

## Research Notes

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### From Mental Health to Spiritual Technology: The Evolution of Religious Practice in Scientology

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**ABSTRACT:** Scientology’s self-association with technology is visible not only to academics of religions but also to the general public. Even the Church’s 2014 Super Bowl halftime commercial carried the message that Scientology is a “spiritual technology.” Although in the early Dianetics L. Ron Hubbard was dealing with the human mind and mental health only, he was already developing a methodological approach and technological attitude that remained when he came up with a new term, Scientology, and started referring to it as a religion. He not only defined the religious practices of Scientology as a “technology” but used engineering terms such as “SOP” (Standard Operating Procedure). Later, he introduced the “Standard Technology” concept, which became a key objective to achieve for Scientology practitioners. The paper is an attempt to trace the “religious” turn from Dianetics to Scientology by following the evolution of the concept of the individual’s consciousness into spiritual being, parallel with the development of the “technological” paradigm, as part of a larger study into the philosophical analysis of the subject.

**KEYWORDS:** Scientology, Dianetics, L. Ron Hubbard, Scientology Standard Operating Procedure, Scientology Standard Technology, Theta, Thetan.

#### *Introduction: Scientology 2.0*

After more than half a century of initial research about Scientology’s nature, religious status, its founder’s intentions, organizational characteristics, and so on, several leading scholars of new religious movements (NRM) started suggesting that academics should introduce a new approach to Scientology studies. The term “Scientology 2.0” was introduced in 2017 and 2018 in

conference papers by Massimo Introvigne, as mentioned by Donald Westbrook in his 2020 article “Scientology Studies 2.0,” which summarizes both the development of the academic approach of Scientology and the change in attitude of the Church of Scientology (COS) towards researchers (Westbrook 2020, 7). Westbrook did not stop here but released a short monography on these possible future paths in the *Cambridge Elements* series, in which he states,

Numerous other avenues for scholarly exploration exist. [...] there is a need for more research into the particulars of Scientological theology and practices [...]. As the subfield of Scientology studies continues to develop, a new generation of scholars—and I suspect even some Scientologists themselves—may be eager to work on some of these open areas and chart new scholarly paths of their own (Westbrook 2022, 40–1).

In agreement with this statement—and being myself one of the Scientologists Westbrook referred to—I was also looking for new research approaches that had not yet been explored. I found that the tenets of Scientology have been greatly “under-researched” in the context of Western philosophy. L. Ron Hubbard (1911–1986) himself refers to different philosophers of the Western traditions, either laudatorily or with critical remarks.

The fact that the COS defines the word Scientology as “knowing how to know” (“Scientology Definition” 2023) immediately raises the question of how much it qualifies as an “epistemological enterprise” among other epistemological endeavors under the magnifying glass of philosophy. But that requires broader research—in the making. The apropos of this paper was the Annual Conference of the European Association for the Study of Religion (EASR 2023) held in September 2023 in Vilnius, Lithuania. The topic of the conference was religions and technologies, and one of the panels focused on the different aspects of technology in relation to Scientology.

Scientology’s self-association with technology is visible not only to academics of religions but also to the larger public, as even the Church’s 2014 Super Bowl halftime commercial carried the message that Scientology is a “spiritual technology.” While in the early Dianetics, Hubbard was dealing with the human mind and mental health only, he already aimed at developing a sort of methodological approach and technological attitude that he maintained even after coming up with a new term, “Scientology,” for what he started to refer to as a religion. He not only defined the religious practices of Scientology as a “technology” but used engineering terms such as “SOP” (Standard Operating

Procedure), and later introduced the “Standard Technology” concept, which became a key objective to achieve for Scientology practitioners.

This research note is an attempt to trace the “religious” turn from Dianetics to Scientology by following the evolution of the concept of the individual’s mental consciousness towards the notion of a “spiritual being,” parallel with the development of the “technological” paradigm, as part of a larger study into the philosophical analysis of the subject.

### *Remarks on Methodology*

One may point out that the disciplinary array of the academic study of a particular religion usually includes several different social sciences: sociology, anthropology, ethnography, psychology, and even economics or political studies; and other fields of humanities, including history. The philosophy of religion is nowadays a bit sidelined and is, for example, rarely represented at the religious studies conferences, being rather confined to the ones on philosophy.

