence of the Lord. The sense of his glory and greatness
> was overwhelming. There in just a few moments it was as if the
> Lord laid out the broad brush strokes of a great canvas that
> embraced the whole world. At this time and in a very definite
> way, God commanded me to invest my life in helping to fulfill
> the Great Commission in this generation, specifically through
> winning and disciplining the students of the world for Christ.
> It was an intoxicating experience. I was filled with joy.'
>
> **Cited in Quebedeaux 1979,p.17.**

Bill Bright developed an emphasis on separation from the evil world, on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and on the second coming of Jesus to judge the world. In this way Campus Crusade became a fertile training ground for Jesus people leaders, both in the development of doctrine and the in the practical supply of literature.

The campus ministry continues to be the heart of the movement, and most of the employees have had some prior involvement in Campus Crusade as under-graduates. Campus ministry staff are urged to set a goal of having 40 per cent of their 'discipled' students go into full-time Christian service. The majority

of staff come from a church background and have been part of the movement from one to three years, usually as student leaders in a campus chapter. Most are between 25 and 29 years of age. The worldwide movement claims a mainly middle class membership of over 6,500 staff (including part time staff) in 97 countries.

Based upon the imagery of a family, Campus Crusade encourages a 'parent-child' relationship between trainer and trainee. Bill Bright and his wife are viewed as a model for staff couples and function as the movement's original spiritual parents. The inner circle in this organizational hierarchy is the 'President's Cabinet', which serves as the head of a network structure. Each member of the family is responsible to his or her 'director', and everyone is therefore ultimately responsible to Bright himself. Richard Quebedeaux (1979) attempts to explain this system as follows:

'The "prime movers" in the U.S. operations at headquarters are the president's cabinet, which consists of seven men in addition to Bill and Vonette Bright. More so even than the board itself, these individuals together represent the heart as well as the brains of the movement. They are Bill's faithful disciples, who report directly to him and are distinguished by two necessary qualifications for the position. First and foremost, these men and one woman are one with Bill's vision. They share it without reservation. Second, cabinet members are loyal to Bill to such a degree that he can trust them without question. Not all are based at Arrowhead Springs the movement's headquarters , but their spirit pervades the place, and they are held in high esteem by all staff members who know them.'

Quebedeaux, 1979, p.61.

Campus Crusade is not seen as a church in its own right, being non-doctrinal in character. Instead, it is promoted as a 'companion' to a church, leading people to God, before mainstream bodies take up their role. The group actively pursues a policy of non-criticism of others, claiming that this is part of the Principle of Loving by faith and holiness. This stance has led to criticisms concerning the alleged superficiality and simplistic level of theology within the movement. 'Aggressive evangelism' aptly describes the hallmark of the movement as a whole.

The Children of God / Family of Love.

The 'Jesus Movement' is an overarching term used to describe the large numbers of conservative evangelical Christian groups of mainly young people that emerged in the late 1960s and spread throughout North America and Europe during the 1970s. Most of the movement was contained within the Pentecostal (1) branches of traditional Christianity, but several new groups did emerge and were subsequently viewed with the utmost suspicion as dangerous heresies by more orthodox Christians and the anti-cult movement in particular.

The Children of God (to be known from 1978 as the Family of Love and from 1987 as Heaven's Magic (2)) began as part of the Jesus Movement. The group was founded in California in 1968 by David Berg, who later became known as Moses David, or just 'Mo'. Although many more have participated in the COG for some period, its full - time, live - in membership never exceeded around 6,000.

Berg regards himself to be a prophet chosen by God to convey a warning of the coming end of time as well as new revelations concerning God's plan and purpose for the current age. In this way his 'Mo' letters are parallelled with the Scriptures within the movement. This literature covers a wide range of subjects from prophecies of doom to instruction on health and sexual practices, and marks the changing emphasis placed by Berg on certain issues over time.

7

Through the authoritarian structure of the group Berg's influence pervaded the whole of the COG, thereby emphasising the anti-establishment (and particularly anti - established church) flavour of the movement. A concept of 'Godly socialism' is heralded as being the all-time aim of the group, as members believe that these are the 'last days', and that capitalism and communism will destroy each other through their emphasis on the materialistic side of life rather than the spiritual.

In this way the Children of God maintains an oligarchical system of rule, with the authority structure of the group resembling the shape of a pyramid with Berg at the top and his 'Royal Family' (his kin) directly under him. This Old Testament style movement has adopted varying policies concerning organization, following an ideal of the nomadic tribes of Israel, the modern Kibbutz, and the gypsy style of life at various times in its history.

Berg has emphasised a practice of evangelism which he terms 'litnessing', the distribution of literature to non-members in an attempt to instill in them some interest in the group. This method is now also used as a money-making venture by the COG members, as is another practice that originated as an 'evangelical' method - that of 'flirty fishing'.

Flirty fishing is possibly the most controversial aspect of this NRM, as it involves a form of prostitution designed to attract converts. According to Berg:

'The husbands practically have to be pimps for their own wives!
God bless them! They've got to help manage them and guide them.
They need the fisherman to help them fish. Oodles of men do it
for money in the world! Why not for God?'

The FF Explosion *Mo Letter*, 576 par.138.

Partly due to this and other practices, the COG is one of the first NRMs to receive the attention of the anti-cult movement in the form of FREECOG, an

American 'parent and friends' association which campaigned vehemently against this group. Seeing many of COG's teachings as being recognizably Christian in many respects but extremely different in others, FREECOG has been vehement in its condemnation of the movement. One of the results of this extreme action is the formation of THANKCOG - a movement which ostensibly supports the movement in many ways, adding a new twist to cult controversies.

For further reference: Berg, 1976; Pritchett, 1985; Davis, 1984; Wallis, 1979, 1981.

Endnotes:

(1) Referring to the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles at Pentecost, the term 'Pentecostal' is applied to a movement beginning in 1906 in Los Angeles. Currently with branches in Africa, Europe and Latin America, this group is characterized by spiritual healing and by ecstatic speaking in tongues (glossolalia).

(2) The Children of God adopted the name Family of Love, and later simply The Family, and now, according to a Mo-letter, style publication of January 1987 'Heaven's Magic'.

Christian Science.

The Church of Christ, Scientist, was founded in Boston in 1879 by Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910). Christian Science may be distinguished from other groups in that it relies heavily upon prayer alone for healing, although it is not primarily a healing group. The movement is usually dated from 1866, this being the year in which Mrs. Eddy claimed to have been healed through reading accounts of Jesus' healing powers following a serious fall. Bryan Wilson (1961) outlines the fundamental beliefs of Christian Science as follows:

'Christian Science is an idealistic philosophy, denying the reality of the material world, and its very existence: it has a unitarian theology, (1) agnostic Christology and a perfectionist ethic. In its absolute sense it is a closed and complete system; man is perfect and has no further development. At the human level man has not yet realised his actual perfection, and must yet learn the truth which science is revealing.'

<div align="right">Wilson 1961, pp.27-8.</div>

While Christian Science affirms its oneness with other Christians in that it worships the one God revealed in Jesus Christ, it departs from orthodox Christianity at several significant points. Christian Scientists believe in what they term the 'Allness of God' and therefore the 'unreality of disease, sin and death'. Thus Christ does not defeat evil but demonstrates its lack of any reality beyond our belief in it. In this way 'right thinking' is seen to be the answer to the illusion of illness, and to this end both the system of worldly healing and the healing work of Jesus Christ are explained in Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health With a Key to the Scriptures.* (1875).

Gordon Melton outlines this movements view of God as follows:

'Christian Science emphasizes the impersonal aspect of God as principle, mind, life, truth and love, though the personal aspect of God as Father is acknowledged . It also distinguishes between the man Jesus and the eternal spiritual selfhood, Christ, Son of God, which has been expressed by men and women throughout the centuries. Humans are saved through the Christ, which was demonstrated in Jesus and has been seen in others.'

<div align="right">Melton, 1986, p.25.</div>

Following on from this, the movement believes that God does not punish sin, but sin provides its own punishment and is forgiven only as it is forsaken. Further, God is felt to know nothing of sin, with sickness being not a consequence of sin but a manifestation of the failure adequately to 'demonstrate' God. It is at this juncture that Christian Science steps in to provide the path to salvation.

Bryan Wilson helps to round off the picture:

'Christian Science therapy operates, in practice, to promote worldly success, for Christian Scientists are realists by the world's standards, despite their idealistic philosophy. Transcendentalist thought does not preclude a certain hedonism and acceptance of material well-being. Christian Science quarrels with the wider society in sharply defined areas of contact; otherwise its followers may enjoy, and the religion should help them enjoy, the blessings of the material world. In demonstrating his religion, the votary will be deprived of no good thing, 'good' as society judges it. The material world is an illusion, but at least it should be a pleasant, and not a painful illusion.'

Wilson, 1961, p.133.

The Mother Church of the denomination is situated in Boston. Within the headquarters the publishing society prints and sells the authorized literature of the group, including the daily newspaper entitled the *Christian Science Monitor*, the weekly *Christian Science Sentinel*, and *The Herald of Christian Science*, which appears in a number of languages. The Board of Education teaches a class of thirty pupils every three years for the purpose of providing authorized teachers within the group. A Board of Lectureship provides free lectures on Christian

Science worldwide, while the Board of Publication deals with the public in correcting errors about Christian Science and looks into charges of injustices done to its members.

With nearly 3,000 churches (mainly in the English speaking world) Christian Science is a centralized movement comprising one central church with many branches . It is known that 260 satellites remain in the U.K., although detailed membership statistics are not made available.

Headed first by Mary Baker Eddy and then by a Board of Directors, the group boasts of many rules and by-laws which may be found in the *Church Manual*, written by Mrs Eddy. Initially emphatically charismatic, Christian Science now has an overriding air of bureaucracy, relating in many ways to the running of the movement. Every branch, for example, is expected to maintain a reading room, and also to call for a lecturer from the central board of lectureship at least once a year.

The social composition of Christian Science is interesting, as it sets it apart from many of the other religious groups founded both in this century and the last. 90 per cent of the practitioners are women (there are no figures for the church membership), they are mainly upper and middle class, with a preponderance of older people. A high drop-out rate among the young indicates that the beliefs are 'adopted' rather than 'inherited', an interesting phenomenon when we compare this movement to the newer religious groups of the 1960s and 1970s, some of which are currently attempting to raise children within their own beliefs and cultural system.

Attacks upon Christian Science have come from both Christian quarters and the medical profession. Several groups of ex-members also continue an active polemic against the church.

Endnotes:

(1) The Unitarian theology of Christian Science outlines Jesus as being the 'Way', the one who guides, and the Holy Ghost as 'Christian Science', the promised comforter. The belief system is given another twist, however, in that Jesus is distinguished from Christ; the former name being given to a Gallilean prophet, while Christ is a synonym for truth, which Jesus manifested, and which can dwell in the consciousness of all men.

The Church Universal and Triumphant.

The Church Universal and Triumphant (originally known as Summit Lighthouse) was founded in 1961 by Mark L. Prophet (1918 -1973). For the first five years of its existence this New Religious Movement maintained its headquarters in the Virginian residence of its founder called 'Holy Tree House'. During this time the formation of the Keepers of the Flame Fraternity was announced, and this group developed into an integral part of the movement. In 1966 the centre of the Summit Lighthouse was moved to Colorado Springs, Colorado. Growth during this period was slow but steady, with the weekly magazine entitled *Ashram Notes* (later to be renamed *Pearls of Wisdom*) playing an important role in this progress.

On February 26th 1973 Mark Prophet died suddenly, leaving his wife Elizabeth to take on the full responsibility for, and leadership of, the Summit Lighthouse. According to the movement's teachings, Prophet ascended immediately and is now known as Ascended Master Lanello, the Ever - Present Guru. From this position and through Elizabeth, the former leader has been reported to have given a series of dictations which were later compiled into a book, *Cosmic Consciousness, The Putting On The Garment Of The Lord* (1976), later reissued as *Cosmic Consciousness As The Highest Expression Of Heart.*

The Summit Lighthouse expanded rapidly during the 1970s. In 1970, Montessori International was founded to provide both secular education and spiritual training for children and youth. Summit University was established in 1972 to provide a three month retreat experience with accompanying studies in science, culture and religion. In 1974 Elizabeth Clare Prophet and the Board of Directors incorporated the Church Universal and Triumphant and designated the Summit Lighthouse as the publishing arm of the new Church. In 1975 'Summit International,' (the structure that ties together the various corporations and departments which have grown out of the original Summit Lighthouse) was announced and plans for the establishment of teaching centres around the U.S.A. were initiated. Southern California was chosen for the complex, but the movement now has its headquarters in Montana.

The administration of the Church is in the hands of a Board of Directors, which has responsibility for directing the centres and appointing their leadership. The various departments of the church are now located at Camelot, and the 'Inner Retreat' at the Church's 30,000 acre Royal Teton Ranch in Montana, where regular conferences are held for both members and the general public alike.

Within the movement the internal hierarchy places 'communicants' in a position of prestige, as it is these members in particular who are viewed as dedicated, hard working, and to have the best interests of the group at heart. To attain this status a follower must become a Keeper of the Flame, subscribe to the 'tenets' (rules) of the church, be formally baptized, and also tithe his/her income. Individuals make applications for this honour, and ceremonies are held for christening or accepting new members.

The Church Universal and Triumphant sees itself as the true Church of Jesus Christ and Guatama Buddha as well as the hosts of the Lord ascended, referred to in the Bible as 'the saints robed in white.' J. Gordon Melton summarizes the basic beliefs of the movement as follows:

14

'The Church offers belief in God, the source of Life and Being. From the Great Central Sun, the metaphysical centre of the cosmos, light came forth and was individualised in numerous individual sparks, each a replica of God, a personalized fragment of the Deity. The seeds of light are the 'I AM' Presence, the Lord, or godly part of each individual.'

<div align="right">

Melton, 1986,p.98

</div>

The group maintains that each person was created as a soul, an infinite potential intended to return to the source of its creation, to fully unite with its individualized God - presence. In accordance with this idea, the 'universal Christ consciousness' is seen to mediate the process of the soul's return and the eventual union with the 'I AM' Presence. The movement expects each individual to strive to master the energies appropriate to the life of the soul, and then to wed the soul to the Universal Christ consciousness in what is considered a balancing action of Alpha (spirit) and Omega (matter) - representative of the fusion of the energies in God. As a means of helping individuals towards their goal of self - mastery, the Church stresses a practical path of discipleship which includes instruction in the lost arts of healing, an understanding of the laws of Karma and reincarnation, and the use of the science of the spoken word (prayers, mantras and so on) to invoke light, expose evil and give illumination to God's people.

The movement's publications, entitled *Climb The Highest Mountain* (1972) and *The Great White Brotherhood in the Culture. History and Religion of America* (1983) are a guide to the basic teachings in some detail.

Though the Church Universal and Triumphant has not been attacked to the extent of the better-known new religions such as the Unification Church or the Hare Krishnas, it has joined the list of groups labelled 'cults' by the anti-cult movement. The adoption of a communal lifestyle by members in residence at the centres and the exacting requirements for those who live at Camelot have

brought the common charges of excessive indoctrination and brainwashing. The Church has also been attacked for its outward signs of wealth, with critics citing Elizabeth Clare Prophet's wardrobe and jewellery, the acquisition of property, and the proliferation of publications and audio - visuals as unwarranted for a religious organization. More recently the Church has come under attack by several ex - members, including a few who were asked to leave for violating the Church's standards.

For further reference: Prophet, 1972, 1983.

Divine Light Mission.

The Divine Light Mission (also known by the name Elan Vital) was founded in India in the 1930's by the father of the present leader Maharaj Ji. The title of Satguru (perfect master) was given to this young leader at the age of eight in 1966 when his father died. At this time the Indian sect claimed a following of millions and was one of the many minor Hindu movements. In 1969 the new leader sent one of his mahatmas (a 'released soul') to Britain as a missionary to win converts to the movement, thereby paving the way for his masters visit in 1971. The guru was 13 years old when he attempted his first missionary trip abroad, and in England he found that 200 hippies had already given up their former lifestyle and were actively promoting their new religion. The first Western headquarters was also set up in this year in the U.S., and the movement quickly grew in both countries. By 1973 it was claimed that there were about 8,000 premies (followers) in Britain alone with some living in forty one ashrams around the country and more still residing in communal houses, though in hindsight we may see that this was the numerical - and in many ways theological - peak of the movement.

The religion of guru Maharaj Ji stems largely from the Hinduism within which he was nurtured, with the Divine Light Mission offering an experience rather than a creed. The Upanishads, (1) a collection of sacred Hindu writings

16

which originate between 800 and 300B.C., appear to have had great bearing upon the evolution of beliefs within the group, yet many other religious scriptures are quoted by the modern day avatar to illustrate his ideas. Maharaj Ji points out that whereas cosmic energy is infinite, we are finite. He states, however; 'The mind does have the capacity of directly experiencing this cosmic energy, and after regular and prolonged contact with it, the mind eventually merges with it; it becomes attuned....to the universal mind.' (*Science and Religion*, p.3)

When this occurs, man is seen to experience 'bliss, moksha, liberation, nirvana, salvation, or samdhi.' *Science and Religion* leaflet published by the DLM.) · In line with these ideas is the Hindu notion of Samsara (reincarnation), a phenomenon that the DLM regards as true. Maharaj Ji has attempted to popularize the pantheistic (2) view of God often found in the Hindu scriptures by producing a means of instant salvation for his followers through the reception of what he terms 'knowledge', a goal that is only to be accomplished through him. In this way his devotees claim to have access to a direct experience of that theological centre, the force that operates the cosmos. 'Knowledge', as described by the movement, consists of four simple meditation techniques which are taught to the aspirant by a Mahatma at a secret initiation and which, it is claimed, enable him to turn his senses within and perceive the Divine Light and the 'primordial liberation' which is the holy name or word. The premies are also encouraged to practise satsang consisting of spiritual discourses on the knowledge) in order that they should gain enlightenment, and service to help the Mission (3). Thomas Pilarzyk (1978) puts the beliefs of the group into perspective as follows:

'The mystical experience among Divine Light Mission premies was considered the basis for all world religious scriptures. Continual meditation on the ''Divine Light'' and its effects guaranteed salvation for the individual and became a theme reinforced through the selective use and interpretation of various

scriptural references. Little devotional ritualism developed
although verbal lip service was paid to the illusory nature of
the external world (maya), greater emphases was placed upon the
''practicality of meditation for daily living''.'

