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Deprivation Theory And Occult Belief

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DEPRIVATION THEORY AND OCCULT BELIEF

BY

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B.A., Northern Arizona University, 1971

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in the Graduate School of
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico
July, 1976

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an investigation of a number of alternative explanations of belief in and activity in various subareas of the occult milieu. These subareas include astrology, spiritualism, satanism and various occult activities such as palm and card reading.

A number of alternative hypotheses concerning the relationships between occult belief and practice and status and psychic deprivation as measured by self-esteem, self competence and anomie were developed. Alternative explanations which centered around peer influence and religious orthodoxy were also presented. Three principle hypotheses were tested: 1) belief in and activity in various aspects of the occult will vary inversely as a function of self-esteem and self competence and directly as a function of anomie, 2) belief in the existence of demons, spirits, and related phenomena will vary directly as a function of religious orthodoxy, 3) belief in and activity in various aspects of the occult will vary directly as a function of peer influence.

Questionnaires containing measures of these dependent and independent variables were administered to a sample consisting of 372 students enrolled in a section of Introduction to Sociology 101 during the Spring Semester of 1976. A number of items

dealing with demographic characteristics were included in addition to the other variables.

Pearson correlation coefficients were computed and indicated weak positive relationships between self-esteem and self competence and the occult variables. Low negative relationships appeared between anomie and the occult variables. Stronger positive relationships were indicated between peer influence and the occult variables and between religious orthodoxy and the demons and spirits variable. Only the peer influence and religious orthodoxy variables approach statistical significance.

Multiple regression analysis revealed that, with the exception of the demons and spirits variable, peer influence accounted for the greatest amount of variance in the occult variables. Religious orthodoxy emerged as the single best indicator of belief in demons and spirits. The combined effect of the three deprivation measures accounted for little of the total variance in any of the dependent variables. Both the correlation coefficients and the regression analysis tended to support hypotheses 2 and 3.

An analysis of the demographic variables indicated that, with one exception, demographic characteristics were not significantly related to belief in and activity in the occult. Church attendance was found to be strongly related to religious orthodoxy and was negatively related to a number of occult measures.

It was concluded that deprivation theory does not offer a useful explanation for occult interest, belief, and activity for all populations. One explanation of these results suggests the existence of two separate populations which are interested and involved in various subareas of the occult milieu to different degrees. One population is composed of those people belonging to cults and other esoteric organizations. The other population is made up of people who are interested in the occult as a form of diversion. It was also concluded that additional research should be undertaken using a number of data gathering techniques to investigate both of these populations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study grew out of an interest in the increasing popularity of that set of phenomena which is generally termed the occult. This growth of interest has become particularly evident in the last few years and as a result has become a noticeable aspect of popular culture.

The interest is both widespread and multifaceted. One occult area, astrology or the study of the effects of planetary bodies on human lives and so on, has received great attention. The number of American newspapers which include horoscope columns has increased greatly in number (see Truzzi, 1973) as have the number of publications devoted solely to the subject of astrology. These publications offer astrological advice on how to deal with the opposite sex and related social and interpersonal topics in addition to the usual personality descriptions and forecasts. Professional astrologers who are paid to read the horoscopes of their clients have also grown in number to meet the demands of a growing clientele.

Metaphysical bookstores which specialize not only in astrological literature but also in material dealing with witchcraft, spiritualism, demonology, satanism, extra-sensory perception, flying saucers and related topics have also grown in number.

Witchcraft covens are also on the increase, as are other spiritual and religious organizations and movements outside of the mainstream of established religion. Many of these movements are heavily influenced by Eastern religions and mysticism.

Interest in the possible existence of flying saucers and other physical anomalies is also evident. Particularly popular are a number of pseudo-scientific theories concerning the origins of the human race and ancient civilizations which are based on the contention that extra-terrestrial beings have visited the earth and have influenced the course of human history in a number of ways.

A demonic theme also appears to be present in this overall trend. A number of books and films including "Rosemary's Baby" and "The Exorcist" which capitalize on the idea that the devil and evil spirits or demons exist and are active participants in human affairs have been particularly popular. The most successful of these novels and movies have spawned a great number of books, films, and television programs with similar themes and plots.

Accompanying this demonic element is the appearance or emergence of satanic groups which purport to worship the devil and perform black masses, etc. The best known of these is the Satanic Church which was established in San Francisco.

Devices and practices for predicting or reading future events including the Tarot and I Ching have also grown in popularity. Other beliefs, organizations and practices too

numerous to include here make up this renaissance of interest in the world of the occult.

This phenomenon raises a number of questions. One concerns the nature of the occult, what it is or to what it refers and how it differs from other forms of cultural knowledge. Another question involves the nature of the relationship between the occult world and the rest of society. Is the occult merely some form of fad which appears during different historical periods for a time and then loses popularity and lies dormant never really having affected the overall social scheme, or is it a sign of a breakdown in established ways of behaving and thinking, serving as an indicator of major social breakdowns and foreshadowing possible social change? Another question might involve the study of the people who constitute the population which shows interest in the various aspects of the occult milieu. Their identities and the factors which influence them to show an interest in esoteric culture are also potential areas of study. Before this current fascination is discussed further, however, an attempt must be made to define in some way the term "occult" and determine what constitutes occult beliefs and behavior and distinguishes them from other beliefs and behavior patterns.

The occult is a term which seems at times to elude definition. The diverse beliefs, behavior patterns and bodies of knowledge which have, at one time or another, been referred to as occult are quite numerous. Added to this problem is the

fact that many of these beliefs and activities differ greatly from each other. Also, the people identifying the practices, etc., which belong to the occult may differ in their opinions, depending on their backgrounds and training. A member of the scientific community may, for instance, define astrology as one aspect of the occult milieu, a set of beliefs or a pseudo-science without any basis in reality. An astrologer, on the other hand, may object to being identified as part of the occult world and may, in fact, identify himself as a scientist and attempt to portray astrology as an established science (Tiryakian, 1974). The subareas which are generally considered to belong to the occult milieu may, in fact, be arranged in a kind of hierarchy ranging from studies in extra-sensory perception and parapsychology, which can be seen as existing on the periphery of the established scientific community and are attempting to be accepted by it, to such phenomena as Satanism and witchcraft and fortune telling.

All of these phenomena do have a number of characteristics in common, however. The element of secrecy or mystery is usually present in one form or another. This is not to say that the occult itself is secret. Many occult beliefs and practices are well known and receive a great deal of attention. All of these subareas are, however, in some way, caught up with the belief that there are hidden or secret forces or powers which are at work in the cosmos and which haven't been either studied or explained by established science. All of

these areas also fall outside of the realm of established, institutionalized scientific and religious knowledge and practice. Truzzi (1971) identifies the occult as consisting of beliefs, practices and so on which contradict established areas of knowledge.

The occult can therefore be seen as consisting of a number of anomalies which fall outside of the institutionalized knowledge of a society at a particular period in time. Truzzi goes on to explain that these anomalies belong to one of two different categories.

Anomalous objects include such things as unknown living entities thought by some to exist but not yet proven. One such entity would be the Loch Ness monster. Other examples of this category would include unidentified flying objects treated as flying saucers and the appearance of a levitating person (Truzzi, 1971). The other category, anomalous processes, refers to relationships which fall outside the understanding or the realm of the theoretical paradigms of established science. Such a relationship might involve the belief that a certain mixture of herbs can bring about a desired effect which according to established scientific beliefs could not take place. Another example is the belief that the movements and positions of planetary bodies in some way determine human behavior. These anomalies are not always clearly divided from one another and may overlap. As mentioned above, they also range from the near scientific to the bizarre.

In the same vein, ideas or practices which are not in keeping with established religious beliefs and practices could be considered as occult also. In any event, the emphasis on the unknown or hidden forces and powers not fully understood by establishment thought is evident in all aspects of the occult milieu.

The existence of these anomalies throughout history is apparent, although the content of the anomalies has changed somewhat over time. Esoteric culture has its roots closely tied to the development of established religious and scientific ways of thinking. Esoteric forms of thought which have been closely connected to established thought but which have, at the same time, included elements which placed them outside of the established trends included Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism (Tirykian, 1974). Perhaps this parallel existence of both religion and the occult explains, in part, the occult revivals which have taken place throughout history.

In many respects, occult beliefs perform the same functions as established religious beliefs. The desire for answers to basic questions concerning the meaning of life and death, the existence of human differences and injustices and other phenomena which don't lend themselves to scientific or empirical study can be satisfied either by established religions or by the occult. Failure on the part of organized religion to effectively answer these questions and to provide the individual with a feeling of transcendence and the

opportunity for mystical experience could explain the recurrent appearance of the occult milieu throughout history. Occult beliefs and practices emphasize the transcendent and the mystical.

Periods of popularity of these non-establishment paradigms in addition to the present include the Renaissance and Reformation and the latter days of the Roman Empire. The revolt against rationality, objectivity, and science has been particularly apparent since the Renaissance. Dating from this period in history to the present, primarily as a result of the growth of objectivity and science, the occult has been treated as a part of a counter-culture which has existed within society for years (Tiryakian, 1974). The objectivity and rationality which has influenced established forms of religious belief does not exist in the occult world. A growing disenchantment with rationality and objectivity would therefore also affect organized religion and create a situation conducive to a growth in the popularity of the occult. The occult has not always been considered as esoteric, however. Many occult beliefs and practices date far back in history.

Magic, astrology and spiritualism date long before the Renaissance. Probably the three most important treatises on magic are the Key of Solomon, Agrippa's Occult Philosophy and the Hebrew Cabala. Portions of the Hebrew Cabala date back as far as the third century A.D. (Cavendish, 1967). The Occult Philosophy, a combination of occult lore, natural science, Christianity, Neo-Platonism and other elements was

a product of the sixteenth century. Included are formulas for curing ills of various sorts and for casting love potions and the like (Wedeck, 1956).

The origins of astrology lie in Mesopotamia. This particular subject was also influenced heavily by the ancient Greeks. Astrology also flourished during medieval times and was a forerunner of astronomy (Cavendish, 1967). Such beliefs and practices as spiritualism and prophecy are equally as old. However, as Tiryakian pointed out, the occult was not treated as part of a counter-culture as it is today until the advent of the Renaissance and those values and ideals which accompanied it.

The United States has also had its share of occult activity in its past. A number of religious or religious-like movements developed and spread across the United States in the nineteenth century. Spiritualism, a diverse set of beliefs and practices centered around the idea that spirits of the dead exist and are able to be contacted by living people, was enormously popular both in the U.S. and Great Britain at this time (see Nelson, 1969). This movement was initiated by two women, the Fox sisters, who lived in New York. They claimed at the time to be in contact with a spirit occupying their farm house. This spirit supposedly identified itself by a series of rapping sounds which could be heard in the house. People came to observe the phenomena and eventually the practice of contacting spirits through seances spread.

Although the incidents involving the Fox sisters later turned out to be an elaborate hoax, by then the spiritualist movement has spread across the country (Nelson, 1969).

It was also during the late nineteenth century that Madame Helena Petrova Blavatsky developed a movement which became known as Theosophy. Before long this led to the development of a Theosophical Society which also spread to Great Britain (Wilson, 1973). This set of beliefs, heavily influenced by Eastern religions and mysticism, de-emphasizes the material world and places great importance on the mystical, hidden powers of the mind, will and spirit. Blavatsky apparently believed Theosophy to be the prism through which all different religious systems representing the different colors of the spectrum could be passed and emerge as the white light of truth (Blavatsky, 1971). This tendency to de-emphasize the rational and scientific again appears to be part of a cultural heritage which dates back to the Renaissance and before and includes the Romantic and other movements in history.

The rise of National Socialism in Germany in the 20's and 30's was also heavily influenced by a number of occult themes and occult societies. Not only did certain occult themes work their way into the Nazi ideology, but Hitler often consulted an astrologer for advice (Wilson, 1973; Angebert, 1974; and Pauwels and Bergier, 1968). It is important to remember at this point that the rise of the Nazi movement and its accompanying occult elements came at a time of social and economic crises in Germany.

Although the occult does tend to de-emphasize the rational and the objective, there is another aspect of the relationship between the occult and established science which is important to point out. The fact that these two separate modes of thought have had such a close contact is particularly significant in view of the fact that many of the disciplines and practices which develop into established science grew out of esoteric culture. Alchemy and astrology were both strong factors in the development of chemistry and astronomy. A number of the early astronomers, including Kepler, were also astrologers (Cavendish, 1967). Hypnotism, now an established practice in both psychology and medicine can be traced back to the occult practices of Mesmer (Wilson, 1973).