I believe that using the tools and features of philosophy can add to religious studies. I share the viewpoint of Thomas A. Lewis, which he sensibly stated in his book *Why Philosophy Matters for the Study of Religion and Vice Versa*:

To call for a revitalized philosophy of religion that is integral to religious studies, however, is not to call for domination. It is to view philosophy of religion as one subfield among others of religious studies, not as the unique center of the field. I do not seek a return to an earlier stage in which philosophers of religion dominated our theories and methods seminars.

My vision is methodologically pluralistic. This methodological pluralism, particularly when these approaches engage with each other, produces much of the field’s strength, depth, and energy (Lewis 2017, 144).

I concur with Lewis’s remark about the pluralistic approach introducing depth to the field. I think it is particularly true for new religious movements such as Scientology, where the tenets are rather new and different, or differently structured, with respect to new groups where the theological background is directly built onto scriptures also held sacred by older traditions, such as the Bible for Christian NRMs or the *Bhagavad Gita* for ISKCON. Of course, the researcher must also realize the peculiarity of the differences in the interpretation of those source texts, but the knowledge of those sources goes back to thousands

of years ago. On the contrary, the writings of L. Ron Hubbard as well as, for example, the *Book of Mormon* of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church) have been available only for a few hundred years or even a few decades.

In the case of Scientology, according to the COS itself, the canon of L. Ron Hubbard's scriptural corpus is "more than half a million written pages, over 3,000 tape-recorded lectures, and some 100 films" (Westbrook 2019, 8). I would add to this that these materials are mainly available only in printed form, so the researcher is also facing a challenge here, especially while looking for specific concepts or key words. Doing research in my home country, Hungary, is also hindered by the fact that there are no significant collections of secondary literature available, as the subject of Scientology is not yet researched so intensively that university or other libraries would invest in prestigious (and expensive) international journals and books. More open sources—such as CESNUR's publications, for example—would surely be helpful.

Despite the challenges, I believe that philosophy-based textual and hermeneutical analyses—following Thomas Lewis's ideas—may help the practitioners of other disciplines to gain deeper understanding of the subject (in this case, Scientology), its terminology and context, so that better, deeper, or more appropriate questions can be asked, or research designs created. This research note would like to promote a better insight into the evolution of Hubbard's concept of the individual consciousness from a psychological to a spiritual meaning, while examining whether the "technological" characteristics of the practices have also changed or not, following what was presented at the EASR 2023 Conference.

### *Influence of Western Philosophy on L. Ron Hubbard*

As mentioned above, my broader research is focusing on finding the traces of Western philosophy in Hubbard's writings and lectures. The *Philosopher and Founder* volume of the L. Ron Hubbard biographical series—published by the COS itself—mentions that, when Hubbard was 28 years old, he wrote a fiction story titled "The Dangerous Dimensions," which was published in the July 1938 issue of the *Astounding Science Fiction* magazine (Bridge Publications 2012, 18;

Hubbard 1938). The story is about a philosophy professor who discovers an equation to travel through dimensions.

Upon the request of the magazine readers, Hubbard wrote an article titled “Tomorrow’s Miracles.” In this article, he praised philosophy and philosophers for being the forerunners of every great discovery and achievement of natural sciences and technical studies. He stated that philosophers with their theories and predictions based on structured thinking opened the space for scientific research and discoveries. At the same time, he also acknowledged the role of science for all the useful theoretical and practical inventions. He mentioned a good number of philosophers who played a significant role in formulating initial ideas, which were later confirmed through scientific methods (Hubbard 2012, 19–26).

In the same biographical volume *Philosopher and Founder* the editors mention the so-called “Excalibur” manuscript. Here, I would like to mention only one aspect of that manuscript as a hypothetical link to American history of philosophy, and that is the “Hilltop Cabin” where the manuscript was allegedly born (Bridge Publications 2012, 7). The reference to the cabin may be a tribute by Hubbard to David Henry Thoreau (1817–1862), who wrote his book *Walden* in a shack in the woods in an attempt to “suck out all the marrow of life,” similarly to Hubbard’s attempt in “Excalibur.” Of course, since “Excalibur” was never published, this link would need to be confirmed by sound historical or biographical data, assuming they exist.