<div align="right">**Pilarzyk, 1978, p.32.**</div>

Other than 'knowledge', however, the DLM never cultivated a really systematic theology or developed its own scriptures. One other concept which did emerge despite this lack of emphasis and idiosyncratic teachings was the notion of world peace- achievable, according to the guru, only through meditation. Maeve Price (1979) commented upon this phenomenon within the Divine Light Mission and used this concept to illustrate the moving emphasis within the group. She put forward the view that although the idea of world peace had been important in the past, its prominence in the movement had diminished radically, being replaced by an interest in the state of the indivivduals own peace. She remarks:

'The change probably reflects both the single failure to convert
the world's millions and the general counter cultural shift
from a concern to change the world towards exploration of the
self. It is also in accord with the current introversionist
phase dictated by the leader.'

<div align="right">**Price, 1979, p.285.**</div>

Media reaction in Britain to this new religious movement began when Maharaj Ji visited the country in 1971, with the split that had developed between the guru and his mother being covered in some detail. These articles embodied a flavour of incredulity and ridicule. Despite this general amazement, however, the group engendered little overt opposition in the British press, and in recent

years the movement has faded out of the public eye almost completely. This pattern has been influenced partly by the policies of the Divine Light Organization in that they discouraged relationships with the media in any form and censured publications emanating from the movement itself. The general decline of the group has also affected this trend.

Since 1974 the Divine Light Mission has abandoned much of its Hindu flavour; Maharaj Ji is no longer referred to as lord of the universe; and the earlier millennial expectations have been totally removed. This might reflect a decline in the appeal of the movement to both potential converts and to the commentators on NRMs.

Endnotes:

(1) The Upanishads are the concluding portions of the vedas (the sacred writings of the Hindus) and contain the developed essence of Vedic teaching. They are the philosophical foundations of Hinduism and teach that all men can achieve the divine state if they strive for it.

(2) Pantheism veiws the whole of reality as being divine; all is God and God is all.

(3) The Divine Light Mission has a two tier membership; an elite and a rank and file. The ordinary members of the sect are called premies, while some 2,000 or more others have been designated by Guru Maharaj Ji as Mahatmas (literally 'high souled'), and to them has been given the power to reveal the knowledge to potential converts.

Eckankar.

Eckankar, the 'ancient science of soul travel,' was founded in 1964 by Paul Twitchell, and may be seen to rely heavily upon the (unacknowledged) teachings of the Sant Mat tradition of India. This group actively promotes the idea that,

until his death in 1971, Twitchell was the unique incarnation of God on earth. Members therefore felt that it was only through Eckankar that an individual could find truth and salvation. In this way, the group was seen by its adherents to represent a timeless and universal truth which had been 'revived' for public dissemination in 1964. The anti-cultist 'S.C.P. Journal' described the rise of Eckankar as follows:

'In fifteen short years, Eckankar has gone from (literally) nothing to a highly systemized belief system with a large corporate bureaucracy and in-residence 'God-man' as its leader. In almost every respect, it is a perfect example of the phenomenon of spiritual mania which had so characterized the last two decades.'

Spiritual Counterfeits Project, 1979, p.5, Vol.3. No.1

In his writings Twitchell claimed that he was the 971st Eck Master, the descendant of an unbroken chain of masters in the Order of the Vaiargi. He is reported to have received his rod of power from Eck Master Rebazar Tarz, a Tibetan. After his death in September 1971, Darwin Gross received the rod of power and was acknowledged as the 972nd Eck Master.

Gross' time as the leader of Eckankar began and ended in controversy. Initially a rift was created within the movement when it was announced that the leadership had been given to Gross, with the Vice President Dr. Louis Bluth leading the discontented and helping them to form an opposing group. After this period of unrest the leadership question took a back seat, and when Gross married Paul Twitchell's widow a coherent force was created, meaning that organization began to prosper once more. During the next seven years membership more than doubled, and a new headquarters was built in Menlo Park, California. Gross used his talents to expand the artistic and cultural development of the group, especially in music. However, all was not well. In 1978 the

leader announced his divorce. During the next year Twitchell and Eckankar were attacked for plagiarizing from Sant Mat materials and creating the lineage of Eck Masters, while Gross married again (the marriage was annulled after only a few months). On October 31st the former leader passed the rod of power to a new Eck Master, though still retaining a leadership role. Recently, however, Gross was officially cut off from the Eckankar organization, and is now no longer officially recognized as a genuine Eck Master. His books have been withdrawn from circulation. Gross was succeeded by Harold Klemp, the 973rd living Eck Master, with this appointment being made public at the 1981 Eck Worldwide Seminar in Los Angeles. Trustees are active regional leaders from various locations. These men and women operate under the spiritual leadership of the living Eck Master, and effectively manage Eckankar.

The satsang class is the basic unit of organization within the movement, and is conducted monthly for students under the supervision of the area representative. Melton outlines the basic theology of the movement as follows:

'Eckankar beliefs begin with the 'Sugmad', defined as the form-
less, all-embracing, impersonal, and infinite, the ocean of
love and mercy, from which flows all life, the equivalent of
God in theistic religions. All life comes from the Sugmad via
the Eck current, the audible life current, which can be heard
as sound and seen as light. Humans are an immortal soul in-
carnated in a set of bodies to protect it from the coarse lower
worlds. The Eck Masters teach the precise techniques and spir-
itual exercises whereby the soul can be released from the lim-
itations of physical life and travel in the higher spiritual
realms to the Sugmad. Travel is along the Eck, the audible
life current. The path back to the Sugmad is through a se-
ries of twelve invisible planes. They may, in part, be dis-

21

tinguished by the sound typical of each level .... the fifth

plane is the first in which the soul reaches the pure spiritual

worlds.'

<p align="right">**Melton, 1986, p.148.**</p>

While Twitchell maintains that the top six planes are ruled by Sugmad, he also points out that the lower planes are ruled by the negative god-forces, and especially by Kal Niranjan, the devil of Eckankar. Earth is the first plane in this cosmology.

The discourses and other material available to students (chelas) within the movement teach a variety of techniques to contact and travel the Eck current. The only way to succeed, according to Eckankar, is by submitting to the guidance of the living Eck Master, or mahatma, who plugs the student (chela) into the cosmic current. The enlightenment gained through this process is described as progressive self-realization or god-realization.

The notion of reincarnation is highlighted by Eckankar, and with this the notion of karma. The group teaches that the soul enters the universe as a mineral, then moves its way up through plant, fish, reptile, and mammal reincarnations. At the human stage the soul is seen to spend any number of lifetimes until it gains spiritual enlightenment.

Controversy has mainly been based in the United States, and centres on the issues made public by David Lane during his studies of Eckankar conducted at California State University and published in the anti-cultist 'S.C.P. Journal'. Lane uncovered many discrepancies within the movement, concerning the authenticity of Twitchell himself as well as the legitimacy of the teachings that he promoted as fact. Lane's complete work has been published as *Making of a Spiritual Movement*(1983).

For Further Reference: Twitchell. 1969, 1971a, 1971b; Gross, 1979; Kemp, 1980; Hinkins, 1976.

est.

Erhard Seminars Training (now Known as Centers Network) was founded by Werner Erhard, and entails a 60 hour seminar in which the charismatic leader (or, more likely, a team of trainers) promotes his own brand of 'salvation' through an organization of men and women dedicated to advancing the sovereignty of the self. Started in 1971, the *est* movement has had a substantial impact for such a short history, with the first European programme starting in London in May 1977. In 1976 there were 170 paid staff members and 13,000 volunteers, and by 1979 16,000 people had graduated from the course.

The estian view of life is that reality is completely created, controlled, experienced, and determined by the person involved, thereby placing the individual in a position of god in his own universe and eliminating any perception of objectivity. According to Erhard:

```
'Life is always perfect just the way it is.  When you realize
that, then no matter how strongly it may appear to be other-
wise, you know that whatever is happening right now will turn
out all right.  Knowing this, you are in a position to start
mastering life.'
```

'What's So', Jan.1975.

Bry (1976) elaborates upon this point by putting forward the view that, 'Wrong is actually a version of right. If you are always wrong you are right.' (p.192.) Accordingly, the movement espouses objective truth, and no absolutes except the absolute of 'whatever is, is right.'

In an effort to account for some of the problems with his world view and to justify actions reminiscent of pre-*est* life, Erhard coined the term 'games' to explain the phenomenon otherwise known in the Hindu writings as 'maya'. Life

as viewed by many is seen to be an illusion, with people's problems emanating from the fact that they cannot distinguish the 'game' from the ultimate reality. *est* claims to promote understanding in this sphere.

The basic seminar programme followed by would-be *est* graduates combines psychological insight and confrontation with a method of allowing emotional release and a sort of self-acceptance. Joel Kovel (1976) discusses the *est* system as follows:

> '*est* has discovered how to compress and intensify the basic psy-
> chotherapeutic maneuver of breaking down defences. From one
> side of the tedium, haranguing batters resistance, while from
> the other the group experience leads a person to dissolve his
> or her individuality, and its stubborn arrogance, and to psy-
> chologically merge with others in the room. The very size of
> the group, along with the techniques of est, tends to keep those
> others in a rather undifferentiated state, hence promoting a
> sense of union with them. The result for the individual is a
> state of openness, receptivity and weakened discrimination. In
> to the gap steps the est philosophy, embodied in the trainer,
> and behind him, Werner Erhard.'

1976, p.172.

The organization has special programmes for children, teenagers, parents, college students, professors, blacks, prisoners, clergy, scientists, lawyers, psychiatrists, and homosexuals. Each and every group adheres to the Erhard principle that, 'we want nothing short of a total transformation - an alteration of substance, not a change of form.' (*What's So*, Jan. 1975).

For further reference: Tipton, 1982.

International Society For Krishna Consciousness.

Orthodox Hinduism encompasses a variety of sects or traditions with diversified beliefs, practices and traditions. In accordance with the world view of this religion, these variations are not considered to be wrong or heretical, but merely to be different perspectives of the one eternal system, or the Santana Dharma. Commenting upon this phenomenon, Yogi Ramacharka states:

'The different Hindu sects, while practically appearing as different religions, in reality regard themselves as but different sects and divisions of the one eternal religion of India, of which each, of course, considers itself the best and most favoured channel of expression and interpretation.'

1930 pp.271-272.

Both the International Society for Krishna Consciousness and Transcendental Meditation follow the philosophies of the Indian Hindu faith, yet they emphasise different spheres of this multi-faceted religion.

The origins of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness date back in the West to 1966, when a 70 year old Indian, A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, formed the 'Hare Krishna' movement in New York. The spiritual pivot of the movement, Bhaktivedanta, is widely accepted by his membership to have been Anacarya, a spiritual master who educates through example. Following the teachings of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu,(1) a Hindu saint born in 1486, the old Indian guru brought to the west knowledge of Lord Krishna, popularly thought of as being the supreme God and bodily form of Vishnu. In his time Chaitanya had revived the devotional form of Hinduism called Bhakti Yoga, emphasising that love and devotional service to God were the primary means by which to gain spiritual realization. With this emphasis on purity and love

Bhaktivedanta succeeded in attracting a sizable following in the U.S. of young and enthusiastic people willing to give up their former lives to come and find God, albeit in an Indian garb.

Discussing the phenomenon of devotion in the west to various New Religious Movements (often with Oriental origins), Robert Bellah suggests that; 'Culture, from being conceived as an exo-skeleton, is becoming an endo-skeleton, something self-consciously chosen and internalized, not immutably given from without.' (1970 p.219.)

Followers of ISKCON claim that the world is near the end of the materialistic age of Kali Yoga, the last stage of a four cycle millennium. In line with this they feel that people need to be aroused in some way so that the present era can be concluded and a new period of peace, love and unity brought about. It is specifically with this end in mind that the members pursue aggressive tactics of recruitment.

Encouraged by their personal relationships with 'God as Man', the devotees chant publicly as well as distributing literature about the sect in an effort to arouse interest in others. This practice of chanting the holy name of Krishna is highlighted by Bhaktivedanta (and Chaitanya) as being the direct way to the supreme personality of the godhead, and because of this it is felt that on-lookers are impressed (and often stunned) by the power and purity of repeating the holy name of Krishna, thereby becoming receptive to the message of the group. As well as following the beliefs written in the Bhagavad Gita (and Bhaktivedanta's interpretation of them), the Krishnas are duty - bound to comply with four main rules while living within the religious community. Gambling, intoxicants (including tea and coffee), illicit sex, and the eating of meat, fish or eggs are all outlawed, and through adherence to these basic laws the young devotees seek to gain the ascendance of their soul which is expected to exercise dominion over their body which is, in turn, ruled by passion. In this Vedic tradition women are

relegated completely to the charge of men, another facet which contrasts this group rather sharply with most of their western neighbours.

Controversy has surrounded the Hare Krishnas in Western Europe, despite efforts by the group to counteract this. Child custody disputes have emerged when one parent remains within the group and the other leaves, generating heated arguments. The highly visible nature of the Krishna recruitment techniques has in some instances helped to earn them a unique reputation.

In Britain, as in America, the future of ISKCON would appear to be influenced by the growing Indian element within the ranks. These people tend to be attracted specifically to the religious traditions that the movement represents, rather than to the distinctiveness of ISCKON itself, yet their voice is beginning to be heard within the group and by the outside society. Burke Rochford's survey of the state of the Hare Krishna faith in the U.S. suggests that:

'By aligning itself with the larger Hindu community, the movement hopes to shed its image as a deviant cult and establish its legitimacy as a truly religious movement in the eyes of the American public. ISCKON hopes that it will be extended the rights and privileges of any other religious faith in America.'

Rochford, 1985 p.271.

This comment is of particular relevance in Britain at present, as the Krishna community in Watford is currently fighting an injunction that has been brought by the Letchmore Heath residents who have so far succeeded in preventing large numbers of devotees from flocking to the ISKON manor house on Sundays. The Krishna property became subject to an enforcement notice which says the group must 'discontinue the use of the land for the purpose of a religious community and public worship and public entertainment in connection with religious festivals'. Following an appeal a public enquiry was held on the 9th of November

1987. The local Indian community backed the Hare Krishnas in their fight, a possible sign that they are willing to commit themselves to the wider cause.

For further reference: Witworth and Shiels, 1982; Judah, 1974; Knott, 1986.

Endnotes:

(1) Chaitanya's theology basically resembled that of Ramamya, who identified the supreme spirit with Vishnu, one of the three personalities of the Hindu trinity. Brahma and Shiva, who were normally considered to be distinct gods within the Hindu trinity, became separate manifestations of Vishnu.

(2) The Upanishads are the concluding portions of the vedas (the sacred writings of the Hindus) and contain the developed essence of Vedic teaching. They are the philosophical foundations of Hinduism and teach that all men can achieve the divine state if they strive for it.

Jehovah's Witnesses.

The Jehovah's Witnesses are, in their own words:

'Servants of Jehovah, the Almighty God, and active witnesses to this sovereign supremacy. Since the time of Christ Jesus they are Christian ministers doing the will of God by following the course exemplified by Christ their leader. The name Jehevah means 'The Purposer', his witnesses declare him as the only true God, who is now working out his purpose of vindicating his name and sovereignty and blessing all faithful mankind through his kingdom.'

<div align="right">

Make Sure of All Things, 1953, p. 193.

</div>

The Watchtower Bible and Tract Society was founded in 1874 by Charles Taze Russell, born in 1852 near Pittsburgh, Pennysylvania. In 1879 Russell began publication of *Zion's Watchtower*, a magazine in which he published his own unique interpretation of the Bible, and in 1886 he produced the first volume of seven books (six written by him), entitled *The Millennial Dawn*, (later to be retitled *Studies in the Scriptures*). At Russell's death in 1916 Judge Joseph Franklin Rutherford became the second President of the Watchtower Society, and it was under his leadership that the name Jehovah's Witnesses was adopted. Rutherford moved the society's headquarters to Brooklyn, and also engendered a system of theocratic control, gaining the power to make all policy decisions.

Rutherford died in 1942 to be succeeded by Nathan K. Knorr, and it was during Knorr's presidency that the society increased from 115,000 to over two million members. In 1961 the society produced its own English translation of the Bible entitled *The New World Translation of Holy Scriptures*. When Knorr died in 1977, Frederick W. Franz became the new president and continued the tradition outlined by his predecessors of promoting the image of Jehovah's Witnesses as holding the uniquely correct interpretation of God's word. The movement claimed to have more than three million fully committed members in 1986. (*Yearbook of Jehovah's Witnesses*. 1987.)

The teachings of the Watchtower organization are allegedly based strictly on the ideas put forward on the Bible, yet they do differ from conventional Christian thinking in some very fundamental ways. First and foremost, the group rejects the doctrine of the Trinity, declaring that it is of pagan origin. In this way they take a unitarian view of God and liken him to a person, in whose image man was created. Jehovah is seen to have a specific location (and therefore He is not thought of as being omnipresent), plus a personality to which the Witnesses feel they can readily relate.

Jesus Christ is viewed by the movement to be a completely separate personage from God, being an archetypal man, a perfect being sent down from heaven

to earth in human form by God specifically to provide redemption for mankind, and in the process giving up his prestigious position as the Archangel Michael. Once he had finished his 'earthly course', the Jehovah's Witnesses maintain that he gave up his life in a 'perfect sacrifice', and returned to heaven to be at the right hand of God in anticipation of ruling as King of God's Kingdom. All created things in the universe are seen to be made through Christ and for Christ as God's first born heir, yet he is not thought to be the co-creator.