The anti-technological, irrational, anti-scientific element so apparent in the occult throughout history is also a characteristic of much of the current interest in the occult world. Musgrove (1974) and Roszak (1969) have noted these anti-technological, anti-bureaucratic and anti-rational elements in contemporary youth culture. An interest in Eastern religions and alternate life styles which reject established ways of thinking and acting are also evident. Staude (1970) has also noted the tendency, particularly on the part of young people to turn to esoteric culture for answers and reject the establishment thought represented by their parents. The observation that the current popularity of the occult is, to a great extent, found among the young, has been made by a number of researchers.

Greeley (1970) uses the incidence of new religious movements and the like as evidence that religious and spiritual interests are not disappearing from society but rather are becoming evident in a renewed interest in the sacred. He also acknowledged that these movements are primarily populated by young people. Truzzi (1972) noted that although interest in various aspects of the occult can be found to exist among a large number of people, the real hardcore members, the people who actually form occult groups and integret occult beliefs and practices into their lifestyles are, for the most part, young. Rowley (1971) found young people to constitute the majority of members in such organizations and religions as Scientology, Baha'i and the witchcraft covens. Mandic (1970) concluded that this occult revival among young people is a result of rapid technological and related social change. The response on the part of the young to the technological, rational and empirical world is similar to the responses to basically the same trends found in the Romantic movement years before. In addition to these factors, Bourque (1969) found ecstatic experiences becoming increasingly important in religious and other institutions among the young.

The questions concerning the reasons for the current popularity of the occult have still not been completely answered, however. The incidence of occult revival both throughout the history of Western civilization and in the present can be approached from two different directions sociologically.

Taking a macro-level approach, the occult can be seen as a part of an historical process, a revolt against a number of major trends which have been developing and dominating the character of western civilization for years. These trends include rationalism, objectivity, industrialization and so on. The actual occult revivals appear to develop during periods of rapid social change and unrest, times in which the established institutions themselves are undergoing changes and society is in a state of flux. Such a social situation is illustrated by the case of the rise of the Nazi party and all its related ideological elements during a time of social and economic crises as was discussed above. A breakdown of confidence in established institutions and modes of thought, a situation which Eister (1974) refers to as a cultural crisis, seems to set the basis for the successful rise of the more esoteric forms of culture which have always been a part of the cultural heritage of the West but which prior to the crisis were more covert. In this sense, Tiryakian (1974) is right when he states that the occult can be seen as a weathervane indicating major social changes and breakdowns. The exoteric and esoteric cultural elements may be seen as being engaged in a kind of dialectical relationship which is influenced by social and economic conditions which change through history.

However, this macro-level approach does not adequately explain why, in such a period of cultural crisis, certain groups or categories of people are more susceptible to occult beliefs.

and activities than others. Little empirical research has been carried out to date dealing with the social and psychological factors related to interest in and involvement in the occult milieu.

As mentioned above, there is some evidence to support the contention that activity and involvement in the occult is the result of feelings of alienation on the part of the individual. This disenchantment with and separation from the larger society as it now exists may be part of the explanation.

Hubert and Mauss (1902-1903) were perhaps the earliest researchers to identify those people most likely to practice magic as belonging to the socially marginal. Research into specific cults tends to support this contention. Lofland (1966) found that the members of a cult which believed that the world would be totally changed by the year 1967 tended to be socially marginal. He also observed that many of the people superficially attracted not only to this cult but also to any presentation given by a group representing unusual interests were elderly, single and female. As mentioned earlier, Truzzi (1972) also identified the population strongly involved in these groups as exhibiting symptoms of anomie and alienation. Wuthnow (1975) found that young people who tend to strongly believe in astrology tend to be marginal.

On the other hand, Moody's (1971) study of a group of satan worshipers now in existence in San Francisco found that

the group members were, for the most part, middle class people attempting to cope with everyday problems. This finding, at least initially, appears to cast some doubt on the explanatory power of the marginality explanation. Moody also found that the practices used by this group of satanists constituted a type of therapy involving role playing and other techniques not unlike those used by psychologists.

Additional study (Truzzi, 1972; Marty, 1970) indicates the existence of two separate populations which represent different levels of interest in the occult milieu. One population is composed of those people who belong to cults and other occult groups and organizations. This population is the one which has been studied and discussed the most to date. The other population is composed primarily of middle class people who are superficially interested, although they may accept certain of the beliefs as valid. These people are also most likely to treat the occult primarily as a form of diversion (Truzzi, 1972). This tendency to look for diversion in belief systems has also been noted by Cox (1973) who sees the current fascination which such things as the occult as developing out of a need for an element of fun and joy in religion, an element which is now missing. Marty (1970) states that a whole body of literature on the occult is published with this population in mind.

There are, therefore, two populations for study, both of which are associated with, or interested in, some aspect of

the occult milieu. There are, as a result, three possible ways of approaching the study of the occult world. One way, already mentioned, involves a macro-level historical approach. Another involves the study of specific occult groups which exist. The third would be concerned with a study of the factors and motives related to that larger population composed of people who may be interested in the occult milieu but are not integrated into it.

One of the few people to research this last category is Patricia Hartman (1973). Hartman surveyed a cross-section of the population of a Minnesota community in order to determine the variation in magical beliefs which existed among these people and how they were related to a number of demographic variables including sex, class and education. She concluded from her study that these variables accounted for little of the variation in beliefs in such things as astrology, charm-ritual, the existence of rare people and spiritualism.

It is therefore the intention of this study to investigate further the factors which may influence belief in various subareas of the occult milieu. The theoretical basis for this study and the specific hypotheses to be tested will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

Religion and Ideology

A number of theoretical perspectives dealing with religious ideology, ideology in general, offer possible explanations of the foundations for explanations of the emergence and popularity of uninstitutionalized beliefs such as those found in the occult milieu. A brief review of a number of these perspectives, and the contributions of a number of theorists which are relevant to this research project, will be covered leading into the theoretical approach which will serve as a basis for this research. Finally, the hypotheses to be studied will be presented and discussed.

Several classical sociologists developed theories concerning the origins and functions of religious belief systems which are pertinent to this particular study. Marx and Engles (1964) maintained that religion reflects social conditions and social structure. Marx believed that religious beliefs, and indeed all forms of ideology, are inadequate forms of consolation for people experiencing various types of social deprivation. Religious beliefs, according to Marx, could also be used to justify the activities of particular groups of people. Religion can console the pauper by promising the existence of

another world after death, a world in which the problems and conditions in society will not exist. There are also many historical examples of the justification function of religion. Crusades and wars have been started and fought by people believing that they were following the will of God and that the deity was supporting their efforts. Probably the most important aspect of religion, however, is its reflection of the social structure of the society. Religious beliefs reflect the relative positions which the people who profess them hold within the structure of the society.

Taking a Marxist perspective, Goldman (1965) studied the Jansenist movement and found that the beliefs which distinguished this movement from other religious beliefs reflected the position which the class of people making up the movement held in French society. Also taking a Marxist perspective, Mandic (1970) investigated the current popularity of new religious movements and the occult and concluded that these beliefs reflected the conflicts arising out of rapid technological change and other changes taking place in society.

It is important to emphasize here that Marx maintained that the characteristics of consolation, justification and reflection of social structure applied to all forms of ideology, not just established religious systems. Following a Marxist approach, the emergence of esoteric beliefs and practices can be seen as resulting from certain conditions and changes taking place in society. It may also serve to

console in some way the troubles and disappointments of people and justify their actions and life styles.

Durkheim (1965), like Marx, concluded that religious beliefs are the symbolic representations of social organization and social processes. Specific beliefs involving such phenomena as devils, evil spirits, angels and souls represent various conditions of social life including social ills and problems of various sorts.

Swanson, taking a Durkheimian perspective, explored the relationships between primitive religious beliefs and the social structures of the societies in which they are found in The Birth of the Gods (1960). One of his findings, particularly relevant to this study, involved the relationship between witchcraft and social organization. Swanson found witchcraft to exist in societies which lack specific controls governing behavior and interaction in social situations. The stress and social disruption resulting from these states of confusion and anomie were represented in the belief system which attributed these social ills to the influences of witchcraft. Swanson also found that other beliefs, such as reincarnation, and various beliefs related to the supernatural were related to specific aspects of social organization involving kinship relations and relations between classes.

The contention that religion and ideology in general are in some way closely connected to the structure and organization of a social system, and in some way symbolically represent

that social organization, supports the conclusions drawn in the previous chapter which attribute the current popularity of the occult to the breakdown of social structure and the resulting crises which affect the influence of established social institutions. This would also explain why the occult emerged and grew in popularity during the latter days of the Roman Empire, the Renaissance and Reformation and during the rise of National Socialism in Germany in the twentieth century. These three periods are all characterized by rapid and extensive social change.

In his study of the Trobriand Islanders, Malinowski (1970) found that magic was integrated into the everyday routine of the people and was closely connected to situations in which empirical control and knowledge were at a minimum. Magic was a way of coping with the unexplainable and uncontrollable. Malinowski concluded that both religion and magic grow out of a state of emotional stress.

Freud (1962) also maintained that religious beliefs develop out of a basic sense of helplessness which man experiences in the face of forces and events over which he has no control. Again, religion is seen as a form of compensation for this feeling.

Weber (1964) contended that religion provides answers to problems of meaning. Religion enables one to explain injustices, suffering, and the discrepancies which exist between expectations and reality. The operation of religious

beliefs as a form of explanation and compensation is again evident.

A more recent study (Whitehead, 1974) which is somewhat related to Weber's perspective states that occultism, Scientology and science fiction exist as a result of a deficiency in Western ways of comprehending and explaining the forces of nature and reality in general. Scientology, the occult, and other beliefs outside of established religious and scientific thought fill the gaps left by established, institutionalized knowledge.

A number of characteristics which can be attributed to religion and ideology emerge out of all these different theories. Religion reflects social organization and social conditions, including social breakdowns and social problems of various sorts. It also enables people to cope with the inexplicable, the unjust and other social conditions and phenomena for which men have no satisfactory empirical knowledge and explanation. Religion also provides justification for social behavior.

The specific factors which influence the interest, belief and activity of people in the occult milieu and other forms of esoteric culture have still not been satisfactorily determined, however.

Orrin Klapp (1969) concluded in a study of current fads, fashions, and other related forms of collective behavior that the dynamic behind the current involvement with fashions and fads, including faddish philosophies and religions, is a

searching on the part of the populace for some identity in a society in which individual identity is difficult to achieve and maintain. Stress resulting from this need for recognition influences people to adopt not only different hairstyles and styles of dress, but also different ways of thinking and acting which will serve not only to distinguish individuals from other societal members, but will provide them with a socially recognized identity.

In The True Believer, Eric Hoffer offered one explanation for involvement in various esoteric movements. He maintained that the people likely to belong to cults and other uninstitutionalized groups tend to be deprived, down and out, misfits and minorities. Hoffer felt that these cults and groups offer a kind of identification and a feeling of importance to those people who join them. This contention is in keeping with the earlier observations of Hubert and Mauss (1902-1903) which offer evidence that the people most likely to be identified as witches and the like are, for the most part, marginal. These observations in addition to the earlier observations regarding the nature of religious beliefs and related forms of ideology, are incorporated into the approach to the study of religious and secular movements known as deprivation theory.

Deprivation Theory

One of the most often used and most often questioned approaches for explaining religious behavior, this theory attempts to explain a wide variety of beliefs and practices

by relating them to various forms of deprivation, defined as a perceived discrepancy between reality and either external or internal standards or expectations.

One of the most influential works on deprivation theory is Religion and Society in Tension by Glock and Stark (1965). This work identifies five different types of deprivation which form the bases for five different types of religious and secular movements. These types are identified as economic, status or social, organismic, ethical and psychic.

People who receive an unsatisfactory level of material rewards compared to other groups in society are defined as economically deprived. According to Glock's theory, the economically deprived are more likely to be drawn to the sect form of religious organization. Sects generally are composed of the economically marginal and are not well integrated into society (O'Dea, 1966). Sects also tend to take a literal interpretation of the Bible and are critical of the larger society. This criticism and rejection of the larger social system may be a form of compensation for those people who have not been treated well by it. These characteristics were found by LaBarre (1962) to exist in a sect in the rural south which continued the practice of handling poisonous snakes as part of their worship services even though the practice was illegal.