We should also not pass by the fact that the era of Hubbard’s young years—particularly as far as primary education was concerned—was dominated by American Pragmatism (Hall 1996). Also, the whole cultural and philosophical field was filled with Pragmatism in those days. As James R. O’Shea states,

Against the background of the pervasive influence of Kantian and Hegelian idealism in America in the decades surrounding the turn of the century, pragmatism and related philosophical outlooks emphasizing naturalism and realism were dominant during the first three decades of the [20<sup>th</sup>] century (O’Shea 2008, 205).

If one looks at Hubbard’s non-fictional texts and the ethos of Scientology at large, Pragmatism and even instrumentalism may be discovered when it comes to the application of the basic tenets. Hubbard also mentions one of the “founding fathers” of American Pragmatism, William James (1842–1910), about fifteen times in different writings or lectures, referring usually to James’s pragmatic approach. In his lecture “Conquered Territory,” delivered on 30 March 1955,

Hubbard sort of praises James for establishing a line of communication for the distribution of information regarding the human mind (Hubbard 1955a, 406).

In the biographical volume mentioned before, another article by Hubbard is included, from February 1966, titled “Philosophy Wins After 2,000 Years.” There, he praises the classic Greek philosophers, the pre-Socratics, Plato (426?–347 BCE), and Aristotle (384–322 BCE) alike, and states that Scientology has proven their dualistic theories and “furnish all the evidence they need” for “Man to know” (Bridge Publications 2012, 125–27). One of my aims was to find traces of his “confirmation” of the body and soul theory in Scientology scripture, which may be similar, for example, to the Pythagorean or Platonic ideas of metempsychosis.

*From the Consciousness of the Mind to the Concept of the Thetan (Soul, Spirit):  
The Religious Turn*

For those interested to read about the “transition” from Dianetics to Scientology with an interdisciplinary approach, a very comprehensive summary may be found in chapter two of Donald Westbrook’s *Among the Scientologists* monograph (Westbrook 2019, 77–85). However, while Westbrook elaborates the sociological, legal, institutional, economical, or psychological reasons, discussing numerous secondary literature as well, he also mentions that the “theological reasons from Hubbard’s books, lectures, and activities” are “largely underexamined” (Westbrook 2019, 78). As an attempt to assist the researchers in that aspect, here is an initial analysis of that transition period, through the evolution of the mind-spirit concept. The reason why I believe that the examination of this conceptual development may be the key to understand the underlying theological reasons is to be found in a rather late text of Hubbard, which I will introduce later (Hubbard 1973).

Hubbard’s attempt to locate or define the “essence” of humans already started in his first book on the subject, *Dianetics: The Original Thesis* (1948), in which he defined the

Analytical Mind: The residence of consciousness in the individual and the seat of his dynamics and basic personality (Hubbard 2007b, 183).

He also identified the “I” with the “analytical mind.” The expression “seat of his dynamics” needs some further clarification. By “dynamic” he means the “urge” towards survival by a person or a people. The analytical mind is the source point where this “urge” is located (Hubbard 2007b, 128).

In 1950, in his best sold book, *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health*, Hubbard elaborated on the notion of “analytical mind,” but also introduced a concept that will be a key, and a consequent and coherent conception, from this point on: *theta*.

Emotion is a  $\Theta$  (theta) quantity, which is to say that is so involved with life forces that Dianetics handles it with invariable success, but does not attempt to give forth more than a descriptive theory (Hubbard 2007a, 133).

As it can be seen, Hubbard himself was not yet sure how to describe the concept, but said it was involved with the life force itself. Later in the book he went one step further, though, by stating that “ $\Theta$  quantity may be life force itself” (Hubbard 2007a, 144). Hubbard referred later to the term *theta* as the Greek symbol for life or spirit (Hubbard 1975, 429), which—according to my understanding—might go back to Egypt. According to Kieren Barry’s *The Greek Qabalah*, “the letter *theta* ( $\Theta$ ) was, in its archaic form, written as a cross within a circle.” He refers to Porphyry (232–305) as a source of his statement that “the Egyptians used an X within a circle as a symbol of the soul” (Barry 1999, 73).

In Hubbard’s next book, *Science of Survival* (originally published in June 1951) he starts to fill the term *theta* with new meaning:

Theta is thought, life force, élan vital, the spirit, the soul or any other of the numerous definitions it has had for some thousands of years (Hubbard 2007c, 4).