In line with the unitarian view the Watchtower Society teaches that the Holy Spirit is not part of the Godhead. Both the personality and the deity of the Holy Spirit are denied, and it is defined as being, '...the invisible active force of Almighty God which moves his servants to do His Will.' (*Let God Be True*, p.108.)

Other key symbols encompassed within the theological boundaries of the Watchtower Society's belief systems are the unique views of both Satan and Hell. Satan inhabits the Witness's imagination in anthromorphic form as a savage and evil fallen angel who is aware of every human action, but who is not able to read inner-most thoughts, and is not as powerful as either Jehovah or the enthroned Christ. In this way he is currently seen to be 'misleading the entire inhabited earth' in subtle ways (especially since 1914), yet he is allegedly predestined to be defeated by Christ at Armageddon.

The Watchtower movement denies the existence of Hell as a place of everlasting punishment for the wicked. The JW's argue that, 'The doctrine of burning hell where the wicked are tortured eternally after death cannot be true mainly for four reasons. (1) It is wholly unscriptural; (2) It us unreasonable; (3) It is contrary to God's love, and (4) It is repugnant to justice.' (*Let God Be True* p.9.)

The Jehovah's Witnesses strongly promote the concept of an imminent Armageddon, thereby placing themselves within the category of millenarian sects. Christ is regarded as being able to purge the earth of Satan's influence during

this time, when the world as we know it is destroyed, leaving Jehovah's people in their elevated position. According to the leading prophecy of the movement, Armageddon must come within the generation of mankind living at the time of Christ's Second Coming in 1914 (a heavenly kingdom, it is said, having been set up at this time in order to prepare the way for Jehovah's new nation of people on earth.) Prophecies have in the past been revised, however, in the light of unexpected events.

Central to the concept of God's chosen people is the Watchtower notion of the 'Bride of Christ', a class of 144,000 men and women who, it is said, will rule in heavenly glory after the Battle of Armageddon. The 'great crowd' conception goes hand-in-hand with this idea, as a large number of other people are seen to be the faithful witnesses who will survive the battle and the First Judgement before living in paradise on earth for a thousand years. The survivors of the Second Judgement are believed to live forever in a perfected condition on earth and in heaven.

In Watchtower theology, salvation is not regarded as a free gift from God. Rather, their literature stresses a salvation through work. Russell wrote that, 'they must be recovered from blindness as well as from death, that they, each for himself, may have a full choice to prove, by obedience or disobedience, their worthiness of life eternal.' (*Studies in the Scriptures*, vol.1, p.158.)

The one consuming concern of the group is to gain more adherents by warning people about Armageddon. Baptism within the movement is seen not only to be an introduction to the organization, but also to active service. The practice of 'publishing' (going from door to door selling literature and evangelizing) is heavily promoted in this way, with the central message being that, 'The Kingdom of heaven is at hand. The end of the age is near and Armageddon is just around the corner, when the wicked will be destroyed and the theocracy, or rule of God, will be set upon the earth.' (*Let God Be True*, p.214.)

For further reference: Beckford, 1975; Harrison, 1978; Penton, 1976; Botting, 1984.

Meher Baba.

Meher Baba (meaning compassionate father) is a deceased Indian spiritual master who claimed to be the most recent manifestation of the avataric tradition. Living between 1894 and 1969 this guru actively promoted the view that Zoroaster, Rama, Krishna, Buddha, Christ and Mohammed were all human manifestations of the same divine being whose appearances on earth have punctuated humanity's movement through an 'avataric cycle'. Meher Baba's place at the end of this succession is faithfully observed by his followers, known popularly as 'Baba Lovers', and his doctrine of love is actively adhered to. Robbins and Anthony (1981b) discuss the format of relationships within the movement and state:

'Baba's love is viewed as diffusing through loving relationships among Baba Lovers, which are viewed as derivative from the participants' inner expressive liason with the divine beloved. Expressive and affective relationships among followers are thus universalised and achieve a transcendental legitimation.'

1981, p.204.

Meher Baba's position in the movement during his lifetime was affected by the fact that he stopped talking at the age of thirty one and continued his vow of silence until his death (1), giving him an added aura of mystery. This was reinforced by the fact that Baba maintained that his predecessors had said everything that there was to be said of any great importance, and that his role was that of divine propagator of these combined teachings.

Although Baba did not speak, he did write. Among the books that contain his thinking is a five volume work entitled *Discourses*, a more philosophical work outlining the history of God and the universe entitled *God Speaks*, and a third, *Listen Humanity*, which is an assortment of essays by Baba on various subjects. These writings highlight the predominant message of the movement which embodies the doctrine of metaphysical unity among all people, summarized in the phrase 'we are all one,' a concept which was extremely attractive in the West among young people from the 1960s onwards. In his *Discourses* Baba affirmed; 'Love and happiness are the only important things in life, and they are both absent in the dry and factual knowledge which is accessible to the intellect.'

Alongside this doctrine of love in the Baba theology is the notion of reincarnation, that is, an the idea that we all begin life as a metal, but progress in successive incarnations to being a vegetable, an insect, a reptile, animal, and then a man. Within the human realm five distinct levels are then located, with the lowest being the gross materialistic plane and the highest being sainthood. Finally, the sixth plane consists of a sphere of illumination, and after that there is nirvana and the merger into the mind of God. Moving along the path of spiritual progress can be accomplished in several ways according to Meher Baba. In keeping with Hindu and Buddhist teaching, he refers to the ways of knowledge, of action, and of mental and physical discipline as being acceptable. But the best way, according to this modern avatar, is to surrender completely to Meher Baba.

The organisational procedures within the Meher Baba centres are mostly informal and 'personal', with group activities being more or less spontaneously arranged by people who happen to be around at the time. Formal proselytization is de- emphasised, with intellectual beliefs giving way to a more general interest within the group. Members also maintain that involvement with Baba is not inconsistent with other religious and worldly interests, an element which has attracted a flow of followers through the silencing of their qualms.

Endnotes:

(1) In 1969 Meher Baba announced in his *Universal Message*; 'When I break my silence, the impact of my love will be universal and all life in creation will know, feel and receive of it. It will help every individual to break free from his own bondage in his own way. I am the Divine Beloved who loves you more than you can ever love yourself in knowing you real self.' Despite this promise, Meher Baba 'dropped his body' in 1969, and now his followers debate whether their leader will yet break his silence.

For further reference, Needleman, 1977.

The Navigators.

The Navigators was founded in the U.S. during the 1930s by Dawson Trotman, a Christian layman. The group spread firstly throughout the sailing fraternity, and the impact of the Second World War enabled it to gain a strong following which in turn led to the founding of Christian servicemen's centres in several countries. The name 'The Navigators' was born out of these nautical associations. 1956 heralded the start of The Navigators in Britain, with part of the impetus for this coming from the aftermath of the 1954 Billy Graham Harringay Crusade.

The Navigators see themselves as 'an organization seeking to promote Christian discipleship around the world', (Navigators, 1987, p.3.) The stated aims of the group are to evangelise, to establish (encouraging growth through individual care and guidance), to equip (to help growing Christians pass on to others the things they themselves are learning) and to send qualified people into the 'harvest fields of the world'. ('The Navigators', p.1.) Doctrinally The Navigators claim to stand in the historic, evangelical tradition of the Christian Church. and they emphasize their membership of the Evangelical Alliance in the U.K.

The Navigator work in Britain is led by a team of full-time workers who are aided by a large part-time staff. Recent evangelical crusades include a project called 'Faith in Action,' executed in Sparkbrook, the details of which may be found in the movement's publication entitled 'Log 1987' (pp. 6-7). Branching right out from their nautical roots, The Navigators seek converts in many sections of society and in varying places. Currently enjoying international status, the movement claims to have men and women from 25 countries serving with The Navigators in more than 30 nations.

Press reaction to this group has been non-existent in Britain, indicating that it cannot be considered controversial in this country. This group was treated as a NRM in this study because of the exact replication of van Driel's work on the American press. It is hypothesized that van Driel had been influenced in his development of these categories by the debate which exists in the Netherlands concerning the classification of NRMs. (Kollen, 1980; Staten, 1984). Sociological literature on this movement is virtually non-existent. For further reference see Foster, 1984.

People's Temple Christian (Disciples) Church.

The People's Temple Christian (Disciples) Church was formed in 1955 in Indianapolis by the Rev. Jim Jones. This charismatic leader developed an image of caring for the poor and the black people of the city, with his sermons containing messages of equality, brotherhood and socialism. In 1964 Jones was ordained in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), and in 1965 he migrated with his following to Ukiah, California. From there the People's Temple became a communal group modeled on the Peace Mission of Father Divine, whom Jones had known.

Jones acquired a largely black following in California who came to view him as a prophet and miracle worker, and by 1972 he claimed that over forty people

had been raised from the dead. Church services within this group featured psychic readings and healings by Jones, spirited singing, testimonies and sermons. A wide range of social services was also promoted by the group.

By 1972 congregations flourished in San Fransisco, Los Angeles and Indianapolis, and followers were to be found in cities around the United States. In 1977 Jones opened a community in Guyana, which he named 'Jonestown', settling on land that he had leased five years previously. During this period Jonestown numbered over a thousand residents amongst it's inhabitants, and it was here that the murder of Congressman Leo J. Ryan and several of his party took place in November 1978, immediately prior to the mass suicide/murder of over 900 of the community's residents (including Jones) at this time.

Although not normally categorised as a NRM, the People's Temple has figured prominently in the upsurge of interest in the phenomenon collectively known as 'cults'. Despite the lack of publicity about the group before 1978, the scale of events in this year ensured the importance of this occurence in the agenda of the press all over the world. It is around this time that the question of 'cults', as we know it today, began to be investigated intensively. Any review of mass media reaction to NRMs must, therefore, take the controversies about the People's Temple into account.

For further reference: Krause, 1979; Naipaul, 1980; Hall, 1979; Richardson, 1980.

Rajneesh Foundation.

Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh is the charismatic yet controversial figure at the head of the Rajneesh Movement, a (vaguely) Hindu sect which became popular during the mid 1970s to 1980s in particular. The rise of this group highlights the synthesis that was attempted between Eastern and Western spiritualities at this time among certain sections of the population in North America and Europe, thereby echoing the changes in values and ideas which were brought about by

the counter-culture of the 1960s. In April 1975 the first therapy groups began in Poona, India, and Bhagwan's name and teachings became established on the new age 'growth circuit'. This communal movement moved to the U.S. in June 1981 where its visibility reached new heights.

Religion, according to Bhagwan, is deemed to be of great importance in liberating the individual in this life, thereby allowing him fully to enjoy the present as well as the future. In this way Rajneesh puts forward the view that all orthodox religions are both anti-life and death-orientated, and holds out a ray of hope for those who wish for something more. He states:

'I am bringing you a synthesis of East and West, of science and religion, of intellect and intuition, of the male mind and the female mind, of the head and the heart, of the right and the left. I am also trying in every possible way to create a great harmony, because only that harmony can save.'

cited in V. Joshi, 1982, p.171.

The theology of the Rajneesh Movement is based around the pivotal concept of God and creation being one. This monist view permeates the whole of Bhagwan's thinking and teaching, and encourages followers to appreciate the aspects of God displayed in both Bhagwan and each and every one of them. V. Joshi reports an interview with the guru which illustrates this aspect of the movement:

'To the question ''why do you call yourself Bhagwan?'' (why do you call yourself God?) he replied; ''Because I am. And because you are. And because only God is .... the whole consists of one stuff... If you can recognise God in me, you have taken the first step toward recognizing him in yourself.'''

A two tier level of reality is expounded by the movement, consisting of the divine and 'mundane' spheres. For most people, according to Bhagwan, life is lived exclusively in the realm of the 'everyday', with more philosophical questions being ignored. Yet for others, insight into the realm of the divine is attainable by overcoming the block of the mind in order that the experience of God within may be wholeheartedly embraced.

In this light the doctrine of reincarnation is of extreme importance, a philosophy which reflects the Hindu background to the sect. Bhagwan puts forward the view that a person needs to understand his past lives in order to be able to attain any form of spiritual growth, taking up in this life where he left off in the past.

It is the aim of all sannyasins (1) to attain enlightenmennt through the best way possible, and in this quest Bhagwan guides them to the methods he considers most appropriate. The guru encourages his disciples to go deeply and totally into all experiences of life, as he maintains that transcendence can never be achieved through denial or suppression. This freedom within the Rajneesh movement is extended to sex as well as mental states such as violence, jealousy, possessiveness, greed, hatred, and others that make up the range of human emotions. The door to liberation (or Moksha) is therefore seen to be beyond the experience and understanding of our passions. Bhagwan elaborates thus; 'I give you total freedom to experience, with just one condition: be alert, be watchful, be conscious.'

The theory behind the methods and meditations of release used in the Rajneesh movement is based on the premise that anything incomplete is carried by the mind indefinitely, and for these memories and inhibitions to be dropped in favour of a higher ideal they must be completed. In this way Bhagwan maintains

that emotional indulgence results in purgation, thereby rendering it spiritually desirable.

Joshi, as a follower of the movement, expresses the central thrust of the group when he claims that:

'The main objective of this movement is to create a spiritual awakening all over the world. It aims at eliminating all distinctions and divisions in the name of race, nation, caste, creed, and religion, and building a world family of those who are seeking inner transformation.'

Joshi, 1982, p.95.

Through this method Bhagwan hopes to stem the tide of what he deems to be imminent disaster; by creating a body of 'new men' he hopes to thwart the millenarian apocalypse heralded by this guru as otherwise imminent.

Becomming increasingly labelled as a controversial group, the followers of Bhagwan have also been thrown into turmoil by internal wranglings during the past two years, and notably by the split between Bhagwan and his second in command Sheela. Hugh Milne's (1986) book describes this period of unrest at length from an insider's view (he was Bhagwan's bodyguard), but for a good objective account of the goings on in Rajneeshpuram and abroad, the work of Judith Thompson and Paul Heelas (1986) is invaluable.

The methods used within the Rajneesh Movement concerning the enlightenment of young followers have been highlighted in the controversy that has grown around this group. Bhagwan's enormous wealth has also been emphasized in the criticisms, with his fleet of Rolls Royces gaining much publicity. Those within the movement itself, however, see Bhagwan as a 'master of publicity', and are happy to see that his name is becomming well known.

Endnotes:

(1) 'Sannyasins' is the term used within the Rajneesh Foundation for disciples. The initiation ritual of an individual is described as ' 'taking sannyas', and sets the context for future development within the movement. Bhagwan illustrates the importance placed upon this ceremony by the group when he says:

```
'The moment you are a sannyasin you are totally at freedom.  It

means you have taken a decision:  to live in indecision, to

live in freedom.  The moment you are initiated into sannyas you

are initiated into an unchartered, unplanned future.  Now you

are tethered to the past.'
```

<div align="right">

Rajneesh, 1980, p.110.

</div>

Until recently initiates received a necklace called a mala during the ceremony, and were told to carry on wearing orange clothing. New policy within the movement has advocated that the giving of a new name alone is symbolic of a change of lifestyle.

The Salvation Army.

The Salvation Army was founded in 1865 by William Booth, (1829-1912). The roots of this group lie in the Christian revivalism encountered on the fringes of Methodism at this time, and its uniqueness lies both in its outward appearances, doctrinal teachings, and activities in society at large.

In adopting military uniforms, bands, ranks and metaphors for its organization and activities the Salvation Army struck a new chord among the urban working class in the late-19th century, promoting an image of working for God

and the poor; the former achieved through worship and the latter through active social work. (1) The Army was born amid the great outburst of Victorian philanthropy and voluntary effort that prepared the way for the modern welfare state. The Salvationists' concern for man's present welfare is intended to be an expression of Christ's love for mankind, and this predominantly lower middle class group does much to improve social conditions for the disprivileged. Frederick Coutts explains that the creed of the Salvationists:

> '...proclaims the grand principles of their Methodist forbears;
> their organization has an autocratic structure unique in Chris-
> tendom: they are pledged to teetotalism among other things;
> their officers may only marry other officers; their flag is
> yellow, red and blue...'

<div align="right">Coutts, 1981, p.8.</div>

The Army is also anti-smoking, anti-gambling, and anti- abortion. More theoretically, baptism and the taking of the sacrament in Church services do not take place, thereby increasing the distance between the movement and other more established religious bodies.

William Booth, in an attempt to clarify the position of the group within the framework of existing religion, put forward the following explanation:

> 'In the north of England...a clergman said...that it is evi-
> dent that the Salvation Army is not a church. To be a church
> there must evidently be the exercise of sacramental functions,
> which evidently are not duly appreciated by the army. We are
> ...getting away from the ordinary idea of a church every day.
> It seems as if a voice from heaven said that we were to be an

army, separate from, going before, coming after, and all round about the existing churches.'

'War Cry' 2.1.1883

Roland Robertson (1967) examines the Salvation Army from a sociological point of view, discussing the insertion of this body into the wider society. For him the transition from persecution in the 1880's, through royal recognition in the early years of the 20th century, to a partial integration in the complex of mainstream Christianity in mid 20th century Britain has not been accompanied 'without a diminution in both the publicity accorded to the Army and in the movement's own vitality.' (1967, p.49) He goes on to say that superficially this transition appears to represent a frequently discussed change in religious movements from sect to denomination - from a position of seperateness from the secular society to one of accommodation to it. Despite this, Robertson argues that, whilst the Salvation Army has become more tolerant of worldly affairs and has slowly responded to many aspects of change in British society, there are basic features of Salvationism which, paradoxically, at the same time involve the Army in 'the world' and also prevent accommodation to 'the world'. Here Robertson cites in particular the pragmatic interpretation of doctrine and teaching, the 'military' form of government and the social welfare services of the Army.

Endnotes.