A second type of deprivation discussed by Glock results from societies' tendencies to reward some personal attributes more than others. People who suffer as a result of these

tendencies are labeled "status deprived" and manifest a relative lack of prestige, power and the opportunities for social participation and influence. Movements developing out of this type of deprivation can be either secular (the women's movement, civil rights movements etc.) or religious in nature. The religious organization most likely to be related to status deprivation, according to Glock, is the church. The church serves as a kind of surrogate family for certain categories of people, including women and the elderly. It is through the church, according to this theory, that these people attain a feeling of belonging and importance. This contention is supported by a study (Christopher, Ferron, McCoy and Nobbe, 1971) which found that status deprivation measured by sex, age and education is positively related to religiousity in the Catholic church.

A third category, organismic deprivation, results from physical deformities, mental illness, physical disorders and chronic ill health. The movements most likely to emerge from these conditions may be both secular (Alcoholics Anonymous, etc.) and religious (Christian Science).

Ethical deprivation results from conflicts between individual values and societal values and behavior patterns. The type of religious or secular movement most likely to grow out of this type is the reform movement. An example of this type of movement would be the Protestant Reformation. Similar movements often appear within Protestant denominations and

lead to the formation of splinter groups which often become established churches themselves.

The last type of deprivation identified by Glock is psychic deprivation. This occurs when individuals find themselves without meaningful values and standards for guiding and interpreting their lives. A corresponding loss of faith in, and rejection of, the established values and beliefs of society also exists. Glock maintains that this situation develops out of other unresolved types of deprivation. In other words, if an individual is suffering from status deprivation and has not in any way resolved that condition, then he or she is likely to lose faith in the established institutions and belief systems and experience feelings of anomie and alienation. According to Glock the whole occult milieu developed out of a state of psychic deprivation. The occult is therefore a diverse set of beliefs and practices which may satisfy the needs of individuals who have lost faith in the established beliefs and practices of society.

All of these deprivation types hold two things in common. Both Glock (1965) and Aberle (1965) state that deprivation must be both relative and perceived in order to be a factor influencing behavior.

A number of studies have been done which both support and reject many of the basic assumptions of this theory. Lofland's Doomsday Cult (1966), a work which has already been discussed briefly, describes a religious movement composed of marginal

types including lower class housewives who have left their families and are without skills and education, a number of unemployed people, a failed graduate student and so on. All of the members of this group shared a lack of social status or prestige and the ability to participate successfully in society. It is interesting to note that their cult believed that the world would be totally changed by 1967 and the cult members would then take their places as important members of the new society.

Charles Manson's "family" was also composed primarily of social rejects. These members were young, many of them coming from broken homes. They had no strong primary ties prior to joining the family and had little prestige or influence in the larger social system (Bugliosi and Gentry, 1975). The ideology referred to as "Helter Skelter" also predicted a world revolution after which the family members would be societal leaders.

Jorgensen (1972) analyzed the Sun Dance religion which developed in a number of American Indian tribes and concluded that it was created in order to alleviate the feelings of powerlessness and helplessness experienced by these tribes in the face of the larger American society.

Both status and power deprivation appear to be factors which have influenced a number of religious and ideological movements which could be defined as occult. A somewhat related study (Bogart, 1967) dealing with political attitudes rather than religious beliefs and movements investigated the contention

that college students threatened with status loss are more likely than other students to "demonize" certain groups, i.e., perceive certain political groups as having malicious and subversive intentions. The relationship between status certainty loss and status deprivation would appear to be close. Both concepts refer to a perceived lack of status relative to an internal or external set of standards. In this case, the effects of this lack of prestige, etc., can be seen in the rather extreme forms of political attitudes exhibited by the students.

Wuthnow (1975) found that those people likely to believe strongly in astrology tend to be status deprived, often being relatively uneducated and unattractive. This finding is directly opposed to the commonly held belief that astrology is most popular among the well educated and affluent. Hoffer's (1951) observations also appear to be in agreement with this conclusion. Musgrove (1974) and Roszak (1969) describe the youth counter-culture as being basically anti-establishment and anti-technological. In the sense that these young people have lost faith in established ways of thinking, believing, and acting, they can be considered to be suffering from psychic deprivation. This would in part explain the prominent position held by the occult in the counter-culture.

Criticism and Contradictory Findings

Other research findings, however, have questioned the validity of deprivation theory as an adequate explanation for

religious behavior. Wilson (1959, 1961) found no evidence of economic deprivation in his study of Pentecostal sects. He did observe a kind of culture deprivation or lag existing in the group composing the sects, however. In a similar study, Calley (1965) concluded that West Indian Pentecostal sect development was not related to economic deprivation. Calley found sect members to be relatively wealthy and well educated compared to other migrants. In yet another study of a Pentecostal movement, Hines (1974) found no significant relationship between income, educational level and participation in the movement. She did find that participation and frequency of Glossalalia were related to occupational prestige. People with lower occupational prestige ratings were more likely to speak in tongues than those in the occupations with higher prestige ratings. Hines interpreted this finding as evidence of a kind of power deprivation influencing these people. One of the major problems involved in using deprivation theory, therefore, seems to be the identification of the different types of deprivation and the ways in which these types are operationalized.

One of the most convincing criticisms of deprivation theory can be found in the work of Bibby and Brinkerhoff (1974). Three alternative explanations for religious behavior are discussed. Many individuals are born into families which already belong to religious organizations and are subsequently socialized into them. Socialization is therefore considered as one

explanation of religious affiliation. People also join religious groups or adopt particular beliefs as a result of social pressure and the influence of relatives and peers. Bibby and Brinkerhoff refer to this alternative as accommodation. People also adopt beliefs and join organizations because these beliefs offer meaning to the person and fit into his existing patterns of belief.

The socialization factor probably doesn't apply well to belief in and activity in the occult. The current popularity of the occult is relatively recent and most people interested in occult studies etc. have undoubtedly not grown up in the occult milieu. Cognition, on the other hand, is a plausible explanation. People may become interested in the occult because it offers them some meaning. In this sense, the occult would serve basically the same functions as established religions and may indeed be popular in part due to the failure of the established religions to provide people with meaning, a sense of transcendence and the sorts of religious experiences which they desire. Richardson (1976), on the other hand, states that Bibby and Brinkerhoff's definition of cognition does not differ appreciably from Glock's definition of psychic deprivation which also emphasizes the desire for meaning and understanding among the people who join uninstitutionalized organizations or adopt esoteric beliefs.

Accommodation, in particular, does seem to be a possible alternative to deprivation theory for explaining various

interests, beliefs and activities. Peer group influence is certainly a factor which should be taken into consideration.

Research indicates that both deprivation theory and the suggestions put forth by Bibby and Brinkerhoff offer possible explanations of occult beliefs and practices. Of the types of deprivation discussed above, status deprivation resulting from lack of power and prestige and psychic deprivation emerge as the forms most likely to be related to interest in the occult milieu. Following this line of reasoning, one would expect to find evidence of status and/or psychic deprivation in people who show interest in and belief in various aspects of the occult. According to Bibby and Brinkerhoff's suggestions, one would expect to find that people interested in the occult world also have friends and acquaintances who feel similarly. It seems possible that deprivation and accommodation are not directly opposed to one another. Perhaps people who experience deprivation of one sort or another are more susceptible to the influences of peers and relatives for the development of their beliefs. If this is the case, then deprivation and accommodation emphasize different aspects of the same situation. In any event, both deprivation theory and accommodation offer plausible explanations which are worth testing.

The Hypotheses

The operationalization of status and psychic deprivation presents something of a problem. Bogart's research (1967) may prove to be beneficial here. The findings indicated that status

certainty loss may be related to self-esteem. It seems logical that self-esteem is therefore a possible indicator of status deprivation. A relatively low degree of self-esteem would reflect a perceived lack of prestige and so on.

The element of power and control also appears to be related to deprivation. This is in keeping with previous research (Malinowski, 1970) indicating the prevalence of magic as one occult subarea in situations in which the individual lacks knowledge and control. On an individual level, power deprivation would be indicated by a person's perceived lack of control over his or her life and environment.

Psychic deprivation has already been defined as a state of anomie which is perceived by the individual. Anomie will therefore serve as the indicator of this type of deprivation.

Bibby and Brinkerhoff's suggestion that accommodation is a possible explanation of religious beliefs and behavior will be measured by the variable of peer influence.

The major hypothesis in the study are therefore stated as follows:

Belief in and activity in various aspects of the occult will vary inversely as a function of self-esteem and perceived control over the self and the environment and directly as a function of anomie.

The alternative hypothesis reads:

Belief in and activity in various aspects of the occult will vary directly as a function of peer influence.

These two hypotheses both will be broken down into several hypotheses dealing with specific occult beliefs and practices in the following chapters.

As mentioned in the introduction, many occult beliefs, including spiritualism, have long histories often closely tied to established scientific and religious beliefs. Beliefs involving the existence of demons and spirits and related phenomena also are part of established religious belief systems. In order to determine whether these beliefs are related to the occult or to orthodox religion, the following hypothesis will also be included:

Belief in demons and spirits will vary directly as a function of religious orthodoxy.

The precise ways in which these hypotheses are broken down and operationalized for study are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The data for this research project were gathered by means of a questionnaire which was administered to a sample of college students enrolled in a section of Introduction to Sociology 101 during the Spring Semester of 1976. The questionnaire included 11 scales which together totaled 72 items in addition to a number of demographic variables. The scales included items assessing self-esteem, self competence, anomie, religious orthodoxy and beliefs, interest and activity in various areas of the occult, including astrology and horoscope, demons and spirits, satanism and such practices as the consulting of seers, reading of palm, cards and I Ching and so on. Frequency distributions for the occult variables are presented in Appendix A. A number of items were also included to assess the influence of peers and the relative length of time of interest. The demographic variables included sex, age, ethnicity, religious affiliation, church attendance, year in college, father's education and occupation and the student's relative academic standing.

The Sample

A breakdown of the sample for the demographic characteristics showed that of the 372 total sample members, 141 (37.9%) of the students were male and 231 (62.1%) of the students were female.

A breakdown by age indicated that none of the sample members was below the age of 16. Three hundred and twenty-one (86.3%) of the sample ranged between 16 and 25 years of age, 35 (9.4%) of the sample was between 26 and 35, and 16 (4.3%) members of the sample were over 35 years of age. The ethnic category was divided into six responses. Of these, 220 (59.1%) classified themselves as Anglos, 19 (5.1%) appeared in the Blacks category, 79 (21.2%) were Mexican-American, 4 (1.1%) were classified as Oriental, and 32 (8.6%) chose the Other response category. Two of the sample members did not respond to this item.

In the religious affiliation variable, 109 (29.4%) of the sample identified themselves as Protestant, 141 (38.0%) were classified as Catholics, 2 (0.5%) of the sample were Jewish, 61 (15.6%) of the students placed themselves in the Other category, and 58 (15.6%) of the students professed no religious affiliation. Only one student did not respond. One hundred and thirty-one (35.2%) of the students signified that they attend church regularly, 82 (22.0%) of the sample attends church some of the time, 95 (25.5%) rarely attend church, and 64 (17.2%) never attend.

A breakdown of the year in college variable indicated that 220 (59.3%) of the students were freshmen. This was to be expected, as the sample was taken from a freshman level course. One hundred and one of the students (27.2%) of the sample were sophomores, 35 (9.4%) of the sample were juniors and 9 (2.4%) were seniors. Four (1.1%) of the students did not fall into

either of these four categories, and 3 students did not respond.

The variable of father's education was divided into six response categories representing increasingly higher levels of educational attainment. Of the 372 students in the sample, 64 (17.3%) have fathers who have less than a high school education, 81 (21.9%) have fathers who graduated from high school but did not go on, 65 (17.6%) have fathers who attended some college, and 99 (26.6%) have fathers who are college graduates. Fifteen (4.0%) of the fathers attended professional schools of one sort or another and 46 (12.4%) of the fathers attended graduate school. There were two missing cases. The father's occupation was also included as a variable, and the occupation and education variables were combined to determine the parent's relative standing in the class structure. Of five possible class divisions with class 1 representing the highest socio-economic level and class 5 representing the lowest, 58 (15.6%) of the sample were classified as class 1, 73 (19.6%) of the sample appeared in class 2, 71 (19.1%) were identified as belonging to class 3, and 52 (14.0%) were in class 4. Only 2 (0.5%) of the sample appeared in class 5. This item had the worst response rate of any of the demographic items with 116 (31.2%) of the sample members choosing not to respond.

The final demographic variable was academic standing. This item was divided into three response categories: upper

third, middle third, and bottom third. A total of 113 (31.7%) of the students ranked themselves in the upper third academically, 206 (55.4%) appeared in the middle third, and 37 (9.9%) classified themselves as belonging to the bottom third. Sixteen students (4.3%) did not respond to this item. This sample certainly is not an accurate representation of the whole university community, let alone the rest of society. However, it was felt that the independent and dependent variables included in this study are such that some variance is likely to appear in any large grouping of people.

Research has indicated that the whole occult revival is a phenomenon which is closely associated with young people (Greely, 1970; Mandic, 1970; Rowley, 1971; Truzzi, 1972). The sample for this study was, therefore, selected from a university population. The sample is, however, neither random nor representative of the whole university. It was argued that some variation in the independent variables of self-esteem, self competence, anomie, and religious orthodoxy, can be expected in any large collectivity. In addition, there is some indication from Bogart's research (1967) that freshmen may experience some status loss as a result of the transition from high school to college. There is, however, no evidence or basis for the contention that differences in university class levels or courses of study in any way effect either the independent or the dependent variables included in this study. An introductory course in sociology is composed of students, mostly freshmen and sophomores, who represent a wide

range of academic interests and areas of study. It was therefore decided that a large introductory class would serve as an adequate sample for the measures included in this study.

Occult Beliefs

The occult is a general term which refers to a wide variety of beliefs and practices. In order to assess the degree of belief in the validity of a number of occult subareas, the general interest shown toward various aspects of the occult milieu and the degree of involvement in a number of occult activities and practices, 78 items covering a variety of occult subareas were constructed for a pre-test which was administered to 59 men and 94 women enrolled in a section of the Introduction to Sociology 101 course during the Fall Semester of 1975.

These items were created to measure interest, belief, and activity in such areas as astrology and horoscope. pre-cognition, the use and belief in charms, herbs and brews, superstitions, magic and witchcraft, spiritualism, demonic possession and the like. This last factor was included as a result of the current popularity of demonic themes in a number of movies and novels and its resulting treatment by various aspects of the media as part of the occult world. All of the above mentioned beliefs and practices can be found in the popular literature dealing with the occult.

The 78 Likert-type items were scored using 7 possible response categories: strong disagreement, moderate disagreement, weak disagreement, in between, weak agreement, moderate

agreement, and strong agreement. In the case of the items dealing with occult activities, the sample members were asked to respond using one of the following responses: never, very rarely, rarely, in between, often, very often, all the time. As a control, 17 items were worded in the negative. A copy of this questionnaire is included in Appendix B.

Factor Analysis

A factor analysis was then carried out on this data using principal factoring with iteration and varimax rotation. This analysis resulted in the emergence of items with heavy loadings on three different factors. The analysis was broken down by the demographic variable of sex. Specific factor loadings chosen to create the occult subscales are reported for both males and females in Table 1.

The first factor for the male sample indicated heavy loadings for items 52, 28, 31, 64, 49, 8, 50, 47, and 60. Items 52, 28, 8, 47 and 60 were all designed to measure belief in the existence of spirits, demons, the phenomenon of demonic possession and exorcism. The remaining items, 31, 64, 49 and 50, were included to measure religious orthodoxy. This finding introduced the possibility that belief in the existence of such things as spirits and demons and so on may be part of an overall conservative religious perspective which is not at all out of keeping with institutionalized religious beliefs.

The female sample showed heavy loadings on items 28, 60, 33, 48, 52, 56 and 59. All of these items measured belief

in spirits and demons and in the case of item 56, the existence of haunted houses. In view of the fact that haunted houses are usually considered to be inhabited by spirits of the dead, this item appears to fit well with the others. The female sample did not produce heavy loadings for any of the religious orthodoxy items.

For the second factor, the male sample exhibited heavy loadings for items 46, 59, 40, 75 and 19. Although item 59 concerns the possibility of contacting spirits and item 40 involves a belief in poltergeists or playful spirits, no discernable pattern appeared to exist among the items as a whole.

The female sample did show a definite pattern for factor 2 with heavy loadings on items 74, 69, 77, 68, 75 and 76. These items deal with activity of one sort or another in various occult practices. The female sample, therefore, produced the best result for this particular factor.

Four items dealing with various types of occult activity did have heavy loadings on factor 3 for the male sample. These were items 69, 68, 76 and 10. An additional item 22, dealing with belief in charms did not appear to fit into the overall pattern for this factor.

The female sample showed heavy loadings on items 58, 7, 35 and 19 for the same factor. Items 58, 7 and 35 all involve belief in seers and second sight. Item 19, however, does not fit in with this pattern dealing rather with an interest in reading about various occult topics. No similarities

appear to exist between the male and female samples for this factor.

Both samples loaded heavily on horoscope items for factor 4. Of all the factors this one appeared to be the strongest for both sexes. The items with the heaviest loadings included 14, 1, 67 and 32 for men and women and 34 for men. Item 34 is of particular interest in that it was created to assess an individual's perception of the accuracy of the astrological signs of his or her friends.

Items which loaded heavily for men on factor 5 showed a definite pattern for the variable of superstition. These items were 73, 55, 72, 21 and 62.

Religious orthodoxy items, the same items which were included with the demons and spirits items on factor 1 for men, loaded heavily for women on factor 5. These were 31, 49, 50, 64 and 15.

Both male and female samples loaded heavily on demons and spirits items on factor 1. Both samples also loaded heavily on horoscope items on factor 4. Apart from the similarities between the two samples for these two factors, the only other strong similarity seems to be found among the occult activities items. The female sample indicated heavy loadings for a number of these items on factor 2 and the male sample loaded heavily on a few of them on factor three.

The male sample exhibited no pattern of loadings for items dealing with second sight, seers and the like, and the female

sample did not respond heavily to the superstition items. In view of the fact that these last two factors were peculiar to either one sex or the other, it was decided that the items making up these factors would be discarded as possible subscales.

Three scales were therefore identified. Factor 1 constitutes the Demons and Spirits Scale, factor 4 was named the Horoscope Scale, and a combination of the items from factor 2 (women) and factor 3 (men) were used to create the Occult Activities Scale.

Positive responses for each of the items indicate interest in and belief in the validity of astrology and horoscope, the existence of demons, spirits and related phenomena and, in the case of the occult activity items, involvement in various practices which are found in the occult milieu. Items 32 and 60 which received heavy loadings on factors 4 and 1 respectively were discarded because of their extreme similarity to other scale items which were included.

In addition to the three scales above, a number of items were created to assess interest in and involvement in satanic rituals, beliefs and practices. This was done in order to determine whether or not there is any relationship between belief in and interest in the existence of evil spirits or demons and satanism, a set of beliefs and practices which can definitely be identified as part of the occult world. These items did not appear on the original questionnaire which provided the

TABLE 1
FACTOR LOADINGS FOR OCCULT SUBSCALE ITEMS

<u>Horoscope Scale Items</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Item 58 (follow horoscope)	.49	.62
Item 62 (read horoscope)	.65	.62
Item 36 (horoscopes valid)	.69	.57
Item 44 (look at horoscope)	.64	.55
Item 37 (signs of friends)	.64	.47
<u>Demons and Spirits Scale Items</u>		
Item 40 (demonic possession)	.76	.74
Item 52 (mediums)	.39	.70
Item 55 (demonic possession)	.69	.69
Item 35 (spirits exist)	.77	.60
Item 60 (haunted houses)	.39	.57
Item 48 (exorcism)	.64	.55
Item 51 (influence of evil)	.60	.51
<u>Occult Activity Scale Items</u>		
Item 63 (participate in cult	.25	.94
Item 64 (consult seers)	.82	.77
Item 67 (contact outer space)	.39	.69
Item 62 (read horoscope)	.65	.62
Item 68 (have cards, etc. read)	.75	.62
Item 70 (study magic, etc.)	.61	.60
Item 71 (use herbs, etc.)	.59	.56
Item 39 (cards, I Ching reading)	.59	.24
Item 45 (consider joining cult)	.69	.22
Item 66*(discuss astrology etc.)	.49	.51

*Included due to interest on the part of the researcher.

data for the factor analysis, but were included on the final questionnaire form (see Appendix C).

Additional items were also created and included in the second questionnaire to determine the recency of interest in the occult milieu. High scores on the satanism interest and satanism activity items indicate strong interest and activity in satanism. High scores on the recency items indicate a relatively recent interest in various aspects of the occult.

The Occult Subscales

The occult subscales as they appear on the final questionnaire form are as follows: Horoscope Scale, 36, 37, 44, 58, 62; Demons and Spirits Scale, 35, 40, 48, 51, 52, 55, 60; Satanism Interest, 41, 49, 53, 54; Satanism Activity, 65, 69, 72; Occult Activity, 39, 45, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71; and Recency, 42, 46, 56, 61.

Of these items 38, 56, and 61 are reverse scored. This was done by the use of a Recode card indicating that, for these items, a response of strongly agree would be scored as strongly disagree and vice versa. Therefore, a score of 7 for a particular item was recoded as a 1, a 6 was recoded as a 2, and so on. Missing cases were assigned a value of (99).

Deprivation

The major obstacle to using deprivation theory involves the problem of operationalizing such concepts as status, power and psychic deprivation. It is essential that deprivation, in order to be considered a motive for behavior and

beliefs, should be both relative and perceived. Demographic or objective measures such as sex, age and level of educational attainment, when used as indicators of status or power deprivation run the risk of being misinterpreted. The researcher may identify the existence of deprivation when, in fact, no deprivation is seen to exist by the individual. Previous research and literature on deprivation and the occult (Glock, 1965; and Wuthnow, 1975) has indicated that the types of deprivation most likely to be related to beliefs in and involvement in the occult milieu are status and psychic deprivation. Power deprivation was also added to these two as a result of research (Hine, 197) which concluded that power deprivation is, in some cases, an alternative explanation to status deprivation for certain types of religious behavior.

Status deprivation is defined (see Glock, 1965) as a perceived, relative lack of position, prestige and the power to influence others. Following this definition, it was argued that persons perceiving themselves to be lacking in these areas of life and experiencing stress as a result of this lack would be likely to experience a low degree of self-esteem. This decision was supported by Bogart's conclusion (1967) that status loss experienced as loss of self-esteem is a possible explanation for certain attitudes, which he described as political demonism, toward a number of social groups. Low self-esteem was therefore chosen as an indicator of a person's

perceived lack of prestige, etc., measured against either external or internal standards.

The Self-Esteem Scale. The self-esteem variable was measured by the use of the Rosenberg (1965) Self-Esteem Scale. This Likert-type scale is composed of ten items designed to measure the individual's attitudes toward himself or herself as a person. Five of the ten items in the scale are reverse scored.

The Self-Competence Scale. Powerlessness or power deprivation is another likely variable related possibly to an attraction to uninstitutionalized beliefs and practices. Campbell's Personal Competence Scale (1960) measures personal efficacy, a person's perceived mastery over the self and the environment. This scale consists of eight Likert-type items. Four of the eight items are reverse scored. A strong agreement response indicates a high degree of perceived mastery over both the self and the environment. The average inter-item correlation for these scale items was found to be .16 in 1956.

The Anomie Scale. Psychic deprivation, the absence of a set of meaningful values around which one builds a meaningful life and the accompanying lack of confidence in institutionalized ways of thinking and behaving, has been identified as the basis for the whole occult milieu (see Glock, 1964). Essentially, the presence of psychic deprivation can be seen as constituting a state of anomie for the individual experiencing it.

Sroles Anomia Scale (1956) was used to operationalize psychic deprivation. This Likert-type scale consists of nine items. These items were found to have a coefficient of reproducibility of .90 and a coefficient of scalability of .65 in 1956.

The Religious Orthodoxy Scale. The possibility that belief in demons and spirits is part of an orthodox religious perspective rather than part of an overall interest in the occult led to the decision to include a scale measuring religious orthodoxy. The scale chosen for this purpose was the Religious Orthodoxy Scale developed by Putney and Middleton (1961). This scale consists of six items (the last of which is reverse scored) again of the Likert Variety. Positive responses indicate a high degree of orthodoxy. This scale is one of a number of subscales developed by Putney and Middleton to measure a variety of religious attitudes and behavior. This scale was also included in order, in part, to examine the contention by Wuthnow (1975) that astrology may be a form of surrogate religion. If this is the case, one would expect to find an inverse relationship between belief in horoscope and religious orthodoxy.