(1) See Fairbank, J., 1983, *Booth's Boots: The Beginnings of Salvation Army Social Work*, London, Salvation Army Press.

Scientology.

According to its founder, L. Ron Hubbard, Scientology is the 'science of acquiring knowledge', the name being formed from the latin word 'scio', which means 'to know' or 'distinguish', and the greek word 'logos', which means 'the word' or 'outward form by which the inner thought is expressed or made known'. From this perspective the founder's third wife, Mary Sue Hubbard, emphasizes the religious aspects of the movement in particular by stating :

'Scientology is a religion in the oldest sense of the word, a study of wisdom. Scientology is a study of man as a spirit, in his relationship to life and the physical universe. It is non-denominational. By that it is meant that Scientology is open to people of all religions and beliefs and in no ways tries to persuade a person from his religion, but assists him better to understand that he is a spiritual being.'

Freedom **13.**

With a background in both physics and engineering plus a career in the u.s. navy, Ron Hubbard utilized his favourite skill when he retired by writing the science fiction stories that he enjoyed so much. His interest in the 'unknown' has featured in the many stories that he wrote, and the roots of the Dianetics self-help movement may be seen to lie in these expositions. The enormously positive response elicited by his work from the reading public encouraged Hubbard to develop and promote his ideas in a more systematic fashion, and in 1950 the book *Dianetics, the Modern Science of Mental Health,* was published with the claim to be 'the common people's science of life and betterment.'

Through the enormous success of dianetics as a form of self-help mental training and therapy, Hubbard was encouraged to set up the Church of Scientology

in 1954 as an organizational instrument for supervising the original movement, and as a opportuntity to advance new ideas in the field. Dianetics was primarily concerned with the problems of the reactive mind, whereas Scientology deals with learning about mankind's spiritual nature. Despite this basic difference, the relationship between the two movements is complementary, with Scientology following on from ideas already expressed in its parent movement. According to Roy Wallis,

'Scientologists see Hubbard as having privileged access to supernatural knowledge of a kind never before revealed, which rendered established disciplines such as Psychology and Philosophy obsolete. Hubbard had located a means of transcending human limitation and the downward spiral of man's spiritual nature. Like Buddha, he had made available the route to total freedom.'

1976b,p.250

The original concern of Dianetics in particular was with engrams, psychic scars which are seen to inhibit the full potential of the mind. Hubbard distinguished between the analytic and reactive 'minds', with the former referring to the conscious mind which acts rather like a computer monitoring input in a systematic fashion, and the latter referring to the unconscious level of thought. To survive, the human is seen to repress the body's painful experiences, yet this survival is counterbalanced by the fact that the repressed memories act as blocks to, or distortions of, the efficient operation of some normal mental functions. Engrams are therefore seen to place limitations upon the ways in which we react to situations - an interesting idea considering the fact that up to two

thirds of them are estimated to be of a prenatal nature. Irrationality is considered to be the key facet of the behaviour conditioned by engrams, and the aim of dianetics in particular was to eradicate this flaw.

Help was offered in this sphere in the form of what Hubbard termed 'auditing', the means by which engram - conditioned irrationality was replaced by computer - like efficiency. An instrument labelled an 'e-meter' was heralded as the key to monitoring recall of the engram experiences, thereby turning them into memories which could be dealt with normally by the mind. In this way the individual was freed to continue his life with 'full potential' both mentally and physically, and labelled 'clear' by the movement.

Hubbard regarded the urge to survive as being the fundamental principle of existence. He subdivided this impulse into a number of drives which he termed 'dynamics', ranging from the individual person to mankind as a spiritual ward of the supreme being. Similarly, the notion of the individual spirit or soul (given the title of 'thetan' in the movement), emerged as the undying human life form which is subject to disturbance in the physical world of matter-energy-space-time (mest). Hubbard subsequently reconceptualized the term 'thetan' in its plural form 'thetans', the latter being classed as spiritually perfect beings considered to be all-knowing and all-powerful creators of the universe. The thetan is seen in the movement to have become bored with his omnipotence, thereby permitting limitations upon his abilities, allowing himself to become increasingly the effect rather than the cause of the environment which he had created. Ultimately the thetan is seen by Scientologists to be responsible for everything that happens subsequently. Hubbard states that although the thetan is nominally resident in the skull, it is one of the goals of Scientology to exteriorize it in such a way that it is outside but near the body, knowingly controlling it.

The theology of the movement elaborates upon the belief that the thetan cannot die and is constantly being reincarnated either on earth or on some other planet. Hubbard argued that the thetan joins its designated body immediately

45

prior to its birth. At death the thetan leaves the body and goes to the 'between - lives' area where, after reporting in, it is given a strong 'forgetter implant' before returning to earth to join another body just before that body is born. The report area for most thetans is mars, although some women, Hubbard explains, have to make do with elsewhere.

Once Scientology was fully established as an organization, the structure of the movement began progressively to resemble a large corporation in the shape of a pyramid, with communication and authority flowing downwards. In line with this analogy, the followers tended not to be drawn into a collective communion but rather into an atomized mass, differentiated only by their level of attainment in the theology and practice. The leadership took to the water in the late 1960s in a flotilla of ships named the 'Sea Org', from which decisions were made about the future of the movement.

Membership in the movement is strictly voluntary and goal-directed, fitting in with the 'positive thinking' ethos which emanates from Hubbard's philosophy. People join basically because they feel that they will be able to improve themselves in some way, and this facet of the group makes it more attractive to a wider range of people in comparison, for example, to the 'youth - centred' religions of the counter-culture.

The methods by which Scientology recruits and maintains its membership through the sale of courses of training and counselling have given rise to a set of very distinctive controveies. They concern both the encouragement to purchase more and more expensive courses, the 'tug-of-love' cases between Scientologists and their spouses over custody of their children, and the sometimes over-zealous treatment of perceived 'enemies'.

For further reference: Wallis, 1976b.

Transcendental Meditation.

Transcendental Meditation stems from the Shankara Tradition of Vedanta Hinduism, and was brought to the West in 1958 by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. Maharishi claims to have been commissioned by his spiritual teacher Guru Dev to take this technique of relaxation out of its native India, where it is reported to have been practised for many thousands of years. Becoming popular in the mid to late-1960s, this particular spiritual practice gained much of its attraction from the purportedly scientific nature of the methods used and results gained. In 1980 it was estimated that around 120,000 people were meditating in Britain,with 250 full time workers administering courses for their middle class clientele. The average age of adherents to this tradition is 35 years. Appealing to the western consciousness, TM promised results in the form of increased creativity and inner peace, with minimal effort. In short, Transcendental Meditation is defined as a way of allowing attention to go from the gross, surface level of ordinary thought to increasingly subtler levels, until finally the subtlest level is reached and transcended. In Maharishi's own words:

'TM is a natural technique which allows the conscious mind to experience increasingly more subtle states of thought until the source of thought, the unlimited reservoir of energy and creative intelligence is reached. This simple practice expands the capacity of the conscious mind and a man is able to use his full potential in all fields of thought and action.'

Maharishi, 1966 p.20.

We may see from this quotation that the movement is promoted along scientific lines, although anti-cultists in particular have stressed the religious nature of the ceremonies involved. Bainbridge and Jackson (1981) look specifically at

the concepts of TM as science and/or religion, and put forward the idea that for the majority, TM is a simple technique learned in a few visits to the local centre. Despite this outward appearance the authors do point out, however, that while the introductory lectures leading to instruction in meditation were designed to appear secular and scientific, higher levels of indoctrination contained explicitly religious elements. Advanced lectures were based on the Bhagavad Gita, and sought to apply principles from this Hindu holy book to problems of modern life. Within the TM group it is explained that normally people live on three specific levels of consciousness, namely waking, sleeping and dreaming. It is believed that there are also several other levels of consciousness which can be attained through TM alone. These are 'transcendental consciousness', 'cosmic consciousness', 'God consciousness', 'unity consciousness', and 'brahma consciousness', although most TM members only concern themselves with the first two and perhaps do not even know about the last three. It is on these further levels that the concept of TM as religion arises. Maharishi aims to have one initiator within TM for every 1,000 people in the world, thereby advancing his goal of achieving an 'ideal society' through many people perfecting the technique. In this way TM may be classed as being a millenarian cult, as the movement claims that:

'The quality of life in society is determined by the quality of life in individual citizens. If citizens are enjoying enrichment of body, mind, and behaviour then the whole community will be characterized by peace, harmony and progress. The TM programme of his Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi provides the technology to develop the full potential of the individual thereby improving the quality of life and creating an ideal society.'

'To Create An Ideal Society,' TM booklet, 1980, p.2

· It is around this issue and subsequent attempts to set up an 'ideal society' in certain areas in Britain (in Glossop, for example), that the press has found some interest in the group. Advocation of TM within the national health service has also been suggested by a group of practising meditators in the medical profession, and this issue has also been reported in the media - mainly as a form of curiosity/interest arousal.

For further reference see Maharishi, 1966; Bainbridge and Jackson, 1981.

The Unification Church.

The Unification Church was founded in the Republic of Korea in 1954 by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon under the name of the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity. Individuals from the group first came to the West in 1959 in an attempt to gain a following for their leader, but the movement had little success in America or Europe until the early 1970s, when Moon himself moved to the United States.

The *Divine Principle*, attributed to Moon, is heralded as representing the ultimate source of authority within the Unification Church. This text consists of a special interpretation of the Old and New Testaments plus additional revelations which Moon claims to have received. The theology expressed and duly adhered to by the Unification Church members is strikingly positive, with the darker Christian doctrines relating to Hell, the apocalypse and predestination being passed over in favour of the more optimistic ideal of universal salvation and the establishment of a physically perfect kingdom of heaven on earth. In this way happiness is described by the group as being the goal for existence, with the messianic and millenarian emphasis in the theology being seen by recruits to be highly attractive, making them feel that their role in developing the 'new world' is an important one.

Moon describes the original Fall as the result of a (spiritual) sexual relationship between Eve and Archangel Lucifer, followed by a sexual relationship,

before marriage, between Adam and Eve. In this way the whole of history can, according to the Divine Principle, be seen as a series of continuous attempts by God and man to restore the world to a state originally intended by God. A succession of key figures participate in this quest - Adam, Abraham, Moses, King Solomon, and Jesus, with restoration ultimately being seen as possible only through a future messiah who will fullfil the role in which the others failed. Within the Unification Movement there is a quiet consensus on the belief that Moon is seen to occupy this foretold role, although he has never stated this categorically.

In this way Bromley and Shupe (1979) analyse the Unification Church as an illustrative case of a 'world transforming movement', as it seeks total, permanent structural change of whole societies. Moon's role in this process may be seen as important, as he feels it to be his duty to bring to God loving, obedient sons and daughters. To this end the members of the movement are taught to regard themselves as models for the rest of mankind. Life in the group is thereby intended to instruct members on how to live a God-centred existence as individuals in God-centred families. This practice involves the uncompromising life-style of celibacy among members before marriage, and having Moon and his wife (viewed as being mankind's true spiritual parents) select mates and 'bless' couples in marriage ceremonies sometimes containing thousands of followers.

The Unification Church is strongly anti-communist in its outlook, with some of the controversy surrounding the group emanating from alleged foreign government ties. It also owns a large number of businesses (mainly in South Korea, Japan, America and Europe), and sponsors a number of performing arts groups and inter-national conferences for academics. It runs a seminary in Barrytown in New York and the Little Angels school in South Korea.

The Unification Church has recieved considerable hostility from parents, the media and the anti-cult movement (Bromley and Shupe, 1979), making it highly

visible. The main accusations include; brainwashing, connection with the Korean CIA, the splitting up of families, using 'heavenly deception', amassing great wealth for the leadership by exploiting the followers, tax evasion, and the manufacture of armaments. The church itself claims that it is victimized, particularly when its members are illegally kidnapped and 'deprogrammed', and to this end various court cases have been brought in an effort to stem this tide of persecution.

For further reference: Allan, 1980; Barker, 1981, 1984; Bromley and Richardson, 1983; Bromley and Shupe, 1979, 1981a; Hampshire and Beckford, 1983; Lofland, 1977; Sontag, 1977.

The Way International.

The Way International, with its headquarters in New Knoxville, Ohio, was founded by a former Evangelical and Reformed Minister called Victor Paul Wierwille. Wierwille had been a pastor for sixteen years in north western Ohio when he resigned from this position and began teaching his own unique interpretation of Christianity. Disillusioned with orthodox Biblical interpretation, he disposed of his library of 3,000 books and began his own personal study of the scriptures, an exercise which culminated in his work *Power For Abundant Living*. The Way International was founded around 1958 (the exact date is difficult to define), and membership today is estimated as between 20,000 and 100,000 followers, with a figure of 50,000 appearing to be a reasonably safe estimate.

Victor Paul Wierwille claims to have had an encounter with God, an experience which encouraged him to witness to others. He states; 'God spoke to me audibly, like I'm talking to you now. He said that he would teach me the word as it had not been known since the first century, if I would teach it to others.' (Whiteside, 1972 p.178.) The magazine of the Way International elaborates upon this theme more explicitly: 'The so-called Christian church today is built essentially on man-made doctrine, traditions, confusion, bondage trips,

and contradiction to the word as it was originally God-breathed.' (Sept-Oct. 1974,p.7.)

In this way the movement believes that Wierwille has the only true interpretation of the Scriptures, and through him alone do members feel that they may be led out of the confusion in which traditional Christianity has engulfed them. One pamphlet produced by the group states:

'The Way is not a church, nor is it a denomination or a reli-
gious sect of any sort. Its followers are people of every cul-
ture and ethnic background who all their lives have hungered
for purpose, for meaning, for answers to life's enigmas, and
for the power that would lead them to the fullness of Christ's
promise: ''I am come that ye might have life, and that ye might
have it more abundantly.''(John 10:10).'

This is the Way, 1981,p.4.

The attraction of The Way International may therefore be partly attributed to the charisma of its founder, and also to the systematic review of the Bible offered by Wierville to all who show any interest in his movement.

Through a close scrutiny of the Scriptures, Wierwille comes to the conclusion that the New Testament was originally written in Aramaic, not Greek, and that the four gospels at the beginning of this work should really belong to the end of the Old Testament. Alongside these changes in mainstream Christian doctrine the founder also puts forward his own interpretations of Biblical events. Through promoting an essentially unitarian view of God and thereby denying the viability of the concept of trinity, Wierville shows that his views differ radically from the conventional interpretations. For him, the Bible indicates that Jesus was not God incarnate (but a perfect human being), and that Mary bore Jesus through

52

divine intervention (despite the fact that she was not seen to be a 'virgin mother' in the traditionally accepted sense of the term).

The Holy Spirit is interpreted in two very different ways, and Wierwille thus denies the unique personality (and thus deity) of the phenomenon. He states:

'The Giver is God, the Spirit. His gift is Spirit. Failure
to recognize the difference between the Giver and his gift has
caused no end of confusion in the Holy Spirit field of study as
well as in the understanding of the new birth..... The gift is
the holy spirit, pneuma hagion, which is an inherent spiritual
ability, dunamis, power from on high. This gift is ''Christ in
you, the hope of glory'' with all its fullness.'

<div align="right">Wierwille, 1979, pp 3-5</div>

Wierville interprets *Holy Spirit* as another name for God, and *holy spirit* as the gifts that God bestows on mankind.

This reasoning leads on to another unique idea developed by Wierwille, namely, the notion that mankind has no spirit (as such) unless either God or Satan (seen as being the god of this world) bestows it upon them. Man's original spirit is deemed to have been lost at the Fall, and Wierville puts forward the view that at that time:

'The spirit disappeared. The reason the spirit was called dead
is that it was no longer there. Their entire spiritual connec-
tion with God was lost. From that very day Adam and Eve were
just body and soul - as any other animal.'

<div align="right">Wierwille, 1979,p.258</div>

The absence of the spirit, according to The Way, continued right up to the Day of Pentecost, when God gave the gift of the holy spirit to the believers. This emphasis also highlights the elevated position given in the movement to the gift of tongues, with this occurrence seen by Wierwille to be: '....the only visible and audible proof that a man has been born again and filled with the gift from the Holy Spirit.' (Wierwille, 1979).

Wierwille has organized his group around the symbol of a tree. The Way functions like a tree, with roots, trunk, branches, limbs, twigs and leaves. The first authority in The Way is Wierwille, who is called, with his associates, the roots of the Way tree. The trunk is a conglomeration of national organizations, while branches are statewide units, and limbs are the city groups. Each city unit, or limb, is divided into smaller twigs which comprise of numerous home Bible-study groups. Lastly, the smallest units in the Way's organizational network are the individual members themselves, who are referred to by all as leaves.

Two types of missionaries are used by the movement in an evangelical capacity, the first being called WOW Ambassadors (Word Over the World Missionaries) who spread the news on a more or less full time basis (alongside making money in some way to support themselves), and part time missionaries in the form of college and high school students. In addition to these individuals the Way also possesses some sixty ordained ministers, a majority of whom are women. The 'word' is also propagated through an annual convention called the 'Rock of Ages', a meeting that was attended by 12,000 people in 1976 and reflects the influence of the movement among the young (18 to 24 year olds).

Appendix 2.