The Accommodation Items

Accommodation, the influence of family and peers, has been suggested by Bibby and Brinkerhoff (1974) as a possible alternative explanation to deprivation theory. It was felt that a number of items assessing this variable should also be

included. These items were designed to measure the degree of interest and involvement in the occult on the part of the respondent's friends and peers as perceived by the respondent.

The Final Questionnaire

The scales measuring the independent variables of self-esteem, self competence, anomie, religious orthodoxy and peer influence appear on the final questionnaire (see Appendix C) as follows: Self-Esteem Scale 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; Self Competence Scale 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; Anomia Scale 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; Religious Orthodoxy Scale 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33; Peer Influence 34, 38, 43, 47, 50, 54, 57.

All of these items were scored according to the same response categories; strong disagreement (1), moderate disagreement (2), weak disagreement (3), in between (4), weak agreement (5), moderate agreement (6), strong agreement (7). Items 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18 and 33 were reverse scored.

The demographic variables which were included have been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Special attention was paid to a number of these, however, as they were felt to be possible indicators of status deprivation. These included sex, ethnicity, academic standing and Socio-Economic Status.

Socio-Economic Status was measured by the use of Hollingshead's two factor index of class which assigns different weights to various levels of educational attainment and occupational categories. In view of the fact that the majority

of the sample members are full time students, the father's level of educational attainment and occupational category were combined to determine the student's relative position within the class structure. The combined scores for education and occupation resulted in a value corresponding to one of five class levels.

As mentioned earlier, the self scoring questionnaire was administered to a class of Sociology 101 students during the Spring Semester of 1976. The questionnaire requires roughly thirty minutes for completion.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The first section of this chapter will assess the hypotheses dealing with the relationships between the measures of deprivation; self-esteem, self competence and anomie, and the occult variables measured by the horoscope scale, the satanism interest and satanism activity items, the demons and spirits scale, and the occult activities scale. The alternative hypotheses involving the influence of the peer group and the relationship between belief in demons and spirits and religious orthodoxy will also be considered in order to determine their merits relative to the deprivation hypotheses.

The second section of the chapter will deal with the demographic variables, their relationships to the occult variables and their strengths as predictors of occult beliefs and behavior.

The Deprivation Variables

The central problem involves self-esteem, self competence, and anomie as measures of deprivation and the ways in which these measures relate to belief in and activity in the occult. The correlations between these measures and occult beliefs and practices will be assessed by examining each of the deprivation hypotheses separately. The alternative hypotheses will also

be examined. A discussion of each hypothesis and the rationale for refutation or substantiation follows.

Hypothesis 1. Belief in horoscope will vary inversely as a function of self-esteem and self-competence and directly as a function of anomie.

Correlation coefficients indicate (see Table 2) that although the relationship between the three independent variables and the horoscope variable are in the predicted direction, the relationships are weak and insignificant. These variables also account for little of the variance in the horoscope variable (see Table 3) and, as a result, are very weak predictors of belief in and interest in astrology and horoscope. Of the three variables, anomie appears to be the strongest. There is no great difference, however, and the combination of all three fails to account for a high proportion of the variance. The evidence does not tend to support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2. Belief in horoscope will vary directly as a function of peer influence.

Peer influence was offered as a possible alternative explanation to deprivation theory. This hypothesis states that a person's acceptance or rejection of astrology and horoscope is dependent on his/her friends' attitudes and beliefs on this subject. Peer influence (see Table 2) does prove to have a stronger relationship to the horoscope variable than any of the three deprivation variables. Peer influence also accounts for more of the variance in horoscope belief and

TABLE 2
PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	1	2	3	4	5
Self-esteem					
		.55 s=.001	-.26 2=.001	-.02 n.s.	-.04 n.s.
Self competence	.55 2=.001		-.24 2=.001	-.05 n.s.	-.08 2=.07
Anomie	-.26 2=.001	-.24 2=.001		-.02 n.s.	.10 2=.03
Religious orthodoxy	-.03 n.s.	-.05 n.s.	-.02 n.s.		-.15 s=.005
Horoscope	-.05 n.s.	-.08 2=.07	.10 s=.03	-.14 s=.005	
Demons and spirits	-.10 s=.04	-.12 s=.01	.02 n.s.	.39 s=.001	.21 s=.001
Satanism interest	-.10 s=.04	0.04 n.s.	.11 s=.02	-.13 s=.006	.42 s=.001
Satanism activity	.02 n.s.	-.02 n.s.	.00 n.s.	-.10 s=.03	.14 s=.005
Peer Influence	.05 n.s.	.00 n.s.	.04 n.s.	-.13 s=.01	.42 s=.001
Recency	.12 s=.01	.09 s=.04	-.12 s=.01	.03 n.s.	-.12 s=.01
Occult activity	.01 n.s.	-.03 n.s.	.09 s=.04	-.18 s=.001	.54 s=.001

TABLE 2 (continued)

	6	7	8	9	10	11
Self-esteem	-.10 s=.04	-.10 s=.04	.02 n.s.	-.05 n.s.	.12 s=.01	.01 n.s.
Self competence	-.12 s=.01	-.04 n.s.	-.02 n.s.	.00 n.s.	.09 s=.04	-.03 n.s.
Anomie	.02 n.s.	.11 s=.02	.00 n.s.	.04 n.s.	-.12 s=.01	.09 s=.04
Religious orthodoxy	.39 s=.001	-.13 s=.006	-.10 s=.03	-.13 s=.01	.03 n.s.	-.18 s=.001
Horoscope	.21 s=.001	.42 s=.001	.14 s=.005	.42 s=.001	-.12 s=.01	.54 s=.001
Demons and spirits		.38 s=.001	.18 s=.001	.31 s=.001	-.06 n.s.	.32 s=.001
Satanism interest	.38 s=.001		.34 s=.001	.60 s=.001	-.14 s=.005	.56 s=.001
Satanism activity	.18 s=.001	.34 s=.001		.20 s=.001	-.15 s=.002	.50 s=.001
Peer influence	.31 s=.001	.60 s=.001	.20 s=.001		-.02 n.s.	.44 s=.001
Recency	-.06 n.s.	-.14 s=.005	-.15 s=.002	-.02 n.s.		-.25 s=.001
Occult activity	.32 s=.001	.56 s=.001	.50 s=.001	.44 s=.001	-.25 s=.001	

interest ($r_{xy} = .44$) than any other variable and therefore emerges as the best single predictor of horoscope belief (see Table 3). This alternative hypothesis, therefore, has some basis for substantiation and would appear to be much more accurate than the deprivation explanation.

TABLE 3

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR HOROSCOPE

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Peer influence	.44	.20	.44	0.39	0.43
Religious orthodoxy	.45	.20	-.14	-0.06	-0.09
Self competence	.45	.21	-.05	-0.06	-0.06
Self-esteem	.46	.21	-.02	0.03	0.04
Anomie	.46	.21	.07	0.02	0.03
(constant)				7.71	

Hypothesis 3. Belief in demons and spirits will vary inversely as a function of self-esteem and self competence and directly as a function of anomie.

The relationships between the three deprivation variables and the belief in the existence of demons and spirits, etc., are both weak and two are insignificant (Table 2). Again, the relationships are in the predicted direction. Of the three variables, the strongest is self competence ($r_{xy} = -.12$). This would not seem, however, to be strong enough to substantiate the hypothesis. The three variables taken together also account for relatively little of the variance in the demons and spirits

variable (see Table 4). Once again, the deprivation hypothesis is not supported by the data.

Hypothesis 4. Belief in demons and spirits will vary directly as a function of religious orthodoxy.

The results of the factor analysis (discussed in the previous chapter) indicate that belief in demons, spirits, and the possibility of demonic possession and exorcism may well be part of an overall conservative religious outlook. The belief in a devil, demons, angels, and the survival of the spirit after death is part of the traditional Christian belief system, and as a result, it could be expected that the more fundamental church members would be likely to accept these beliefs as teachings of the church. This hypothesis was offered, therefore, as another alternative to the assertion that the belief in demons, etc., is part of the occult milieu and as such may be explained by the presence of some form of deprivation experienced and perceived by the believer. The results indicate that the relationship between this independent variable and the belief in demons and spirits is stronger than any of the relationships between the independent variables and this particular subscale (Table 4). Religious orthodoxy also accounts for more of the variance in this variable than the other three independent variables combined and therefore emerges as the best predictor of belief in demons and spirits. The data tend to support this hypothesis.

An interesting finding which was not anticipated concerns the relationship between belief in demons and spirits and interest in satanism. Compared to the coefficients for the other variables, a relatively strong relationship exists between these two dependent variables, indicating perhaps that the people who tend to believe in demons and spirits and related phenomena belong to one of two separate populations: the religiously conservative and those people interested in the satanic element of the occult milieu (see Table 2). The possible existence of these two populations is supported by the weak inverse relationship (Table 2) between religious orthodoxy and interest in satanism. The satanism interest variable is also strongly related to the other occult variables as shown in Table 2. This finding might have been further clarified by including a number of items which placed greater emphasis on the occult features of certain approaches to spiritualism including the use of Ouija boards, mediums, etc.

Hypothesis 5. Belief in demons and spirits will vary directly as a function of peer influence.

Another alternative to the deprivation explanation of belief in demons and spirits is the peer influence variable. Peer influence does have the second strongest relationship to belief in this particular variable after religious orthodoxy (see Table 4). This variable also accounts for the second largest percentage of variance in the demons and spirits variable and is the second best predictor of belief

in demons, spirits, etc., as shown in Table . It seems logical to assume that students tend to associate with people who hold religious beliefs and convictions similar to their own. The religious orthodoxy variable and the peer influence variable may be quite compatible and may overlap as explanations of belief in this particular variable.

TABLE 4

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR DEMONS AND SPIRITS

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Religious Orthodoxy	.42	.17	.42	0.44	0.46
Peer Influ- ence	.54	.29	.28	0.47	0.34
Self Compe- tence	.54	.30	-.10	-0.12	-0.09
Self-esteem	.54	.30	-.05	0.02	0.02
Anomie	.54	.30	.03	0.01	0.01
(constant)				1.67	

Hypothesis 6. Interest in, and activity in, satanism and satanic practices will vary inversely as a function of self-esteem and self competence and directly as a function of anomie.

Following the same pattern which appears to have developed, interest in satanism shows very weak relationships with the three deprivation measures. This is indicated in Table 2. Self-esteem and anomie are about equal in their strength as predictors of satanism interest. The self competence variable is the weakest of the independent variables. All three variables

taken together, however, account for a relatively low percentage of the variance in interest in satanism (Table 5).

The relationship between self-esteem and satanism activity did not appear in the predicted direction. This relationship is not strong in any event. The self competence and anomie variables do indicate relationships in the predicted direction but both are weak and not at a significant level as shown in Table 8. All of the deprivation measures emerge as weak predictors of satanism activity (see Table 6). Any conclusions drawn from this data, however, must be considered in light of the weak response on the part of the sample members to the satanism activity items (see Appendix A).

Hypothesis 7. Interest in and activity in satanism will vary directly as a function of peer influence.

A very strong relationship is indicated between satanism interest and peer influence ($r_{xy} = .60$) as shown in Table 2. A direct relationship, although not as strong, appears between peer influence and satanism activity. As shown in Table 8 peer influence accounts for most of the variance in satanism interest variable, it remains relatively weak as a predictor of satanism activity (Table 6). The fact that none of the independent variables emerges as a strong predictor of satanism activity is undoubtedly due, in part, to the weaknesses of the sample for this particular variable. The relationship between peer influence and interest in satanism is the strongest of any of the relationships examined.

TABLE 5

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR SATANISM INTEREST

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Peer influence	.61	.38	.61	0.32	0.60
Self-esteem	.62	.38	-.12	-0.03	-0.07
Anomie	.62	.39	.11	0.02	0.05
Religious orthodoxy	.62	.39	-.12	-0.02	-0.04
Self competence	.62	.39	-.06	-0.00	-0.01
(constant)					

TABLE 6

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR SATANISM ACTIVITY

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Peer influence	.16	.03	.16	0.04	0.15
Religious orthodoxy	.18	.03	-.11	-0.02	-0.09
Self competence	.19	.03	-.03	-0.01	-0.05
Self-esteem	.19	.05	-.01	0.00 3.38	0.02

Hypothesis 8. Occult activity will vary inversely as a function of self-esteem and self competence and directly as a function of anomie.