BRITISH PRESS MEDIA ACCOUNTS OF NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS 1975-85

1. Item number

```
[ ][ ][ ][ ]
 1  2  3  4
```

2. Name of publication
   1 Times   3. D. Mail
   2. S. Times 4. N. Society

```
[ ]
 5
```

3. Date of publication

```
[ ][ ][ ][ ][ ][ ]
 6  7  8  9  10 11
```

4. Front page ?
   0 = No
   1 = Yes
   2 = Unclear

```
[ ]
 12
```

5. Wire service ?
   0 = No
   1 = Yes

```
[ ]
 13
```

6. Which principal group ?

   1. U.C.   9. est
   2. Scientology 10 A.M.
   3. H.K.   11 Way
   4. T.M.   12. Nrms
   5. DLM   13 C.S.
   6. CCG   14 J.W.s   17. J.M.
   7. M.B.   15 S.A.   18. C.C.
   8. Bhagwan   16 Mennonites 19. B.Y.F.C.

```
[ ][ ]
 14 15
```

   20. Nav.
   21. C.U.T.
   22. Eckankar
   23. P.T.

7. How many groups in combination ?

```
[ ][ ]
 16 17
```

8. Format of information
   1. Editorial   6. Feature
   2. Letter   7. Book/programme review/preview
   3. Columnist   8. Other
   4. News
   5. Cartoon

```
[ ]
 18
```

9. Column inches ?

```
[ ][ ][ ]
 19 20 21
```

10. Graphics
    0 = No
    1 = Yes

```
[ ]
 22
```

    If yes, then what is depicted ?
    1. Leader (specify)   5. Group member(s)
    2. Group activities   6. Ex-member
    3. Group opponents   7. Combination
    4. Group property   8. Other

```
[ ] 23
[ ] 24
[ ] 25
[ ] 26
[ ] 27
[ ] 28
```

11. General tenor of item
    1. Extremely positive   4. Somewhat negative
    2. Somewhat positive   5. Extremely negative
    3. Neutral   6. Unclear

29

12. General tenor of headline
    1. Extremely positive   4. Somewhat negative
    2. Somewhat positive   5. Extremely negative
    3. Neutral   6. Unclear
                             7. N/A

30

13. How is/are group(s) categorized ?
    01 Youth religion   07. religious movement
    02 New religion   08. alternative religion
    03 NRM   09. destructive group
    04 Sect   10. church
    05 Cult   11. not categorized
    06 Religious community   12. other _____

31 32
33 34
35 36
37 38

14. List main topics in order of priority

    01 Conversion process   21 Foreign govt ties   41 Self-destructive
    02 Brainwashing   22 Reject values   42 Apostate tales
    03 Proselytization   23 Group abroad   43 Inaccessibility
    04 Fundraising   24 Group events   44 Occult links
    05 Voluntary exit   25 Kid socialization   45 Soc. background
    06 Forced exit   26 Legal conflict   46 Rel. freedom
    07 Reluctant exit   27 Anti-cultism   47 From one case to all
    08 Life in group   28 Supporters   48 Accidents
    09 No. members   29 Group as danger   49 Geog. location
    10 Group appeal   30 Physical abuse   50 Comment - religious
    11 Gp. background   31 A/C physical abuse   51 Comment - medical
    12 Gp/leader history   32 A/C psych. abuse   52 Comment - academic
    13 Gp. goals   33 Econ. abuse   53 Comment - political
    14 Gp. future   34 Gp./soc. accom   54 Press cross ref.
    15 Teachings   35 Gp./soc. non-accom   55 Parliamentary ref.
    16 Deception/greed   36 Family break-up   56 Infiltration
    17 Gp. expansion   37 Violence v non-mem   57 Fraud
    18 Gp. decline   38 Gp. rights threats   58 Child custody
    19 Business/wealth   39 Persecution of gp.   59 TV/radio cross ref.
    20 Pol. activity   40 Gp change   60 Front organizations
                                                     61 Other _____

39 40
41 42
43 44
45 46
47 48
49 50
51 52
53 54

15. If topic 06 is indicated under 14, was the deprogramming successful?
    0 = N/A
    1 = No
    2 = Yes
    3 = Both successful & unsuccessful
    4 = Unclear

55

16. Are any positive or negative quotes contained in the item ?
    0 = N/A
    1 = No
    2 = Yes

    If yes, how many quotes are favourable to the NRM ?

    If yes, how many quotes are unfavourable to the NRM ?

17. Which categories of people are quoted, and favourably/unfavourably ?

    01 Scientist/academic 09 Ex-member   18 Social worker
    02 Marginal rel leader 10 Parent   19 Rel. official
    03 Other rel leader   11 Spouse, etc.   20 Media
    04 Civil rights leader 12 Children   21 Law enforcement
    05 Lawyer   13 Other relatives 22 Official report
    06 Judge, court   14 Gp. member   23 Medical authority
    07 Politician, govt.   15 Friend   24 Employer, teacher
    08 Anti-cultist   16 A/C group   25 Other

    0 = N/A
    1 = Favourable, but author rejects Gp ideas
    2 = Favourable, and author does not reject Gp ideas
    3 = Unfavourable, and author rejects Gp ideas
    4 = Unfavourable, but author does not reject Gp ideas
    5 = Combination

18. Are any of the following metaphors used ?
    0 = No   04 = Mind control   08 = Victims
    01 = Brainwashing 05 = Exorcism   09 = Robots
    02 = Programming   06 = Zombies   10 = Deprogramming
    03 = Snapping   07 = Slaves   11 = Other (specify)

    _____
    _____

19. Are atrocity tales or positive tales told about NRMs ?
    0 = No
    1 = Atrocity
    2 = Positive
    3 = Both

20. Are atrocity tales or positive tales told about Anti-cultists ?
    0 = No
    1 = Atrocity
    2 = Positive
    3 = Both

21. Is a contact address or phone no. given to readers ?
    0 = No
    1 = Group
    2 = Opponents
    3 = Both

22. Are similarities/dissimilarities drawn with other marginal religions ?
    0 = No
    1 = Distinctions
    2 = Parallels
    3 = Both

23. Are similarities/dissimilarities drawn with mainstream religions ?
    0 = No
    1 = Distinctions
    2 = Parallels
    3 = Both

24. Are NRMs differentiated or not ?
    0 = N/A
    1 = No, treated as one
    2 = Yes, distinctions pointed out
    3 = Combination

25. Are NRMs the main focus of item ?
    0 = No
    1 = Yes
    2 = Unclear

26. Is the focus mainly on the UK ?
    0 = No
    1 = Yes
    2 = Mixture of home and foreign focus

27. Is the item part of a numbered series ?
    0 = NO
    1 = Yes

Appendix 3.

Table 1.

Distribution of articles on NRMs in the four publications.

Group / Publication	Times	S. Times	D. Mail	N. Society
NRMs				
Unification Church	165	17	285	6
Scientology	39	4	7	2
Hare Krishnas	11	5	11	-
Transcendental Meditation	18	3	6	3
Children of God/Family of Love	3	1	1	1
Meher Baba	-	-	-	-
Rajneesh Foundation	25	2	3	1
est / Centers Network	-	2	-	-
Ananda Marga	2	-	-	-
Way International	3	-	-	-
NRMs in general	11	4	3	7
Jesus Movement	-	-	1	2
Campus Crusade	1	-	-	-
Youth for christ	-	-	-	-
Navigators	-	-	-	-
Church Universal & Triumphant	-	-	-	-
Eckankar	-	-	-	-
Divine Light Mission	5	4	1	-
TOTAL	283	42	318	22
Christian Science	2	-	-	-
Jehovah's Witnesses	11	3	6	3
Salvation Army	46	4	2	2
Mennonites / Amish	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	59	7	8	6

Table 2.

Number of contextual units per specified religious group, by period.

Period Group	U.C.	Sci.	H.K.	T.M.	D.L.M.	C.O.G.	M.B.	Raj.	est	A.M.	Way	J.M.	C.C.	Y.F.C.	Nav.	C.U.T.	Eck.	NRMs	Total	C.S.	JWs	S.A.	Menn.	Total
Jan-June 1975	4	1	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	1	4	-	5
July-Dec 1975	1	1	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	-	3	1	-	4
Jan-June 1976	4	-	1	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	1	1	-	2
July-Dec 1976	4	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	-	6	2	-	8
Jan-June 1977	5	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	15	-	2	4	-	6
July-Dec 1977	10	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	3	-	3
Jan-June 1978	18	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	25	-	4	1	-	5
July-Dec 1978	11	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	18	-	1	2	1	4
Jan-June 1979	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1979	-	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	-	2	-	2
Jan-June 1980	10	14	1	5	-	1	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	-	1	4	-	5
July-Dec 1980	43	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	55	-	1	4	-	5
Jan-June 1981	114	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	118	-	-	10	-	10
July-Dec 1981	43	3	4	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52	1	-	-	6	7
Jan-June 1982	34	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	-	-	2	-	2
July-Dec 1982	42	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	48	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1983	38	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	-	-	-	1	1
July-Dec 1983	11	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	1	-	1
Jan-June 1984	29	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	-	-	3	-	3
July-Dec 1984	25	8	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	43	-	1	2	-	3
Jan-June 1985	15	3	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	23	1	1	-	-	2
July-Dec 1985	10	3	1	-	-	1	-	16	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	34	-	1	1	-	2
Total	473	52	27	30	10	6	-	31	2	2	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	25	665	2	23	54	1	80

Y= number of items

120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10

Jan-June 1975
July-Dec 1975
Jan-June 1976
July-Dec 1976
Jan-June 1977
July-Dec 1977
Jan-June 1978
July-Dec 1978
Jan-June 1979
July-Dec 1979
Jan-June 1980
July-Dec 1980
Jan-June 1981
July-Dec 1981
Jan-June 1982
July-Dec 1982
Jan-June 1983
July-Dec 1983
Jan-June 1984
July-Dec 1984
Jan-June 1985
July-Dec 1985
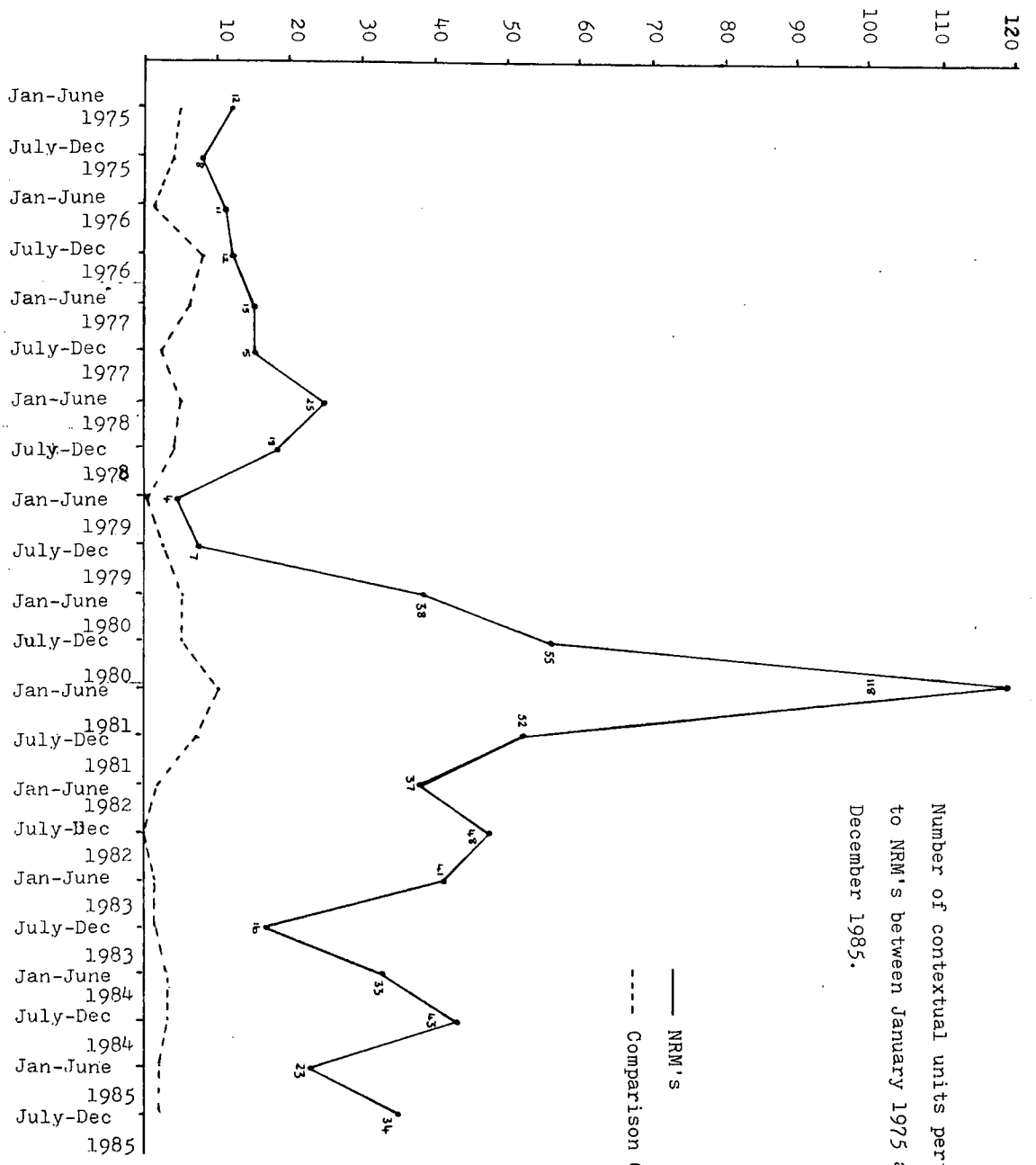
Figure 1.

Number of contextual units pertaining to NRM's between January 1975 and December 1985.

——— NRM's
- - - - Comparison Groups

Figure 2.
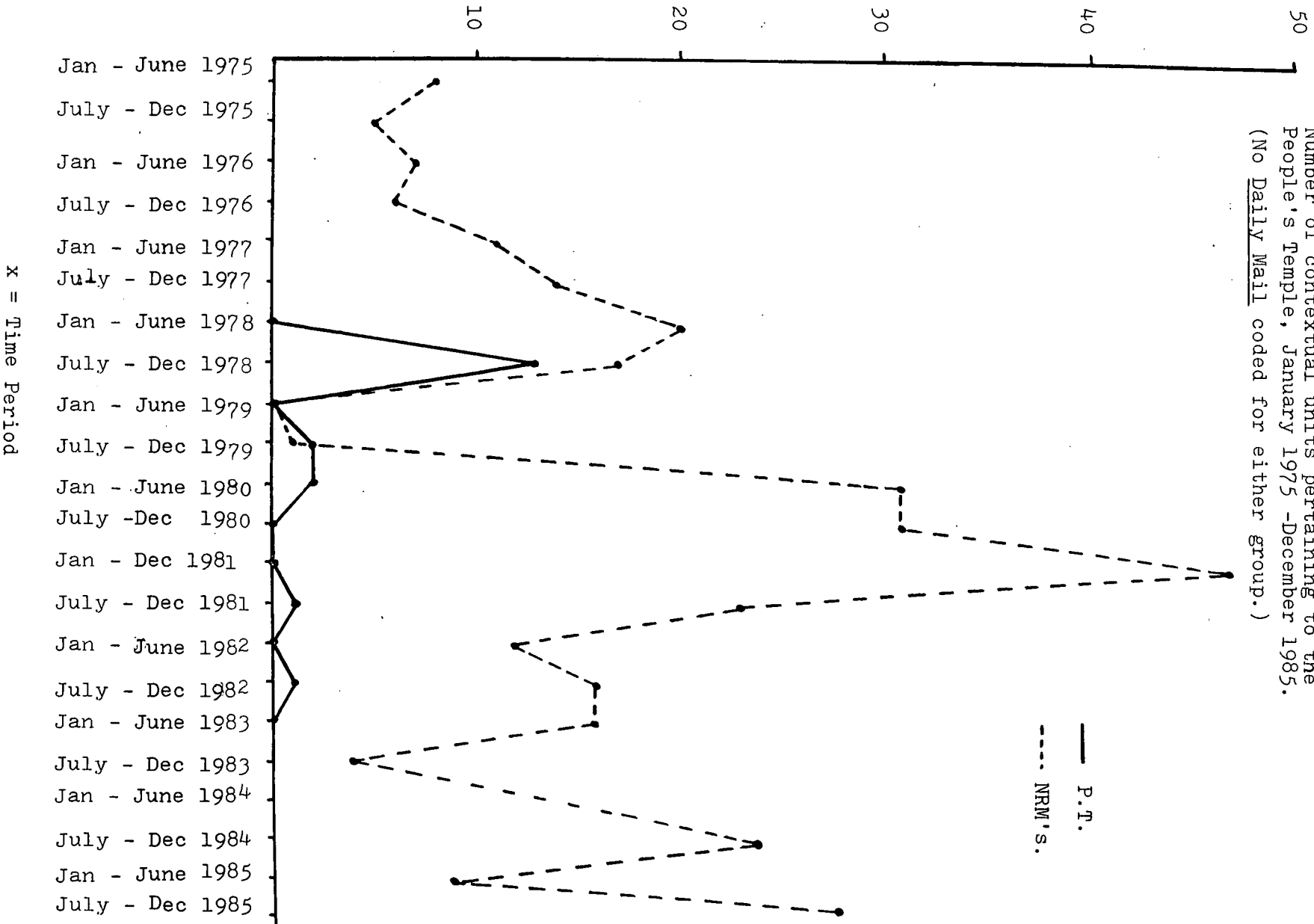
Number of contextual units pertaining to the
People's Temple, January 1975 –December 1985.
(No Daily Mail coded for either group.)

x = Time Period

y = Number of Items

Y= number of items

Number of contextual units pertaining to the Unification Church
Jan. 1975 to Dec. 1985.