None of the correlation coefficients (see Table 2) for the three deprivation variables and the occult activity variable are strong enough to support this hypothesis. Although anomie is the strongest of the three variables, taken together, they account for little of the variance in occult activities (see Table 7). Again, the evidence does not support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 9. Occult activity will vary directly as a function of peer influence.

Peer influence once again emerges as the variable most strongly related to the occult variable (Table 2). Peer influence also accounts for the largest percentage of variance in occult activity of any of the independent variables as indicated in Table 7. The alternative hypothesis again receives stronger support than the deprivation hypothesis.

Religious orthodoxy, although much weaker than peer influence, appeared as the second best indicator of occult activity as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR OCCULT ACTIVITY

Variable	Multiple R	R Square	Simple r	B	Beta
Peer influ- ence	.44	.20	.44	0.45	0.43
Religious orthodoxy	.46	.21	-.17	-0.08	-0.11
Anomie	.46	.21	.11	0.07	0.09
Self-esteem	.47	.22	.03	0.09	0.10
Self compe- tence	.47	.22	-.02	-0.05	-0.05
(constant)				4.74	

The relationship between religious orthodoxy and occult activity is inverse, indicating that those people who tend to be religiously conservative are less likely to engage in such activities as consulting seers, having palms, cards or I Ching read, etc.

Although not included in any of the hypotheses, the variable of recency of interest in various aspects of the occult was found to be directly related to self competence and self-esteem and inversely related to anomie, a relationship exactly opposite of the deprivation hypotheses for the other dependent variables. Anomie emerges as the single best predictor of recency as shown in Table 8. One would be tempted to conclude from this that those people experiencing little deprivation in the forms of self-esteem, self competence and anomie have, compared to others, only recently become interested in various aspects of the occult. The data do not appear to be strong enough, however, to warrant that conclusion.

In summary, all of the predicted relationships involving the deprivation variables and the occult subscale variables received little support from the data. With the exception of the demons and spirits variable which is strongly related to religious conservatism, peer influence is clearly the most accurate predictor of all of the occult beliefs and activities included in this study.

TABLE 8

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR REGENCY OF INTEREST

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Anomie	.18	.03	-.20	-0.05	-0.16
Self-esteem	.19	.04	.10	0.02	0.05
Peer influ- ence	.19	.04	.02	0.01	0.03
Religious orthodoxy	.19	.04	.03	0.01	0.03
Self compe- tence	.20	.04	.10	0.02	0.03
(constant)				17.80	

The Demographic Variables

A number of demographic characteristics have been identified as indicators of various types of deprivation (see Glock, 1964). It has been suggested that females, the elderly, and minority group members have traditionally ranked lower than other social categories in prestige, the ability to influence others and so on. Categories or groups ranking lower along these dimensions have been labeled as deprived and considered as likely candidates for a number of different beliefs and behavior patterns which supposedly develop out of a deprived state. In addition to sex, age, and ethnicity, other characteristics which could conceivably be identified as relating to deprivation and which would also be applicable to the student body of a state university might include academic standing and

socio-economic status. Students who rank relatively low academically may be considered to be relatively lacking in the prestige which a high grade point average can give. Students from the lower socio-economic backgrounds would be relatively limited in their ability to afford expensive clothing, entertainment and other material status symbols and may therefore be limited in their opportunities for social status. The relationship between these demographic variables and the occult beliefs and practices variables will be examined in the following section.

A breakdown of the demographic variables indicates that the majority of these variables do not appear to be strongly related to any of the occult variables (see Table 9). Mean scores for all of the divisions of each demographic measure were compared with one another and the resulting F scores were examined in order to judge which of the relationships were statistically significant. The null hypothesis was rejected a total of seven times. Even in the cases in which the differences in mean scores were judged to be statistically significant, the differences between the means were minimal. As indicated in Table 9, females scored only slightly higher on horoscope and satanism activity than males.

The religious affiliation variable response categories also exhibited different mean scores for the demons and spirits variable. The highest scores were found in the Protestant, Catholic and Other categories. Of these three, the Others

TABLE 9
MEAN SCORES BY DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Horo- scope</u>	<u>Spirits</u>	<u>Satanism Interest</u>	<u>Satanism Activity</u>	<u>Recency of Interest</u>	<u>Occult Activity</u>
Male	14.59**	20.78	8.58	3.90*	18.08	18.64
Female	16.32**	20.39	8.19	3.44*	18.39	18.21
<u>Age</u>						
Under 16	--	--	--	--	--	--
16-25	15.71	20.90	8.35	3.61	18.21	18.36
26-35	15.20	18.46	8.27	3.71	18.69	18.27
over 35	16.13	18.00	8.25	3.60	18.69	18.75
<u>Race</u>						
Anglo	15.54	20.17	8.21	3.63	18.44	18.08
Black	17.95	20.22	8.60	3.53	18.65	19.27
Chicano	15.08	21.47	8.59	3.53	18.12	18.08
Indian	17.75	25.64	9.13	4.20	18.13	22.33
Oriental	19.25	17.50	7.25	4.00	17.25	22.50
Other	15.40	19.07	8.39	3.34	17.77	18.10
<u>Religion</u>						
Protestant	15.92	21.25*	7.67	3.44	18.89	17.29
Catholic	15.10	20.99*	8.45	3.58	17.99	18.39
Jew	9.50	7.00*	6.00	3.00	20.00	14.00
Other	16.00	21.86*	8.73	3.68	18.09	19.09
None	16.57	16.94*	9.07	3.98	17.83	19.83
<u>Church Attendance</u>						
Frequent	13.62**	22.23**	7.81	3.45	18.40	6.24**
Sometimes	16.70**	22.08**	8.41	3.70	18.53	5.82**
Rarely	16.84**	18.60**	8.66	3.52	18.33	6.09**
Never	16.84**	18.03**	8.83	4.00	17.63	11.11**

* significant at .05

** significant at .01

(TABLE 9 CONTINUED)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Horo- scope</u>	<u>Spirits</u>	<u>Satanism Interest</u>	<u>Satanism Activity</u>	<u>Recency of Interest</u>	<u>Occult Activity</u>
Freshman	15.87	21.14	8.63	3.73	18.15	18.55
Sophomore	15.44	18.93	7.94	3.49	17.90	18.53
Junior	15.31	20.66	7.79	3.56	19.40	17.27
Senior	14.00	20.56	7.78	3.44	19.33	16.25
Other	14.75	27.67	10.50	3.25	19.75	19.00
<u>Father's Education</u>						
Less than HS	15.00	19.80	7.54	3.66	18.62**	17.97
HS	17.10	20.69	8.72	3.78	17.03**	19.29
HS plus	14.89	21.80	8.81	3.37	19.52**	18.28
College	15.55	19.32	8.05	3.54	18.04**	17.47
Profes- sional	14.53	20.07	8.07	3.40	18.00**	18.47
Graduate	15.86	22.19	8.84	3.89	19.02**	19.33
<u>Class</u>						
1	15.61	19.36	8.40	3.74	19.28	18.11
2	15.79	20.80	8.25	3.51	18.13	18.32
3	17.43	22.11	8.85	3.92	17.61	19.75
4	15.15	20.39	8.33	3.58	18.92	18.23
5	25.50	37.00	7.00	6.00	17.50	18.50
<u>Academic Standing</u>						
Top	15.78	19.57	8.35	3.83	18.63	18.84
Middle	15.56	21.25	8.44	3.51	18.06	18.07
Bottom	14.94	20.69	8.21	3.57	18.49	18.09

* significant at .05

** significant at .01

categories showed the highest score. Those students who professed no religious affiliation scored lower than the previous three on this variable. The lowest score was exhibited by the Jewish category.

The church attendance variable categories had noticeably different mean scores for both the horoscope, demons and spirits, and occult activities. The highest mean scores for the horoscope scale appear in the "rarely" and "never" attendance categories, indicating that belief and interest in horoscope decreases as church attendance increases. The "never" response category also exhibited a noticeably higher mean score for occult activity than the other categories. Oddly enough, the second highest mean score for occult activity was found in the frequent response category. This score, however, was much lower than the score in the never category.

The last demographic variable of interest is father's education, which appears to have significantly different mean scores for the recency variable. The highest scores for recency were found in the high school plus and graduate categories.

None of the variables including sex, ethnicity, SES and academic standing had F scores which were high enough to justify rejecting the null hypothesis.

The variables of sex, church attendance and father's education were then included with the deprivation variables and religious orthodoxy and peer influence variables in order to assess the effects which they have on occult beliefs and practices.

A breakdown of the horoscope variable by sex (Table 10) shows that peer influence remains as the best predictor of horoscope belief for both males and females. Church attendance emerges as the second best indicator for both sexes, although it is noticeably stronger for males than for females. In view of the fact that higher scores indicate decreasing church attendance, it appears that there is an inverse relationship between these two variables. The deprivation variables appear to have different effects for males than they do for females. The relationships between these variables and the horoscope variable are all inverse for males and direct for females. Of the deprivation variables, the best indicator for males is the self competence variable, while anomie emerges as the strongest deprivation measure for females. None of these variables for either sex is particularly strong. Peer influence and church attendance are clearly the best predictors.

TABLE 10

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR HOROSCOPE (MALES)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Church atten.	.34	.12	.34	1.58	0.31
Peer influ.	.56	.32	.49	0.39	0.45
Self compe- tence	.59	.35	-.20	-0.19	-0.24
Anomie	.60	.36	-.07	-0.08	-0.12
Self-esteem	.61	.37	-.08	0.06	0.10
Religious Orthodoxy	.61	.37	-.15	0.02	0.03
(constant)				8.24	

TABLE 10 (continued)

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR HOSOSCOPE (FEMALES)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Church attendance	.21	.05	.21	0.51	0.09
Peer influence	.42	.17	.40	0.33	0.36
Anomie	.43	.18	.15	0.07	0.12
Self competence	.43	.19	.06	0.07	0.08
Religious orthodoxy	.43	.19	-.16	-0.01	-0.02
Self-esteem	.43	.19	.01	0.01	0.01
(constant)				2.04	

A breakdown of the satanism activity variable by sex also results in the peer influence variable emerging as the best single predictor as shown in Table 11. Of the remaining variables, religious orthodoxy is the strongest for males, and anomie is the strongest for females. Although differences do appear between the sexes for the deprivation variables, none of these measures is strong enough to warrant serious consideration for satanism activity. This particular occult variable elicited such a weak response, however, from the sample that any conclusions drawn from these findings are highly questionable.

TABLE 11

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR SATANISM ACTIVITY (MALES)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Peer influ- ence	.20	.04	.20	0.08	0.21
Religious orthodoxy	.24	.06	-.14	-0.04	-0.14
Anomie	.26	.07	.08	0.03	0.08
Self-esteem	.26	.07	.02	0.02	0.08
Self compe- tence	.27	.07	-.03	-0.02	-0.06
Constant				1.73	

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR SATANISM ACTIVITY (FEMALES)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Peer influ- ence	.25	.06	.25	0.03	0.27
Anomie	.28	.08	-.10	-0.02	-0.19
Self compe- tence	.32	.10	-.10	-0.02	-0.15
Self esteem	.33	.11	-.07	-0.00	-0.04
Religious orthodoxy	.33	.11	-.07	-0.00	-0.03
(constant)				4.12	

Religious orthodoxy and peer influence remain the most accurate predictors of belief in demons and spirits as indicated in Table 12. Of the other independent variables, church

attendance emerges as the strongest, supporting the conclusion that belief in demons, spirits and related phenomena as measured in this study are closely connected to established religious beliefs.

TABLE 12

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR DEMONS AND SPIRITS

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Church Attendance	.19	.03	-.19	.41	.05
Religious Orthodoxy	.43	.19	.42	.47	.50
Peer influ- ence	.55	.30	.29	.47	.34
Self compe- tence	.55	.30	-.10	-.11	-.08
Self-esteem	.55	.30	-.05	.01	.01
Anomie	.55	.30	.03	.01	.01
(constant)				-.15	

Anomie, although weak, emerges as the strongest predictor of recency of interest. None of the independent variables in this study, however, account for much of the variation in this variable (see Table 13).

Peer influence continues to be the best predictor of occult activity. Church attendance, although not nearly as strong, does appear as the second strongest predictor as shown

TABLE 13

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR RECENCY OF INTEREST

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Father's education	.03	.00	.03	.02	0.01
Anomie	.17	.03	-.17	-.05	-0.16
Self-esteem	.18	.03	.10	.02	0.05
Peer influ- ence	.19	.04	.02	.02	0.04
Religious orthodoxy	.19	.04	.03	.01	0.03
Self compe- tence	.19	.04	.09	.01	0.03
(constant)				17.69	

in Table 14. None of the remaining variables accounts for a noticeable amount of variation.

TABLE 14

MULTIPLE REGRESSION SUMMARY TABLE FOR OCCULT ACTIVITY

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>	<u>R Square</u>	<u>Simple r</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Church attendance	.21	.04	.21	0.50	0.08
Peer influ- ence	.46	.21	.45	0.44	0.42
Anomie	.47	.22	.10	0.06	0.08
Self-esteem	.47	.22	.03	0.08	0.10
Religious orthodoxy	.47	.23	-.17	-0.05	-0.06
Self compe- tence	.48	.23	-.01	-0.05	-0.04
(constant)				3.10	

These findings are particularly interesting in light of Hartman's (1973) research which investigated the relationships between demographic variables and various forms of magical belief. Hartman's data provided converse findings for the relationships between socio-economic status and various types of magical beliefs including horoscope, spiritualism and interest in magic as entertainment. The various magic subscales varied differently according to manipulation of the independent variables. Therefore, no across-the-board conclusions could be drawn regarding the direction of variability in magic belief. This finding is in keeping with the findings of this study concerning the relationships between socio-economic status and occult beliefs and practices. Mean scores for the occult subscales did not vary significantly according to class position.

Hartman also found that class was in no way related to belief in charm-ritual. However, Catholics were more likely to score high on charm-ritual and horoscope than Protestants. This is interesting in view of the fact that charm-ritual, a set of beliefs assumed by Hartman to be part of the world of magical beliefs, is apparently related to established religious beliefs and practices, particularly those beliefs and practices found in the Catholic church.

No significant differences in magical belief scores appeared between males and females in Hartman's study. This also is in keeping with the findings of this study.

One findings which emerged from Hartman's research which initially appears to contradict the findings of this study concerns the belief in spiritualism. Hartman found an inverse relationship to exist between church attendance and belief in spiritualism. This study found a direct relationship to exist between church attendance, religious orthodoxy and belief in demons and other spirits. A possible explanation for this difference is that Hartman's spiritualism subscale was geared more to the occult aspects of a belief in spirits than the subscale used in this study. Her subscale included items concerning seances, the use of Ouija boards and so on. The subscale items included in this study were worded more in terms of orthodox religious beliefs.

Hartman also found that young people were more likely to exhibit high scores on items dealing with the existence of rare people (seer, mediums, etc.) than older people. The rare people variable was not included in this study. In general, however, the majority of the demographic variables failed to explain the variation in magical and occult belief in both studies.

In summary, with the exception of church attendance which shows some relationship to belief in horoscope and occult activity, none of the demographic variables emerge as strong predictors of any of the occult measures. Peer influence continues to be the best predictor of all of the various occult variables with the exception of the demons and spirits measure

which is apparently more closely related to an orthodox religious perspective. None of the deprivation measures including self-esteem, self competence, and anomie and the demographic variables identified as possible sources of deprivation appears to account for the difference in occult beliefs and occult practices included in this study.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This chapter will include a review of the findings of the study, a discussion of the limitations and problems of the measures and methods used, and a critique of the results and discussion of alternative explanations. Implications for further research will also be considered.

Review of the Findings

Briefly, the results indicate that the three deprivation variables fail to account for a noticeable proportion of the variance in any of the occult beliefs and practices variables. Peer influence, with one exception, is by far the best predictor of these beliefs and practices, far stronger than any of the other independent variables included. Religious orthodoxy emerged as the single best predictor of belief in demons, spirits and related phenomena. The relationships between the deprivation variables and the occult variables were, for the most part, in the predicted direction. They were, however, not strong enough to support any of the deprivation hypotheses.

The majority of the demographic variables also had little effect on the incidence of occult beliefs and practices. A few variables were, however, worthy of attention. Protestants, Catholics and people falling into the Other category of religious affiliation scored relatively high on the demons and

spirits scale. Jewish students and students professing no religious affiliation scored much lower on this particular scale.

Church attendance is the only demographic variable which emerged as a relatively strong predictor of any of the occult measures. Church attendance appeared second only to peer influence as a predictor of belief in horoscope and various different types of occult activity. As incidence of church attendance increased, belief and interest in horoscope and occult activity decreased. None of the demographic variables previously mentioned as possibly being related to deprivation appeared as a strong indicator of any sort of involvement or interest in the occult. One interesting findings which was not predicted indicates the possible existence of two separate populations of individuals who believe in the existence of demons, spirits and related phenomena. Another finding which was not anticipated found an inverse relationship to exist between anomie and recency. Of all the independent variables, anomie emerged as the single best predictor of the recency of interest in the occult milieu.

A number of limitations and weaknesses existed in this study, however, which may account for the findings, or rather the lack of findings. The occult subscale items covered only a few of the many subareas of beliefs and behavior patterns which fall under the general heading of the occult. Belief in such things as precognition, alchemy, charmritual and other

phenomena were not included. Therefore, the occult subscales included in this study are not entirely representative of the total occult milieu.

The demons and spirits variable appears to be, in view of the findings, a variable which may be related to both the occult world and orthodox religion, depending on the basis of the individual's beliefs and interests and the particular aspects of the existence of demons and spirits which are emphasized in the items. Unfortunately, the majority of items included in this study to assess interest in and belief in demons and spirits did not emphasize the occult angle. Seances, the use of such things as Ouija boards, and the belief in the ability of certain gifted individuals to contact the spirit world--factors which would probably tap the interests and beliefs of those who are interested more in the occult world than orthodox religion--were not included. The study fails to discriminate between these two possible populations. It does offer some evidence, however, which supports the contention that two such populations exist.

The subjective measures used to operationalize the concepts of deprivation may also be an area of weakness, illustrating the problems inherent in using deprivation theory in social research. The concept of deprivation is vague and may be used to refer to a number of personal characteristics and social conditions. Any number of characteristics and conditions may be of potential use in studying and explaining involvement in

occult phenomena, but only a few have been identified as laying the foundations for occult beliefs and practices. Glock (1965) identified a number of deprivation types including organismic, status, power, ethical, economic and psychic. He identified the psychic form as underlying the whole occult milieu. Wuthnow (1975) on the other hand, produced some evidence supporting the contention that belief in astrology is affected by certain types of status deprivation.

The use of self-esteem, self competence and anomie as indicators of status and psychic deprivation may not be the best way to operationalize these deprivation types. It may be the case that deprivation of some sort may exist in people who have relatively high opinions of themselves, do not perceive themselves to be incompetent and do not experience feelings of anomie. Overlooking other sources of deprivation may result in the loss of potential explanations of beliefs and behavior. In any case, self-esteem, self competence and anomie may not be the best measures of deprivation.

The design of this study is also a possible problem area. There have been two populations identified as being interested or involved in some way with various aspects of the occult milieu (see Truzzi, 1972). One of these populations is deeply involved in occult organizations and groups. Members of this category orient their lifestyles around the particular occult beliefs and practices in which they are involved. The other, larger population, tends to be lightly or superficially interested

and treats the occult as a type of diversion. The college students surveyed in this study, and the majority of college students for that matter, are, if they are at all interested in or believe in certain aspects of the occult, members of this larger population. The factors which influence this sample are probably quite different from the motives which direct the behavior and beliefs of those who are deeply involved. The sample used in this study in no way, therefore, represents all of the groups who are involved in the occult in some way. The existence of these two populations raises some methodological problems which will be discussed in the following section.

Interpretation

Deprivation theory, at least as it was operationalized here, does not explain the variance in occult beliefs and practices included in this study. As mentioned earlier, however, this may be due to problems of measuring deprivation. The peer influence variable as a measure of accommodation is apparently the best predictor of all the independent variables included in the study. The students surveyed seem to be influenced not as much by perceived lack of self-esteem and self competence and anomie as by what their friends and acquaintances think and feel.

This finding, however, does not explain the difference in beliefs, but rather raises yet another problem. The study does not explain why some people have peers who apparently are

not interested or involved at all. The dynamic which influences some people to show interest and belief in the occult and associate with others who feel similarly is still elusive.

This state of affairs raises the question of the usefulness of survey research techniques for the study of the occult milieu and other forms of esoteric culture. Methods which examine more closely the individual's background, history, associations and the ways in which he acquires, develops, and maintains his beliefs and his lifestyle are needed. Such methods would include participant observation of specific cults and groups and related ethnographic techniques including the use of diaries and journals and interviews with the members of occult groups. Moody's (1971) study of the satanist organization in San Francisco which involved participant observation and in-depth interviews would serve as an example of this kind of research.

By examining the ways in which the individual is attracted to the cult and is eventually integrated into it, the dynamic behind the current growth of such groups may be uncovered. It may also be the case that deprivation theory will be useful in explaining behavior in this context. Survey research would not be suitable for this population. Studies similar to those done by Wieder and Zimmerman (1976) involving the freak culture would be useful for determining the mechanisms by which a person becomes integrated into the occult milieu.

The people actively involved in cults of various types do not necessarily constitute the majority of people interested in the occult, however. Study of these groups may not explain the overall growth of interest in various aspects of the occult. If the majority of people who show some interest in the occult do so because they see it as a form of diversion, then perhaps the nature of diversion and the place of diversion in society should also be studied with particular emphasis placed on the occult as a form of diversion. The reasons for the current popularity of such things as astrology and magic over other possible forms of diversion should be investigated, with attention paid not only to the ways in which the occult as a diversion is presented to the public through various forms of the media, but also the relationship between the occult as diversion and institutionalized religious and scientific knowledge. There is some evidence from this study supporting the contention that astrology as one form of occult belief serves as a form of surrogate religion for some people. This may be indicated by the findings that a decrease in church attendance is related to increases not only in belief in astrology, but also in various forms of occult activities. This raises the possibility that certain beliefs might be both fads and at the same time serve as some sort of substitute for institutionalized beliefs.

In summary, the concept of deprivation needs to be clarified in order to be useful as a tool for further research.

As it stands now, the concept seems to be redefined and manipulated by everyone who uses it. Deprivation should also be considered in conjunction with other explanations of religious belief and behavior. Research indicates that deprivation theory is useful for analyzing certain forms of belief. However, it cannot effectively explain all forms of activity and involvement in religious and social movements. There is a tendency in deprivation theory to equate religious belief and affiliation with deviant behavior. Obviously, certain religious and ideological movements such as those movements built around the worship of the devil can be considered as deviant in nature. On the other hand, membership in established religions and interest or involvement in belief systems such as astrology and even spiritualism may not be deviant in nature but rather the result of such factors as socialization or the need for diversion and entertainment.

In any case, both populations of people involved in one way or another in the occult milieu deserve further study. The motives and mechanisms by which one becomes integrated into the occult world should be investigated using methods such as participant observation. The occult as a form of diversion or fad should be studied with particular attention being paid to the ways in which fads come about, the ways in which they grow and the functions they serve in society. An all important problem concerns the question of when occult interests and

beliefs, or for that matter any form of fad behavior, cease to function as diversions and become integral parts of the belief structures of individuals, groups, and societies. The occult is a phenomenon which has existed in Western civilization for centuries with varying degrees of popularity. As an ongoing collection of beliefs and practices which contradict the beliefs and practices not only of the established religions but also the paradigms of institutionalized science, the occult remains an important area of interest and study for sociology.