120
110
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10

1975 J-J
1975 J-D
1976 J-J
1976 J-D
1977 J-J
1977 J-D
1978 J-J
1978 J-D
1979 J-J
1979 J-D
1980 J-J
1980 J-D
1981 J-J
1981 J-D
1982 J-J
1982 J-D
1983 J-J
1983 J-D
1984 J-J
1984 J-D
1985 J-J
1985 J-D

X= time period

——— Unification Church

- - - - Other NRM's
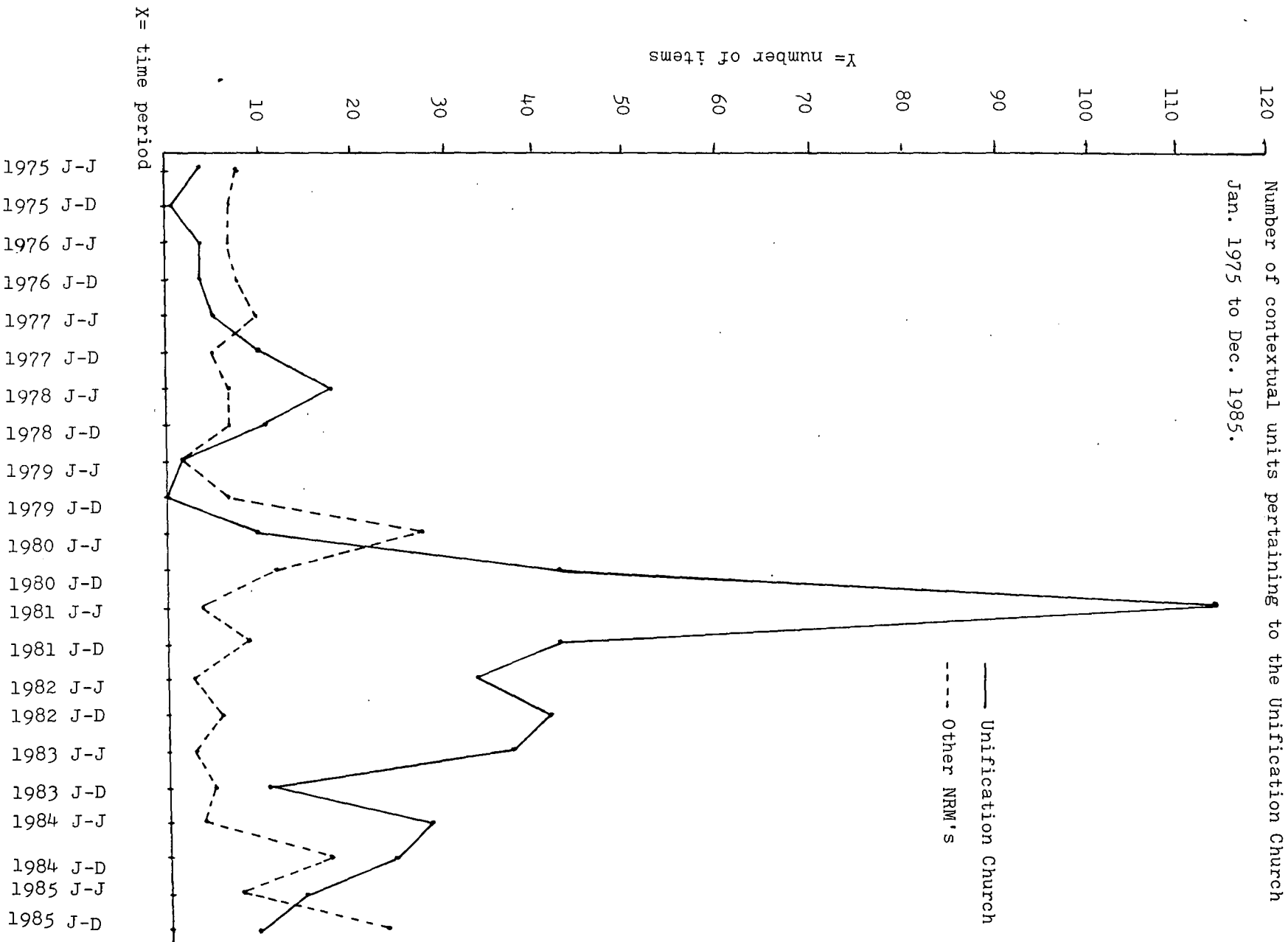
Figure 3.

Topics discussed most often, by period.

Table 3.

Topic 1 = Legal and judicial conflicts, investigations, illegalities.
Topic 2 = Group/Leader history, leader profile.
Topic 3 = Press cross references.
Topic 4 = Family break-up.
Topic 5 = Parliamentary references.
Topic 6 = Brainwashing, manipulation, psychological abuse of members.
Topic 7 = Teachings of group.
Topic 8 = Business activities, wealth of group leaders.

Topic/Period	T.1	T.2	T.3	T.4	T.5	T.6	T.7	T.8
NRMs.								
Jan-June 1975	4	7	-	-	3	-	2	-
July-Dec 1975	-	5	1	-	2	2	2	1
Jan-June 1976	1	4	-	2	-	2	4	2
July-Dec 1976	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1977	7	2	-	3	1	5	2	1
July-Dec 1977	5	3	-	6	1	2	2	4
Jan-June 1978	5	10	-	6	5	2	5	4
July-Dec 1978	7	6	2	1	1	1	3	1
Jan-June 1979	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1979	2	3	-	-	4	6	1	-
Jan-June 1980	12	11	2	8	8	5	11	4
July-Dec 1980	43	6	29	6	5	18	3	2
Jan-June 1981	79	11	53	38	23	-	3	8
July-Dec 1981	13	13	12	8	7	1	2	3
Jan-June 1982	16	8	-	8	5	1	3	2
July-Dec 1982	16	13	9	13	5	3	1	4
Jan-June 1983	26	1	13	3	19	1	1	-
July-Dec 1983	4	3	-	2	-	1	3	3
Jan-June 1984	6	7	1	9	10	2	1	3
July-Dec 1984	9	16	5	1	7	3	1	2
Jan-June 1985	5	6	2	1	2	1	1	2
July-Dec 1985	11	22	1	3	1	1	1	3
Total	274	160	130	120	109	57	52	49
Comparison groups.								
Jan-June 1975	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1975	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Jan-June 1976	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
July-Dec 1976	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Jan-June 1977	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1977	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1978	2	-	-	2	-	-	1	-
July-Dec 1978	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1979	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1979	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1980	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
July-Dec 1980	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Jan-June 1981	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1981	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1982	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
July-Dec 1982	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1983	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
July-Dec 1983	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1984	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1984	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1985	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1985	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	6	19	-	-	-	-	6	1

Group / Tenor	N=	Extremely Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Extremely Negative
Unification Church	473	1 (.2)	11 (2)	190 (40)	198 (42)	73 (15)
Scientology	52	2 (4)	2 (4)	36 (69)	7 (13)	5 (10)
Hare Krishna	27	− (−)	− (−)	23 (85)	4 (15)	− (−)
Transcendental Meditation	30	2 (7)	9 (30)	17 (57)	2 (7)	− (−)
D.L.M.	10	− (−)	1 (10)	6 (60)	3 (30)	− (−)
Family of Love	6	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	6 (100)	− (−)
Meher Baba	−	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)
Rajneesh International	31	1 (3)	3 (10)	17 (55)	8 (26)	2 (6)
est	2	− (−)	1 (50)	1 (50)	− (−)	− (−)
Ananda Marga	2	− (−)	− (−)	2 (100)	− (−)	− (−)
Way International	3	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	3 (100)	− (−)
Jesus Movement	3	− (−)	− (−)	2 (67)	1 (33)	− (−)
Campus Crusade	1	− (−)	− (−)	1 (100)	− (−)	− (−)
Youth for Christ	−	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)
Navigators	−	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)
C.U T.	−	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)
Eckankar	−	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)	− (−)
NRMs in general	25	− (−)	3 (12)	13 (52)	6 (24)	3 (12)
Christian Science	2	− (−)	− (−)	1 (50)	1 (50)	− (−)
J.W's	23	− (−)	− (−)	18 (78)	5 (22)	− (−)
Salvation Army	54	2 (4)	22 (41)	24 (44)	5 (9)	1 (2)
Mennonites	1	− (−)	− (−)	1 (100)	− (−)	− (−)

Table 5, Part (i).

Manner in Which Information is Given about Group
by Period.

Period/Information	N=	Editorial	Letter	Columnist	News	Cartoon	Feature	Book/Prog. Review	Other
NRMs									
Jan-June 1975	12	-	1	1	10	-	-	-	-
July-Dec 1975	8	1	1	3	2	-	1	-	-
Jan-June 1976	11	-	2	2	4	-	2	1	-
July-Dec 1976	12	-	-	-	11	-	1	-	-
Jan-June 1977	15	-	-	-	13	-	2	-	-
July-Dec 1977	15	-	5	2	6	-	2	-	-
Jan-June 1978	25	-	2	1	17	-	5	-	-
July-Dec 1978	18	-	-	-	17	-	-	1	-
Jan-June 1979	4	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-
July-Dec 1979	7	-	1	3	3	-	-	-	-
Jan-June 1980	38	-	8	3	19	-	8	-	-
July-Dec 1980	55	-	-	5	47	-	1	2	-
Jan-June 1981	118	4	9	4	86	3	10	2	-
July-Dec 1981	52	1	9	1	39	-	1	1	-
Jan-June 1982	37	1	1	1	33	-	1	-	-
July-Dec 1982	48	3	4	2	28	2	6	1	2
Jan-June 1983	41	6	3	2	26	-	2	2	-
July-Dec 1983	16	1	3	1	9	-	2	-	-
Jan-June 1984	33	2	3	2	20	-	3	3	-
July-Dec 1984	43	4	6	2	24	-	5	2	-
Jan-June 1985	23	-	-	1	20	-	2	-	-
July-Dec 1985	34	-	-	2	27	1	4	-	-
Total	665	23	58	38.	464	6	59	15	2

Tenor of Items About NRMs by Period.

Table 5A.

Period / Tenor	N=	Extremely Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Extremely Negative
NRMs						
Jan-June 1975	12	-	1(8)	7(58)	4(33)	-
July-Dec 1975	8	-	2(25)	4(50)	1(12)	1(12)
Jan-June 1976	11	1 (9)	1(9)	4(36)	3(27)	2(18)
July-Dec 1976	12	-	-	7(58)	5(42)	-
Jan-June 1977	15	-	2(13)	9(60)	4(27)	-
July-Dec 1977	15	1(7)	1(7)	5(33)	7(47)	1(7)
Jan-June 1978	25	1(4)	2(8)	14(56)	4(16)	4(16)
July-Dec 1978	18	-	3(17)	11(61)	3(17)	1(6)
Jan-June 1979	4	-	-	2(50)	2(50)	-
July-Dec 1979	7	-	-	5(71)	1(14)	1(14)
Jan-June 1980	38	2(5)	3(8)	19(50)	9(24)	5(13)
July-Dec 1980	55	-	1(2)	41(74)	13(24)	-
Jan-June 1981	118	-	-	38(32)	57(48)	23(19)
July-Dec 1981	52	-	3(6)	24(46)	22(42)	3(6)
Jan-June 1982	37	-	2(5)	12(32)	12(32)	19(51)
July-Dec 1982	48	-	1(2)	21(44)	17(35)	9(19)
Jan-June 1983	41	-	-	16(39)	19(46)	6(15)
July-Dec 1983	16	-	-	10(62)	5(31)	1(6)
Jan-June 1984	33	-	2(6)	9(27)	12(36)	10(30)
July-Dec 1984	43	1(2)	4(9)	16(37)	15(35)	7(16)
Jan-June 1985	23	-	1(4)	13(56)	7(30)	2(9)
July-Dec 1985	34	-	1(3)	21(62)	9(26)	3(9)
Total		6(1)	30(4)	308(46)	238(36)	83(12)

Total percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding off.

Table 5B.

The Tenor of Print Media Items About NRMs and Other
Minorities by Publication.

NRMs	Extremely Positive	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Extremely Negative	Total
Daily Mail	1 (0.3)	4 (0.7)	101 (32)	139 (44)	73 (23)	318
Other Publications	5 (1)	26 (8)	207 (60)	99 (28)	10 (3)	347
Total	6 (0.9)	30 (4.5)	308 (46.3)	238 (35.8)	83 (12.5)	665
Other Religious Minorities						
Daily Mail	0 (0)	1 (12)	4 (51)	3 (37)	0 (0)	8
Other Publications	2 (3)	21 (29)	40 (56)	8 (11)	1 (1)	72
Total	2 (2.5)	22 (27.5)	44 (55)	11 (13.7)	1 (1)	80

NRMs. Year / Size	1 (1"-4")	2 (5"-8")	3 (9"-16")	4 (17"-154")	Total
1975 Jan - June	5 (42)	2 (17)	3 (25)	2 (17)	12
1975 July - Dec	-	2 (25)	4 (50)	2 (25)	8
1976 Jan - June	3 (27)	2 (18)	4 (36)	2 (18)	11
1976 July - Dec	4 (33)	2 (17)	3 (25)	3 (25)	12
1977 Jan - June	6 (40)	1 (7)	5 (33)	3 (20)	15
1977 July - Dec	3 (20)	3 (20)	4 (27)	5 (33)	15
1978 Jan - June	6 (24)	3 (12)	4 (16)	12 (48)	25
1978 July - Dec	6 (33)	2 (11)	8 (44)	2 (11)	18
1979 Jan - June	-	-	2 (50)	2 (50)	4
1979 July - Dec	1 (14)	2 (29)	3 (43)	1 (14)	7
1980 Jan - June	6 (16)	6 (16)	13 (34)	13 (34)	38
1980 July - Dec	8 (14)	28 (51)	11 (20)	8 (14)	55
1981 Jan - June	15 (13)	25 (21)	42 (36)	36 (30)	118
1981 July - Dec	16 (31)	17 (33)	12 (23)	7 (13)	52
1982 Jan - June	11 (30)	10 (27)	14 (38)	2 (5)	37
1982 July - Dec	13 (27)	7 (15)	13 (27)	15 (31)	48
1983 Jan - June	11 (27)	9 (22)	13 (32)	8 (19)	41
1983 July - Dec	6 (37)	3 (19)	3 (19)	4 (25)	16
1984 Jan - June	10 (30)	8 (24)	8 (24)	7 (21)	33
1984 July - Dec	11 (26)	12 (28)	8 (19)	12 (28)	43
1985 Jan - June	8 (35)	3 (13)	6 (26)	6 (26)	23
1985 July - Dec	12 (35)	4 (12)	7 (21)	11 (32)	34
Total	161	151	190	163	

(Column percentages in parenthesis.)

Group	Column Inch 1 - 4"	5 - 8"	9 - 16"	17 - 154"	Total
Unification Church	115	117	131	110	473
Scientology	15	12	19	6	52
Hare Krishna	10	4	10	3	27
Transcendental Meditation	6	4	11	9	30
Divine Light Mission	4	1	2	3	10
Children of God	1	1	1	3	6
Meher Baba	-	-	-	-	-
Bhagwan	8	5	4	14	31
est	-	-	-	2	2
Ananda Marga	2	-	-	-	2
Way International	-	2	-	1	3
Jesus Movement	-	1	1	1	3
Campus Crusade	-	-	1	-	1
Youth for Christ	-	-	-	-	-
Navigators	-	-	-	-	-
C.U.T.	-	-	-	-	-
Eckanker	-	-	-	-	-
N.R.Ms. in general	-	4	10	11	25
Christian Science	1	1	-	-	2
Jehovah's Witnesses	3	5	13	2	23
Salvation Army	14	14	11	15	54
Mennonites	-	1	-	-	1
Total	179	172	214	180	745

Table 8.

Relationship between Column Inch and Tenor of Item.

Column size is divided as follows:

1 = 1" to 4"
2 = 5" to 8"
3 = 9" to 16"
4 = 17" to 154"

Tenor/Column Size	1	2	3	4	Total
Extremely Positive	1 (1)	-	1 (1)	4 (2)	6
Somewhat Positive	3 (2)	12 (8)	5 (3)	10 (6)	30
Neutral	103 (64)	73 (48)	85 (45)	47 (29)	308
Somewhat Negative	40 (25)	56 (37)	84 (44)	58 (36)	238
Extremely Negative	14 (9)	10 (7)	15 (8)	44 (27)	83
Total.............	161	151	190	163	

(Column percentages in parenthesis).

Table 9.

The use of graphics in the press accounts of NRMs.

Graphics 1-6 / Subject	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Graphics 1	512	56	3	2	8	30	18	-	36	153
Graphics 2	620	12	3	3	2	12	3	-	10	45
Graphics 3	644	1	3	-	-	8	1	1	7	21
Graphics 4	657	-	-	1	2	2	1	-	2	8
Graphics 5	663	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2
Graphics 6	664	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	-	69	9	6	14	52	24	1	55	230

1 = Group leader

2 = Group activities

3 = Group opponents

4 = Group property

5 = Group members

6 = Ex-members

7 = Combination

8 = Other

Table 10.

Most Frequently Used Metaphors in Describing

Subject Matter by Period

Period/Metaphor	Number	Brain-washing	Deprogramm-ing	Mind Control	Victims
NRMs					
Jan.-June,1975	-	-	-	-	-
July-Dec.,1975	1	1	-	-	-
Jan.-June,1976	4	3	-	-	-
July-Dec.,1976	2	-	1	1	-
Jan.-June,1977	12	7	5	-	-
Jul.-Dec.,1977	7	5	-	1	-
Jan.-June,1978	6	2	1	1	-
July-Dec.,1978	2	1	1	-	-
Jan.-June,1979	-	-	-	-	-
July-Dec.,1979	1	1	-	-	-
Jan.-June,1980	4	3	-	-	1
July-Dec.,1980	38	33	4	-	-
Jan.-June,1981	101	58	9	9	1
July-Dec.,1981	6	6	-	-	-
Jan.-June,1982	7	2	2	1	-
July-Dec.,1982	13	8	-	1	1
Jan.-June,1983	9	7	-	-	1
July-Dec.,1983	2	1	-	-	-
Jan.-June,1984	20	7	2	-	2
July-Dec.,1984	10	7	-	2	-
Jan.-June,1985	2	1	-	-	-
July-Dec.,1985	6	4	2	-	-
Total........	253	157	27	16	6
COMPARISON GROUPS					
Total during all periods	80	-	-	-	-

Atrocity and Positive Tales of NRMs and their Opponents

Table 11.

Period/Tales	N=	Atrocity Tales Religious Gp.	Positive Tales Religious Gp.	Atrocity Tales Opponents.	Positive Tales Opponents.
NRMs					
1975 Jan-June	2	2	-	-	-
1975 July-Dec	3	2	1	-	-
1976 Jan-June	8	3	3	2	-
1976 July-Dec	5	5	-	-	-
1977 Jan-June	11	4	3	4	-
1977 July-Dec	12	9	3	-	-
1978 Jan-June	12	9	2	1	-
1978 July-Dec	7	4	3	-	-
1979 Jan-June	2	2	-	-	-
1979 July-Dec	3	1	1	1	-
1980 Jan-June	21	12	8	1	-
1980 July-Dec	17	10	3	4	-
1981 Jan-June	62	2	-	-	-
1981 July-Dec	18	11	3	4	-
1982 Jan-June	10	8	2	-	-
1982 July-Dec	19	18	1	-	-
1983 Jan-June	17	16	-	1	-
1983 July-Dec	5	5	-	-	-
1984 Jan-June	13	12	1	-	-
1984 July-Dec	8	5	3	-	-
1985 Jan-June	4	3	1	-	-
1985 July-Dec	13	10	1	1	1
Total	272	211	41	19	1
Comparison Groups (Total all periods).	45	10	28	7	-

Table 12.

Categorization of Groups in the British Print Media.

Categorization / Group	New Religious Movement	Comparison Groups
New Religion	4	-
New Religious Movement	5	-
Sect	175	10
Cult	213	-
Religious Movement	2	-
Church	88	2
Not categorized	285	68
Other	9	2
Total	665	80

Table 13.

The percentage of articles covering more than one
group - by publication.

Combination (NRMs)	Publication				
	Times	Sunday Times	Daily Mail	New Society	Total
0	269 (95%)	37 (88%)	307 (96%)	18 (82%)	631 (95%)
1	2 (1%)	-	2 (1%)	-	4 (1%)
2	10 (3%)	2 (5%)	6 (2%)	2 (9%)	20 (3%)
3	1 (1%)	-	2 (1%)	2 (9%)	5 (1%)
4	-	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	-	2 (1%)
5	-	-	-	-	-
6	1 (1%)	1 (2%)	-	-	2 (1%)
7	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	-	-
10	-	1 (2%)	-	-	1 (2%)
Total	238	42	318	22	665

The Use of Wire Services Between
January 1975 and December 1985.

Year / Wire	No	Yes
1975 Jan - June	11 (92)	1 (8)
1975 July - Dec	8 (100)	-
1976 Jan - June	8 (73)	3 (27)
1976 July - Dec	9 (75)	3 (25)
1977 Jan - June	12 (80)	3 (20)
1977 July - Dec	13 (87)	2 (13)
1978 Jan - June	22 (88)	3 (12)
1978 July - Dec	16 (89)	2 (11)
1979 Jan - June	4 (100)	-
1979 July - Dec	7 (100)	-
1980 Jan - June	38 (100)	-
1980 July - Dec	53 (96)	2 (4)
1981 Jan - June	117 (99)	1 (1)
1981 July - Dec	38 (73)	14 (27)
1982 Jan - June	26 (70)	11 (30)
1982 July - Dec	42 (87)	6 (13)
1983 Jan - June	40 (98)	1 (2)
1983 July - Dec	15 (94)	1 (6)
1984 Jan - June	26 (79)	7 (21)
1984 July - Dec	33 (77)	10 (23)
1985 Jan - June	20 (87)	3 (13)
1985 July - Dec	17 (50)	17 (50)
Total	575 (86.5)	90 (13.5)

Table 14.

Bibliography.

Academy of Rajneeshism (ed), 1983, *Rajneeshism: An Introduction to Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh and His Religion*, Oregon, Rajneesh Foundation International.

Acarya, A.A., 1984, *Beyond the Superconscious Mind*, Calcutta, Tiljala.

Akers, R.L., 1967, 'Problems in the Sociology of Deviance: Social Definitions and Behaviour', *Social Forces*, 46, pp.455-465.

Allan, J., 1980, *The Rising of the Moon*, Leicester, Arena, Inter-Varsity Press.

Ananda Marga, 1984, *Repression of Ananda Marga*, Calcutta, Tiljala.

Anderson, W. (ed), 1969, *The Age of Protest*, California, Goodyear Company.

Anthony, D. and T. Robbins, 1982a, 'Spiritual Innovation and the Crisis of American Civil Religion', *Daedalus* 111, 1, pp.215-234.

Anthony, D. and T. Robbins, 1982b, 'Contemporary Religious Ferment and Moral Ambiguity', in Barker, E. (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Bainbridge, W.S. and D.H. Jackson, 1981, 'The Rise of Transcendental Meditation', in Wilson, B. (ed) *The Social Impact of New Religious Movements*, New York, Rose of Sharon Press Inc.

Bainbridge, W.S., and R. Stark, 1979, 'Cult Formation: Three Compatible Models', *Sociological Analysis*, 40, No.4, pp.283-295.

Baker, G., 1982, 'The Ethics and Psychology of Media Consumption', in Barker, E. (ed) *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Ball-Rokeach, 1974, *An Information Perspective on Mass Media Effects*, New York, Wiley.

Banks, J.A., 1972, *The Sociology of Social Movements*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd.

Barker, E., 1981, 'Who'd Be A Moonie? A Comparative Study of Those Who Join the Unification Church in Britain', in Wilson, B. (ed) *The Social Impact of New Religious Movements*, New York, Rose of Sharon Press.

Barker, E., 1982a, (ed) *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Barker, E., 1982b, 'From Sects to Society: A Methodological Programme', in Barker, E. (ed) *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Barker, E., 1983, 'With Enemies Like That: Some Functions of Deprogramming as an Aid to Sectarian Membership', in Bromley, D.G. and J.T. Richardson, (eds) *The Brainwashing / Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historical Perspectives*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Barker, E., 1984, *The Making of A Moonie: Choice or Brainwashing?* Oxford, Basil Blackwell Publishers.

Barker, E., 1984, 'The British Right to Discriminate', *Society*, 21, No.4, pp35-41.

Barkum, M., 1974, *Disaster and the Millennium*, London, Yale University Press Ltd.

Becker, H.S. (ed), 1964, *The Other Side: Perspectives of Deviance*, New York, Free Press of Glencoe.

Becker, H.S., 1964, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York, Free Press of Glencoe.

Becker, H.S., 1970, *Sociological Work: Methods and Substance*. Chicago. Aldine.

Becker, H.S., 1974, 'Labelling Theory Reconsidered', in Rock, P. and M. McKintosh (eds), *Deviance and Social Control*, London, Tavistock Publications.

Beckford, J.A., 1975, *The Trumpet of Prophecy: A Sociological Study of Jehovah's Witnesses*, New York. Blackwell, Oxford and Halsted Press.

Beckford, J.A., 1979, 'Politics of the Anti-Cult Movement' *The Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion*, 3. pp.169-190.

Beckford, J.A., 1982, 'Beyond the Pale: Cults, Culture and Conflict', in Barker, E., *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

2

Beckford, J.A., 1983a, ' "Brainwashing" and "Deprogramming" in Britain: The Social Sources of Anti-Cult Sentiment', in Bromley, D.G. and J.T. Richardson (eds), *The Brainwashing / Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historical Perspectives*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Beckford, J.A., 1983b, 'The Public Response to New Religious Movements', *Social Compass*, 30 (1) pp.49-62.

Beckford, J.A., 1985, *Cult Controversies: The Societal Response to the New Religious Movements*, London, Tavistock Publications Ltd.

Beckford, J.A. (ed), 1986a, *New Religious Movements and Rapid Social Change*, London, Sage.

Beckford, J.A. and M.A. Cole, August 1987, 'British Responses to New Religious Movements', Chicago, Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Association for the Sociology of Religion.

Beckford, J.A., and M. Levasseur, 1986, 'New Religious Movements in Western Europe', in Beckford, J.A., *New Religious Movements and Rapid Social Change*, London, Sage.

Bell, D., 1973, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, New York, Harper and Row.

Bell, D., 1976, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, New York, Basic Books.

Bellah, R., 1970, *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World*, New York, Harper and Row.

Bender, H.S., 1944, *The Anabaptist Vision*, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, Herald Press.

Berg, D., (Moses David), 1976, *The Basic Mo Letters*, Hong Kong, Gold Lion Publishers.

Berger, P., and T. Luckmann, 1967, *The Social Construction of Reality*, New York, Doubleday, Anchor.

Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, A.C., 1979, *The Science of Self Realization*, London, The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust.

Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, A.C., 1981, *The Golden Avatar: Teachings of Lord Chaitanya*, London, The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust.

3

Bhadtivedanta Swami Prabhupada, A.C., 1986, *The Life and Teachings of Lord Caitanya*, Verona, Italy, The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust.

Biermans, J.T., 1986, *The Odyssey: of New Religious Movements, Persecution, Struggle, Legitimation*, Lewistown, Queenstown, Edwin Mellen Press.

Bird, F., 1979, 'The Pursuit of Innocence: New Religious Movements and Moral Accountability', *Sociological Analysis*, 40, No.40, pp335-346.

Botting, H. and G., 1984, *The Orwellian World of Jehovah's Witnesses*, London, University of Toronto Press.

British Youth For Christ, 1986, *Time to Stir*, (Pamphlet), Kidderminster, British Youth For Christ.

Bromley, D.G., 1983, 'Conservatorships and Deprogramming: Legal and Political Prospects', in Bromley, D.G. and J.T. Richardson (eds), *The Brainwashing / Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historicaal Perspectives*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Bromley, D.G., B.C. Busching and A.D. Shupe Jnr., 1982, 'The Unification Church and the American Family: Strain, Conflict and Control', in Barker, E., *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Bromley, D.G. and P.E. Hammond (eds), 1987, *The Future of New Religious Movements*, Macon, Georgia, Mercer University Press.

Bromley, D.G. and J.T. Richardson (eds), 1983, *The Brainwashing / Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historical Perspectives*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Bromley, D.G. and A.D. Shupe (Jnr.), 1979, *Moonies in America: Cult, Church, Crusade*, London, Sage Publishing Company.

Bromley, D.G. and A.D. Shupe (Jnr.), 1980, *The New Vigilantes: Deprogrammers, Anti-Cultists and New Religions*, London, Sage Publishing Company.

Bromley, D.G. and A.D. Shupe (Jnr.), 1981a, 'Witches, Moonies and Accusations of Evil', in Robbins, T. and D. Anthony (eds), *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America*, London, Transaction Books.

Bromley, D.G. and A.D. Shupe (Jnr.), 1981b, 'Apostates and Atrocity Stories: Some Parameters in the Dynamics of Deprogramming', in Wilson, B. (ed), *The Social Impact of New Religious Movements*, New York, Rose of Sharon Press Inc.

Bromley, D.G. and Shupe, A.D, (Jnr.), 1981c, *Strange Gods: The Great American Cult Scare*, Boston, Beacon Press.

Bromley,D.G., A.D. Shupe and J.C. Ventimiglia, 1979, 'Atrocity Tales, the Unification Church and the Social Construction of Evil', *Journal of Communications*, 29, pp.42-53.

Bromley, D.G., A.D. Shupe (Jnr.), and J.C. Ventimiglia, 1983, 'The Role of Anecdotal Atrocities in the Social Construction of Evil', in Bromley, D.G. and J.T. Richardson (eds), *The Brainwashing / Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historical Perspectives*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Bry, A., 1979, *Centers Network*, New York, Centers Network Press.

Budd, R.W., R.K. Thorp, L. Donohew, 1967, *Content Analysis of Communications*, New York, MacMillan.

Burrell, M.C., 1981, *The Challenge of the Cults*, Leicester, Inter-Varsity Press.

Campbell, C., 1982, 'The New Religious Movements, the New Spirituality and Post-Industrial Society' in Barker, E. *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Champion, F., 1986, Book Review in *Archives De Sciences Sociales Des Religions*, April-June, pp 228-229

Chibnall, S., 1977, *Law and Order News: An Analysis of Crime Reporting in the British Press*, London Tavistock Publications.

Chibnall, S., 1981, 'The Production of Knowledge By Crime Reporting', in Cohen, S. and J. Young (eds), *The Manufacture of News*, London, Constable.

5

Cohen, S., 1980, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, Oxford, Robertson.

Cohen, S., and J. Young, (eds), 1981, *The Manufacture of News. Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media*, London, Constable.

Campbell, C., 1982, 'The New Religious Movements, the New Spirituality and Post-Industrial Society', in Barker, E. (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Coleman, L., 1985, 'New Religions and "Deprogramming": Who's Brainwashing Whom?' in Robbins, T., W.C. Shepherd, and J. McBride (eds), *Cults, Culture and the Law: A Perspective on New Religious Movements*, Chicago, Scholars Press.

Coutts, F., 1981, *No Discharge in this War*, London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Coutts, J., 1977, *The Salvationists*, London, Mowbrays.

Curran, J., 1970, 'The Impact of Television on the Audience For National Newspapers', in J. Tunstall (ed), *Media Sociology*, London, Constable.

Daner, F.J., 1976, *The American Children of Krishna: A Study of the Hare Krishna Movement*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Davis, D., 1984, *The Children of God*, Basingstoke, Marshalls Paperbacks.

Dinitz, S., R.R. Dynes, and A.C. Clarke, 1969, *Deviance: Studies in the Process of Stigmatization and Societal Reaction*, New York, Oxford University Press.

Dobbelaere, K. G Voet, and H. Verbeke, 1985, 'New Religious Movements in the Belgian Press', Paper presented at conference on 'Religious Minorities. Freedom, Toleration, and Repression', Zeist (Netherlands)

Downes, D., and P. Rock, 1982, *Understanding Deviance: A Guide to the Sociology of Crime and Rule-Breaking*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Downton, J V. (Jnr.), 1979, *Sacred Journeys: The Conversion of Young Americans to the Divine Light Mission*, New York, Columbia University Press.

van Driel, B., 1986, 'Print Media and New Religious Movements: A Longitudinal Study', thesis outline.

van Driel, B., and J. van Belzen, 1987, 'The Print Media and the Downfall of Rajneeshpuram: A Cross-National Study', Working Paper.

van Driel, B., and B. Richardson, (forthcoming, 1988), 'Print Media and New Religious Movements: A Longitudinal Study', *Journal of Communication.*

Dyck, C.J., 1981, *Mennonite History: An Introduction*, Pennsylvania, Herald Press.

Enroth, R., 1977, *Youth, Brainwashing and the Extremist Cults*, Exeter, Paternoster Press.

Erhard, W., 1975, *What's So*, est publications, Montana.

Erickson, K., 1966, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*, New York, Wiley.

Erickson, B.H., and T.A. Nosanchuk, 1985, *Understanding Data*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Eustace, H.W., 1964, *Christian Science: It's Clear, Correct Teaching and Complete Writings*, Berkley, Lederer, Street and Zeus Company Publishers.

Fishman, M., 1980, '*Manufacturing The News*, London. University of Texas Press.

Forem, J., 1984, *Transcendental Meditation: Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and the Science of Creative Intelligence*, London, Unwin Paperbacks.

Foss, D.A. and R. Larkin, 1976, 'From "the Gates of Eden" to "Day of the Locust": An Analysis of the Dissident Youth Movement of the 1960s and its Heirs in the 1970s: the Post Movement Groups', *Theory and Society*, 3, pp.45-64.

Foss, D.A. and R. Larkin, 1986, *Beyond Revolution: A New Theory of Social Movements*, Massachusetts, Bergin and Garvey Publishers Inc.

Foster, 1984, *The Navigator*, Amersham-on-the-Hill, Bucks, Scripture Press Foundation (U.K. Ltd.)

Freeman, J. (ed), 1983, *Social Movements of the 60s and 70s*, London, Longman Inc.

Gauntlett, S.C., 1954, *Social Evils the Army Has Challenged*, London, Salvationist Publishing and Supplies Ltd.

Geldberg, S.J., 1983, *Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna*, New York, Grove Press Inc.

Gerbener, G. et al,1969, *The Analysis of Comminication Content*, New York, Wiley.

Glasgow University Media Group, 1976, *Bad News*, London, Routledge and Paul.

Glock, C.Y., and R.N. Bellah (eds), 1976, *The New Religious Consciousness*, London, University of California Press.

Glover, D., 1984, *The Sociology of the Mass Media*, Omskirk, Causeway.

Gross, D., 1979, *Your Right to Know*, Menlo Park, CA, Illuminated Way Press.

Haak, F.W., 1979, *Jugend Religionen: Ursachen, Trends, Reaktionen*, Hamburg, Claudius Verlag, Munchen.

Hall, J., 1979, 'The Apocalypse at Jonestown', *Society*, Sept-Oct, pp.52-61.

Hall, S., 1981. 'A World at One With Itself', in Cohen S. and J. Young, *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, London, Constable.

Hampshire, A.P., and J.A. Beckford, 1983, 'Religious Sects and the Concept of Deviance: The Mormons and the Moonies', *British Journal of Sociology*, 34, (2), pp. 208-229.

Harrison, B.G., 1978, *Visions of Glory. A History and a Memory of Jehovah's Witnesses*, New York, Simon and Schuster.

Hays, D., 1969, 'Linguistic Foundations for a Theory of Content Analysis', in G. Gerbner et al (eds), *The Analysis of Communication Content*, New York, Wiley.

Heelas, P., 1982, 'Californian Self Religions and Socializing the Subjective', in Barker, E., (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Hesselgrave, D.J., (ed) 1978, *Dynamic Religious Movements*, Michigan, Baker Book House.

Hemming, J., 1985, Book Review, *Freethinker*, 105, (12).

Hexham, I., 1986, Book Review, *Sociological Analysis*, 47, (3).

Hill, M., 1986, Book Review, *The Listener*, 1.8.86, p.50.

Hinkins, J.R., 1976, *The Christ Within*, New York, Baraka Press.

Hoekema, A.A., 1982, *Christian Science*, New York, The Paternoster Press Ltd.