APPENDIX A

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS FOR OCCULT VARIABLES

Variable

Horoscope	N	Percentage
low belief	160	44.3
uncertain, weak agreement, weak disagreement	166	46.0
high belief	35	9.7
valid cases	362	100.0
missing cases	11	
minimum score = 5.	maximum score = 35	
mean = 15.7	standard deviation = 6.2	

Variable

Demons and Spirits	N	Percentage
low belief	177	51.0
uncertain, weak agreement, weak disagreement	136	39.2
high belief	34	9.8
valid cases	347	100.0
missing cases	25	
minimum score = 7	maximum score = 49	
mean = 20.5	standard deviation = 9.8	

APPENDIX A (continued)

Variable

Satanism Interest	N	Percentage
low interest	294	8.14
in between, uncertain	61	16.9
high interest	6	2.7
valid cases	361	100.0
missing cases	11	
minimum score = 4	maximum score = 28	
mean = 8.34	standard deviation = 3.96	

Variable

Satanism Activity	N	Percentage
low activity	364	98.4
in between	4	1.1
high activity	2	0.5
valid cases	370	100.0
missing cases	2	
minimum score = 3	maximum score = 21	
mean = 3.61	standard deviation = 1.67	

Variable

Recency of Interest	N	Percentage
low (long interest)	8	2.2
medium	220	60.6
high (very recent)	135	39.2

APPENDIX A (continued)

Recency of Interest (cont'd)

valid cases	363	100.0
missing cases	9	
minimum score = 4	maximum score = 28	
mean = 18.27	standard deviation = 3.43	

Variable

Occult Activity	N	Percentage
low activity	335	95.2
medium	14	3.9
high activity	3	0.9
valid cases	352	100.0
missing cases	20	
minimum score = 10	maximum score = 70	
mean = 18.37	standard deviation = 7.36	

APPENDIX B

IN THE BOX LABELED 'IDENTIFICATION NUMBER' (SIDE A), INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

Top 3 spaces--ID number 4th space--Sex 1. male 2. female
5th space--Age; 1. under 16 2. 16-25 3. 26-35 4. over 35
6th space--Ethnicity: 1. Anglo 2. Black 3. Mexican-American
4. Oriental 5. Other 7th space--Religious affiliation:
1. Protestant 2. Catholic 3. Jew 4. Other 5. None
8th space--Church attendance: 1. frequent 2. sometimes
3. rarely 4. never

LEAVE SPACES 9 and 10 BLANK

PLEASE INDICATE (STARTING ON SIDE A) HOW STRONGLY YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS USING THE RESPONSES:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. STRONG DISAGREEMENT | 5. WEAK AGREEMENT |
| 2. MODERATE DISAGREEMENT | 6. MODERATE AGREEMENT |
| 3. WEAK DISAGREEMENT | 7. STRONG AGREEMENT |
| 4. IN BETWEEN, UNCERTAIN | |

1. I sometimes look at my horoscope in the newspaper.
2. If the sun and planets can affect the weather, they can affect our lives.
3. Many of my close friends have shown a great deal of interest in the occult.
4. I frequently watch movies and television programs which deal with occult topics.
5. Both helpful and disturbing influences come to us from the planets and affect our lives.
6. I never bother with reading my horoscope.
7. I believe there are certain people gifted with second sight.
8. Evil spirits do possess people, but they can be exorcised by priest using certain rituals.
9. I occasionally enjoy discussing such things as magic, witchcraft and related topics with friends.
10. Cards, palm, or I Ching reading is insightful.
11. Seers do not successfully predict the future.

12. Everything that happens has a natural cause, whether or not it is explainable.
13. Mediums, who claim to contact the spiritual world, do so to gyp people out of money.
14. Horoscopes have validity.
15. I believe that there is a physical Hell where men are punished after death for the sins of their lives.
16. Charms can protect a person.
17. Herbs, brews or potions have special powers.
18. I usually follow the advice given in my daily horoscope.
19. I enjoy reading books which cover magic, witchcraft and related topics.
20. In all cases, demonic possession can best be explained psychologically.
21. I avoid walking under ladders.
22. I once had a powerful amulet (like a mustard seed) I wore on a chain or carried in my pocket.
23. Card, palm, or I Ching reading is not insightful.
24. Spirits do not exist.
25. An Ouija board is a good idea for use at a party.
26. There is a spirit, or spirits, which have the power to help those who believe.
27. You might disturb a seance if you are not serious about it.
28. It is possible that evil spirits possess human beings on rare occasions.
29. I am interested in the occult only because it is entertaining.
30. Superstitions have validity.
31. The only benefit one receives from prayer is psychological.
32. Horoscopes do not have validity.
33. Demonic possession happens.

34. The astrological signs of my friends are good indicators of their personalities and have been important factors in the development of our relationships.
35. Some rare people are gifted in being able to foretell the future.
36. Sometimes I dream things which later happen.
37. Palm readers are all fakes.
38. Seers successfully predict the future.
39. At one time or other, I have worn or carried a cross, medal, charm or amulet which I felt had the power to protect me.
40. It has been proven that there are some houses which have had disturbing spirits that throw and break things.
41. To me the most important work of the church is the saving of souls.
42. A knowledge of magic and witchcraft can help a person.
43. Persons from outer space are here on earth.
44. I have never worn or carried a cross, charm, or amulet which I felt had the power to protect me.
45. It makes good sense to be especially careful on Friday the 13th.
46. I would consider joining a group or organization involved with occult interests.
47. Many social and mental problems are the result of the activity of evil supernatural forces.
48. Occult groups have special powers.
49. I believe there is a Divine plan and purpose for every living person and thing.
50. I believe there is a life after death.
51. Charms cannot protect a person.
52. Spirits exist.
53. I would tend to believe the predictions supplied by Ouija boards and Tarot cards.

54. I am interested in the occult because occult forces influence my life.
55. I would refuse to walk where a black cat has crossed.
56. It is possible there are such things as haunted houses.
57. Fortune telling cards and crystal balls are a lot of fun.
58. I believe there are certain people gifted with second sight.
59. Some rare people are gifted in being able to contact the spirit world.
60. Demonic possession does not happen.

TURN TO SIDE B AND PLACE ID NUMBER IN TOP 3 SPACES OF IDENTIFICATION NUMBER BOX. CONTINUE RESPONDING TO ITEMS ON SIDE B. LEAVE THE FOLLOWING 7 SPACES BLANK.

1. Visions, premonitions, and foresight permit one to foresee the future.
2. Superstitions do not have validity.
3. Occult groups do not have special powers.
4. I believe there is a supernatural being, the Devil, who continually tries to lead men into sin.
5. A knowledge of magic and witchcraft cannot help a person.
6. Visions, premonitions, and foresight do not permit one to foresee the future.

PLEASE INDICATE HOW OFTEN YOU ENGAGE, OR HAVE ENGAGED, IN THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES BY USING THE RESPONSES: 1. NEVER 2. VERY RARELY 3. RARELY 4. IN BETWEEN, IRREGULARLY 5. OFTEN 6. VERY OFTEN 7. ALL THE TIME

7. read my horoscope
8. have my cards, palm, or I Ching read
9. consult seers
10. wear good luck pieces
11. contact spirits
12. obey superstitions
13. observe demonic possession

14. participate in an occult group
15. study magic or witchcraft
16. use herbs, brews, or potions
17. contact persons from outer space
18. have visions, premonitions, or foresight.

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRE

- _____ ID number
- _____ 4. Sex: 1. male 2. female
- _____ 5. Age: 1: under 16 2. 16-25 3. 26-35 4. over 35
- _____ 6. Ethnicity: 1. Anglo 2. Black 3. Mexican-American
4. American Indian 5. Oriental 6. Other
- _____ 7. Religious preference: 1. Protestant 2. Catholic
3. Jewish 4. Other 5. None
- _____ 8. Church attendance: 1. frequent 2. sometimes
3. rarely 4. never
- _____ 9. Year: 1. freshman 2. sophomore 3. junior 4. senior
5. other
- _____ 10. Father's education: 1. less than high school 2. high
school 3. high school plus 4. college 5. professional
school 6. graduate school
- _____ 11. Father's occupation:
- _____ 12. Academically, I fit in the 1. upper third 2. middle
third 3. bottom third

PLEASE INDICATE HOW STRONGLY YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE
FOLLOWING STATEMENTS USING THE RESPONSES: 1. STRONG DISAGREE-
MENT 2. MODERATE DISAGREEMENT 3. WEAK DISAGREEMENT 4. IN
BETWEEN 5. WEAK AGREEMENT 6. MODERATE AGREEMENT 7. STRONG
AGREEMENT

- _____ 1. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal
plane with others.
- _____ 2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
- _____ 3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
- _____ 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
- _____ 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

- ___ 6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
- ___ 7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
- ___ 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
- ___ 9. I certainly feel useless at times.
- ___ 10. At times I think I am no good at all.
- ___ 11. I would rather decide things when they come up than always try to plan ahead.
- ___ 12. I have always felt pretty sure that my life would work out the way I wanted it to.
- ___ 13. I seem to be the kind of person that has more bad luck than good luck.
- ___ 14. I never have any trouble making up my mind about important decisions.
- ___ 15. I have always felt that I have more will power than most people have.
- ___ 16. There's not much use for me to plan ahead because there's usually something that makes me change my plans.
- ___ 17. I nearly always feel pretty sure of myself even when people disagree with me.
- ___ 18. I have often had the feeling that it's no use to try to get anywhere in this life.
- ___ 19. Most public officials (people in public offices) are not really interested in the problems of the average man.
- ___ 20. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
- ___ 21. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
- ___ 22. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
- ___ 23. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
- ___ 24. Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow.

- ___ 25. Next to health, money is the most important thing in life.
- ___ 26. You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile.
- ___ 27. To make money there are no right and wrong ways anymore, only easy and hard ways.
- ___ 28. I believe that there is a physical Hell where men are punished after death for the sins of their lives.
- ___ 29. I believe there is a supernatural being, the Devil, who continually tries to lead men into sin.
- ___ 30. To me the most important work of the church is the saving of souls.
- ___ 31. I believe that there is a life after death.
- ___ 32. I believe there is a Divine plan and purpose for every living person.
- ___ 33. The only benefit one receives from prayer is psychological.
- ___ 34. Many of my friends are interested in magic, witchcraft, astrology and the like.
- ___ 35. Spirits exist.
- ___ 36. Horoscopes have validity.
- ___ 37. The astrological signs of my friends are good indicators of their personalities.
- ___ 38. My parents have never shown any interest in astrology, magic or anything occult.
- ___ 39. Cards, palm, and I Ching reading is insightful.
- ___ 40. It is possible that evil spirits possess human beings on rare occasions.
- ___ 41. A number of my acquaintances have shown an active interest in Satanic type groups.
- ___ 42. I really wasn't very aware of the occult until the last few years.
- ___ 43. I am familiar with people who are involved in occult groups.

- ___ 44. I sometimes look at my horoscope in the paper.
- ___ 45. I would consider joining a group or organization with occult interests.
- ___ 46. I have become increasingly interested in astrology, magic, and related topics in the last few years.
- ___ 47. It seems that a lot of people are showing interest in various things like magic, possession, witchcraft and the like these days.
- ___ 48. Evil spirits do possess people, but they can be exorcised by clergymen.
- ___ 49. I think some of the Satanic groups now in existence may have a number of valid ideas and practices.
- ___ 50. A lot of people I know seem to think that there is something to astrology.
- ___ 51. Many social and mental problems are the result of the activity of evil supernatural forces.
- ___ 52. Some rare people are gifted in being able to contact the spirit world.
- ___ 53. I associate with people who worship the Devil.
- ___ 54. My friends believe that a person's astrological sign is a good indicator of that person's character.
- ___ 55. Demonic possession happens.
- ___ 56. I have been following my horoscope as far back as I can remember.
- ___ 57. My friends feel the same way I do about the occult.
- ___ 58. I usually try to follow the advice given in my daily horoscope.
- ___ 59. I would be interested in attending meetings of a Satanic organization.
- ___ 60. It is possible that there are such things as haunted houses.
- ___ 61. I have been interested in various occult subjects such as magic, witchcraft and astrology for quite a number of years.

PLEASE INDICATE HOW OFTEN YOU ENGAGE, OR HAVE ENGAGED, IN THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES BY USING THE RESPONSES: 1. NEVER 2. VERY RARELY 3. RARELY 4. IN BETWEEN 5. OFTEN 6. VERY OFTEN 7. ALL THE TIME.

- ___ 62. read my horoscope
- ___ 63. participate in an occult group
- ___ 64. consult seers
- ___ 65. take part in rituals of a Satanic nature
- ___ 66. discuss things like astrology, demonology, magic and the like with friends
- ___ 67. contact persons from outer space
- ___ 68. have my cards, palm, or I Ching read
- ___ 69. attend meetings of groups which are involved in devil worship
- ___ 70. study magic or witchcraft
- ___ 71. use herbs, brews, or potions
- ___ 72. read literature dealing with Satanism and Devil worship

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