Holsti, O.R., 1969, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Phillippines, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Horowitz, I.L. (ed), *Science, Sin and Scolarship: The Politics of Reverend Moon and the Unification Church*, London, MIT Press.

Hostetler, J.A., 1963, *Amish Society*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hostetler. J A , 1983, *Amish Life*, Pennsylvania, Herald Press.

Hubbard. J.C., M.L. DeFleur and L.B. Defleur, 1975, 'Mass Media Influences on Public Conception of Social Problems', in *Social Problems* Oct., pp.460-475.

Hubbard, L.R., 1952, *Scientology: 8 to 80. The discovery and increase of life energy in the genius homo sapiens*, East Grinstead, The Department of Publications Worldwide.

Hubbard, L.R., 1975, *Scientology: A New Slant on Life*. Publications Department, Denmark.

Hubbard, L.R., 1984. *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health*, Denmark, New Era Publications.

Hunt, E.N. (Jnr.), 1978, 'Sun Myung Moon and the Tong-il', in Hesselgrave, D.J. (ed), *Dynamic New Religious Movements*, Michigan, Baker Book House.

Jehovah's Witnesses, 1981, *Let Your Kingdom Come*, New York, Watchtower Bible and Tract Society.

Johnson, G., 1976, 'The Hare Krishnas in San Fransisco', in Glock, C.Y. and R.N. Bellah, *The New Religious Consciousness*, London, University of California Press.

Joshi, V., 1982, *The Awakened One: The Life and Work of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh*, New York, Harper and Row.

Judah, J.S., 1974, *Hare Krishna and the Counter Culture*, New York, John Wiley.

Karmen, A., 1978, 'How Much Heat, How Much Light: Coverage of New York City's Blackout and Looting in the Print Media', in Winick, C. (ed), *Deviance and Mass Media*, London, Sage Publications.

Katz, E., and T. Szecsko (eds), 1981, *Mass Media and Social Change*, London, Sage Publications.

Kemp, H., 1980, *The Wind of Change*, Menlo Park, California, Illuminated Way Press.

Kirby, G., 1977, *Jehovah's Witnesses: Where do They go Wrong?* London, Falcon.

Kituse and Spector, 1975, *Towards a Sociology of Social Problems*. New York, Wiley.

Klapper, J.T., 1960, *The Effects of Mass Communication*, New York, The Free Press.

Klassen, W., 1981, *Anabaptism: Neither Catholic nor Protestant*, Ontario, Conrad Press.

Knott, K., 1983, 'Conventional Religion and Common Religion in the Media', Religious Research Papers No.9, University of Leeds.

Knott, K., 1984, 'Media Portrayals of Religion and their Reception', Final report of a project funded by the Christendom Trust.

Knott, K., 1986, *My Sweet Lord: The Hare Krishna Movement*. Wellinborough, The Aquarian Press

Kollen, K., 1980, *Jeugosekten in Nederland*, Amsterdam, Allert de Lunge.

Krause, C.A., 1979, *Guyana Massacre*, London, Pan Books.

Krippendorf, K., 1980, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, London, Sage Publications.

Lamont, S., 1986, *Religion Inc.: The Church of Scientology*, London, Harrap.

Lane, D.C., 1983, *The Making of a Spiritual Movement*, Del Mar, California, Del Mar Press.

Lemert, E., 1972, *Human Deviance: Social Problems and Self Control*, Englewood Cliffs.

Lifton, R., 1961, *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism. A Study of Brainwashing in China*, New York, W.W. Norton and Co.

Lifton, R.J., 1985, 'Cult Processes, Religious Totalism, and Civil Liberties', in Robbins, T., W.C. Shepherd, J. McBride (eds), *Cults, Culture and the Law: Perspectives on New Religious Movements*, Chico, Scolars Press.

Lindt, G., 1979, 'Religious Cults in America: Public Opinion and the Media', Paper presented at the Meetings of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

Lofland, J., 1977, (2nd edition), *Doomsday Cult*, New York, Irvington Publishers.

MacCollam, J.A., 1978, *The Way of Victor Paul Wierwille*, Illinois, Inter-Varsity Press.

MacCollam, J.A., 1979, *Carnival of Souls: Religious Cults and Young People*, New York, Seabury Press.

MacShane, D., 1983, *Using the Media*, London, Pluto Press

McCombs, M.E., and D.L. Shaw, 1972, 'The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, pp176-187.

McDowell, J., and D. Stewart, 1983, *Understanding the Cults*, San Barnardino, CA, Here's Life Publishers Inc.

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1966, *The Science of Being and the Art of Living*, London, International SRM Publications.

Mankoff, M., 1974, *Societal Reaction and Career Deviance*, New York, Wiley.

Martin, W., 1977, *The Kingdom of the Cults*, Minnesota, Bethany Fellowship Inc.

Martin, W., 1985, *The New Cults*, Ventura, CA, Regal Books.

Matza, D., 1964, *Delinquency and Drift*, New York, Wiley.

Melton, J.G., 1978, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, (two volumes), Wilmington, N.C., McGrath.

Melton, J.G., 1986, *Encyclopedic Handbook of Cults in America*, London, Garland Publishing Inc.

Melton, J.G., 1987, 'How New is New? The Flowering of the 'New' Religious Consciousness Since 1965', in Bromley, D.G., and P.E. Hammond (eds), *The Future of New Religious Movements*, Georgia, Mercer University Press.

Messer, J., 1976, 'Guru Magaraji Ji and the Divine Light Mission', in Glock, C.Y., and R.N. Bellah, *The New Religious Consciousness*, London, University of California Press.

Milne, H., 1986, *Bhagwan: The God That Failed*, London, Caliban Books.

Molotch, H., and M. Lester. 1981. 'News as Purposive Behaviour: On the Strategic Use of Routine Events, Accidents and Scandals', in Cohen, S., and J. Young, *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, London, Constable.

Moon, S.M., 1973, *The Divine Principal*, Washington, Holy Spirit Association For the Unification of World Christianity.

Naipaul. S., 1980, *Black and White*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.

Needleman, J., 1970, *The New Religions*, London, Penguin Books.

Nelson, W.M., and R.K. Smith, 1978, 'Jehovah's Witnesses', in Hesselgrave, D.J. (ed), *Dynamic Religious Movements*, Michigan, Baker Book House.

Nordquist, T., 1982, 'New Religious Movements in Sweden', in Barker, E., (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Pearson, G., 1975, *The Deviant Imagination: Psychiatry, Social Work and Social Change*, London, MacMillan.

Peel, R., 1966, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Peel, R., 1971, *The Years of Trial*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Peterson, T., J.W. Jensen, W.L. Rivers, 1965, *The Mass Media and Modern Society*, London, Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.

Peterson, W.J., 1982, *Those Curious Cults in the 80s*, Conneticut, Keats Publishing Inc.

Pilarzyk, T., 1978, 'The Origin, Development and Decline of a Youth Culture Religion: An Application of Sectarianization Theory', *Review of Religious Research*, 20.

Plummer, K., 1979, 'Misunderstanding Labelling Perspectives', in Downes, D. and P. Rock (eds), *Deviant Interpretations*, London, Martin Robertson and Co.

Pollner, M., 1975, 'Sociological and Common Sense Models of the Labelling Process', in Turner, R. (ed), *Ethnomethodology*, London, Penguin.

Price, M., 1979, 'The Divine Light Mission as a Social Organization', in *Sociological Review*, 27, 2, pp.279-296.

Prophet, E.C., 1977, *Quietly Comes the Buddha*, Colarado Springs, Summmit Lighthouse.

Prophet, E.C., 1980, *Prophecy For the 1980s*, Los Angeles, Summit University Press.

Prophet, E.C., 1983, *The Great White Brotherhood* Los Angeles, Summit University Press.

Prophet, M., and E.C. Prophet, 1972, *Climb the Highest Mountain*, Colarado Springs, Summit Lighthouse.

Prophet, M., and E.C. Prophet, 1974, *My Soul Doth Magnify the Lord!* Colorado Springs, Summit Lighthouse.

Quebedeaux, R., 1979, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade*, London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Regan, D. 1986, Book Review, *Contemporary Sociology*, 15, No.4. pp.647-648.

Rajneesh, The.Bhagwan Shree, 1980, *Meditation: The Art of Ecstasy*, London, Sheldon Press.

Richardson, J.T., 1979, *Organized Miracles: A Sociological Study of the Jesus Movement Organization*, New Jersey, Transaction Books.

Richardson, J.T., 1980, 'People's Temple and Jonestown: A Corrective Comparison and Critique', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 19, (3), pp 239-255.

Richardson, J.T., 1983, 'New Religious Movements in the U.S.: A Review', *Social Compass*, 30. (1), pp.85-110.

Richardson, J.T., 1985, 'The "Deformation" of New Religions: Impacts of Societal and Organizational Factors', in Robbins, T., W.C. Shepherd, and J. McBride (eds), *Cults, Culture and the Law: Perspectives on New Religious Movements*, Chicago, Scolars Press.

Richardson, J.T. and B. Kilbourne, 1983, 'Classical and Contemporary Applications of Brainwashing Models: A Comparison and Critique', in Bromley, D.G., and J.T. Richardson (eds). *The Brainwashing / Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historical Perspectives*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Richardson, J.T., M.W. Stewart, and R.B. Simmons (eds), 1979, *Organised Miracles A Study of Contemporary Youth, Communal, Fundamentalist Organizations*, New Jersey. Transaction Books.

Robbins. T., 1985a, 'Government Regulatory Powers and Church Autonomy: Deviant Groups as Test Cases', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 24, (30), pp. 237-252.

Robbins, T., 1985b, 'New Religious Movements on the Frontier of Church and State', in Robbins, T., W.C. Shepherd, and J. McBride, (eds). *Cults, Culture and the Law: Perspectives on New Religious Movements*, Chico, Scholars Press.

14

Robbins, T., 1986, 'The Waxing and Waning of New Religious Movements in the U.S.'

Robbins, T., and D. Anthony, 1978, 'New Religious Movements and the Social System', in *Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion*, 2.

Robbins, T., D. Anthony, M. Doucas, T. Curtis, 1980, 'The Last Civil Religion: Rev. Moon and the Unification Church', in Horrowitz, I.L., *Science, Sin and Scholarship*, London, MIT Press.

Robbins, T., and D. Anthony, 1981a, 'New Religions, Families and Brainwashing', in Robbins, T., and D. Anthony (eds), *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America*, London, Transaction Books.

Robbins, T., and D. Anthony, 1981b, 'Getting Saved From Meher Baba: A Study of Mysticism, Drug Rehabilitation and Postadolescent Role Conflict', in Robbins, T. and D. Anthony (eds), *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America*, London, Transaction Books.

Robbins, T. and D. Anthony, 1982, 'Deprogramming, Brainwashing, and the Medicalization of Deviant Religious Groups', *Social Problems*, 29, (3), pp.283-297.

Robertson, R., 1967, 'The Salvation Army: The Persistence of Sectarianism', in Wilson, B.R., (ed), *Patterns of Sectarianism*, London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd Roberts, R.H., 1986, Book Review, *Durham University Journal*, June, LXXVILI/2

Rochford, E.B (Jnr.), 1982, 'Recruitment Strategies, Ideology and Organization in the Hare Krishna Movement', *Social Problems*, 29, (4), pp.399-410.

Rochford, E.B. (Jnr.), 1985, *Hare Krishnas in America*, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press.

Rock, P., and M. McIntosh, (eds), 1973, *Deviance and Social Control*, London, Tavistock Publications.

Roshier, B., 1981, 'The Selection of Crime News by the Press', in Cohen, S. and J. Young (eds), *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, London, Constable.

Sarkar, P.R., 1973, *Baba's Grace: Discourses of Shrii Shrii Anandamurti*, Los Altos Hills, California, A.M. Publications.

Sarkar, P.R., 1983, *The Liberation of Intellect, Neo-Humanism*, Calcutta, Tiljala.

Scott, R.A., 1969, *The Making of Blind Men*, London, Russell Sage.

Shibutani, T., 1966, *Improvised News: A Sociological Study of Rumour*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill.

Shupe A.D., and D.G. Bromley, 1980, *The New Vigilantes: Deprogrammers, Anti-Cultists and the New Religions*, Beverly Hills, Sage.

Solomon, T., 1983, 'Programming and Deprogramming the "Moonies": Social Psychology Applied', in Bromley, D.G. and J.T.Richardson (eds), *The Brainwashing / Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historical Perspectives*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Sontag, F., 1977, *Sun Myung Moon and the Unification Church*, Nashville, Abingdon Press.

Spiritual Counterfeits Project, 1979, *Eckankar*, 3, (1).

Staten, T.K., 1984, 'Onderzoek Betreffende Sekten', *Overheid en Nieuwe Religieuze Bewegingen*, 16, 35.

Stoner, C. and J.A. Parke, 1979, *All Gods Children: Salvation and Slavery?* Middlesex, Penguin.

Taylor, D., 1983, 'Thought Reform and the Unification Church', in Bromley, D.G. and J.T. Richardson (eds), *The Brainwashing / Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historical Perspectives*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Taylor, I., P. Walton, and J. Young, 1973, *The New Criminology: For a Social Theory of Deviance*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Thompson, J. and P. Heelas, 1986, *The Way of the Heart: The Rajneesh Movement*, Wellingborough, Aquarian Press.

Tipton, S.M., 1982, *Getting Saved From the Sixties*, Berkley, California, University of California Press.

Turner, H.W., 1985, Book Review, *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 22.11.85, No. 681.

Twitchell, P., 1969, *Eckankar: The Key to Secret Worlds*, San Diego, Illuminated Way Press.

Twitchell, P., 1969a, *Eckankar*, New York, Lancer Books.

Twitchell, P., 1969b, *The Tigers Fang*, New York, Lancer Books.

Twitchell, P., 1971, *The Spiritual Notebook*, Menlo Park, CA., Illuminated Way Press.

Wallis, R., 1976a, 'Observations on the Children of God', in *Sociological Review*, 24, (4), pp807-829.

Wallis, R., 1976b, *The Road to Total Freedom*, London, Heinemann.

Wallis, R., 1981, 'The Social Impact of New Religious Movements', in B. Wilson, (ed), *The Social Impact of New Religious Movements*, New York, Rose of Sharon Press.

Wallis, R., 1982, 'The New Religions as Social Indicators', in Barker, E. (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Wallis, R., 1984, *The Elementary Forms of New Religious Life*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wallis, R., 1984, Book Review, 'Five Finger Exercise', *New Society*, 29.11.84.

Wallis, R., 1986, 'Paradoxes of Freedom and Regulation: The Case of NRMs in Britain and America', *Sociological Analysis*.

Wallis, R. and S. Bruce, 1986, *Sociological Theory. Religion and Collective Action*, The Queen's University, Belfast.

The Way International, 1981, *This is The Way*, Group Pamphlet. Ohio.

Weldon, J., 1978. (Pamphlet, S.C.P.). *The Frightening World of est*

Werblowsky, R.J.Z., 1982, 'Religions New and Not so New: Fragments of an Agenda', in Barker, E. (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective For Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Whiteside, E.S., 1972, *The Way, Living in Love*, New Knoxville, American Christian Press.

Whitworth, J. and M. Shiels, 1982, 'From Across the Black Water: Two Imported Varieties of Hinduism', in Barker, E. (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Wierwille, V.P., 1971, *Power for Abundant Living*, New Knoxville, American Christian Press.

Wierwille, V.P., 1972, it Receiving the Holy Spirit Today, New Knoxville, American Christian Press.

Wierwille, V.P., 1982, *Jesus Christ, Our Promised Seed*, New Knoxville, American Christian Press.

Wilkins, L.T., 1964, *Social Deviance*, London, Tavistock.

Williams, J.L., 1979, *Victor Paul Wierwille and The Way International*, Chicago, Moody Press.

Wilson, B.R., 1961, *Sects and Society: A Sociological Study of Three Religious Groups in Britain*, London, Heinemann.

Wilson, B.R., 1967, *Patterns of Sectarianism*, London, Heinemann.

Wilson, B.R., 1976, *Contemporary Transformation of Religion*, London, Oxford University Press.

Wilson, B.R., 1981, 'Time, Generations and Sectarianism', in Wilson, B.R. (ed), *The Social Impact of New Religious Movements*, New York, Rose of Sharon Press Inc.

Wilson, B.R., 1982, 'New Religions: Some Preliminary Considerations', in Barker, E. (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Wilson, J., 1973, *Introduction to Social Movements*, New York, Basic Books Inc.

Wuthnow, R., 1976, *The Consciousness Reformation*, California, University of California Press.

Wuthnow, R., 1978, *Experimentation in American Religion*, California, University of California Press.

Wuthnow, R., 1982, 'World Order and Religious Movements', in Barker, E. (ed), *New Religious Movements: A Perspective for Understanding Society*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press.

Wuthnow, R., 1985, 'The Cultural Context of Contemporary Religious Movements', in Robbins, T., W.C. Shepherd, J. McBride (eds), *Cults, Culture and the Law: Perspectives on New Religious Movements*, Chico, Scholars Press.

Wuthnow, R., 1986, 'Religious Movements and Counter-Movements in North America', in Beckford, J.A. (ed), *New Religious Movements and Rapid Social Change*, London, Sage Publications.

Yinger, J.M., 1968, *Religion, Society and The Individual*, New York, The MacMillan Company.

Yinger, J.M., 1969, *Sociology Looks at Religion*, London, The MacMillan Company.

Yinger, J.M., 1970, *The Scientific Study of Religion*, New York, The MacMillan Company.

Yoder, J.H., (Translator), 1977, *The Schleitheim Confession*, Pennysylvania, Herald Press.

Young, J., 1981, 'The Amplification of Drug Use', in Cohen, S. and J. Young (eds), *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, London, Constable.

Young, J., 1981, 'Beyond the Consensual Paradigm: A Critique of Left Functionalism in the Media', in Cohen, S. and J. Young (eds), *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, London, Constable.