Here, he actually starts to attach *theta* to spirit or soul, and introduces his conception of immortality (Hubbard 2007c, 313 and 531). In fact, it is still a kind of postulated immortality. It is similar to the conception of immortality of the soul in Immanuel Kant’s (1724–1804) *Critique of Practical Reason* (Kant 2020, 142–44). In this quote, Hubbard also mentions *élan vital*, yet another reference to Western philosophy, as the term was introduced by French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941) in his book *Creative Evolution* (Bergson 1907).

Following the publication of *Science of Survival*, in a lecture delivered on August 13, 1951, titled “The Dynamics of Existence,” Hubbard started to stress immortality.

And there is, by the way, far more evidence in existence now in Dianetics as to the immortality of the force of life, regarding the mortality of the organism, than there is against an immortality (Hubbard 1951, 28).

He refers to the evidence gathered through the application of the principles. Later in the same lecture series, he brings back also the term “I” and defines it as “the awareness of awareness” (Hubbard 1951, 146).

With the appearance of the subject of Scientology, the *theta* started to become a sovereign entity with independent existence. I agree with Westbrook that Phoenix, Arizona, is a dominant initial location for Scientology, but I would object to the idea of Phoenix being *the* birthplace (Westbrook 2019, 82). Before settling permanently in Phoenix, Hubbard delivered his last lecture series in Wichita, Kansas, which is known today as *Scientology: Milestone One*. At the very beginning of the first lecture (which had the same title of the whole series), on March 3, 1952, Hubbard proclaimed “This is a course in Scientology,” adding that the word “Scientology” “might seem a little strange” for the audience (Hubbard 1952a, 1).

In the last lecture of the same series, “Principal Incidents on the Theta Line,” delivered on March 10, 1952, Hubbard amalgamated the terms *theta*, “I” and “awareness”:

There is theta-I, or theta individual, which is the individual you are and are aware of being (Hubbard 1952b, 583).

One can see that here the concept of the human individual becomes an independent entity. The conclusion was presented a little more than two months later (on May 20, 1952) in a lecture titled “Decision: Cause and Effect.” It was already delivered in Phoenix as part of the *Route to Infinity* lecture series. Hubbard stated that,

Right here in the middle of “youness” is an imperishable completely indestructible motion source. It is a motion source which itself has no motion. That is your inheritance as part of divine beingness. That is it. And don’t think that is a small part of you or merely a part of you, because it is not. You have immortality in that part of you, which is you; that is immortal. If you didn’t have that, you wouldn’t be here (Hubbard 1952c, 156).

It would be probably difficult to find conclusive evidence, but an Aristotelian influence can be picked up from the formula “motion source which itself has no motion.” The expression echoes Aristotle’s “unmoved mover,” especially if we also put it in context with Hubbard’s “divine beingness” mentioned in the next



sentence. Anyhow, Hubbard here summarizes the characteristics of the human soul or spirit and peremptorily sets Scientology on a dualistic course.

Again very shortly after this lecture, in July 1952, he published the book *History of Man*, where in the second sentence already he introduced the term *thetan*, which will be used therefrom as the Scientology word indicating the individual human soul or spirit (Hubbard 2007d, 1).

From this point, Hubbard drifted more and more away from the “modern science of mental health” idea of Dianetics, towards the idea of Scientology being a religion. In a lecture titled “The Hope of Man” on June 3, 1955, he settled the question:

Now let me say something about this word, religion. You know that religion has a great many meanings—it has great many meanings. It could mean an enormous number of things. And where the public at large turns away from religion, they don't really know what they are turning from. But where they turn away from it, they are turning away from impracticality and that is all they are turning away from. [...] I want to tell you first that we have a practical religion. And before you say, “Religion—grrr,” think of that: It's a practical religion. And religion is the oldest heritage man has. Many, many of those present are ministers. The fact is that we do not fit at all or influence or have any real contact with medicine, certainly not with psychiatry. We do not exist in the tradition of psychology. We could only exist in the field of religion (Hubbard 1955b, 21–22).

When he mentions “impracticality” and “practical,” we may assume the mentioned influence of the Pragmatist atmosphere from Hubbard's early education. Hubbard notes that “religion has great many meanings.” It is hard to argue with that from an academic perspective if by “meaning” we mean definition. Hubbard wrote a text in 1973 titled “Religious Influence in Society,” in which he advocated religion and the positive social influence of religion, and launched the Scientology Volunteer Minister Program (Hubbard 1973). The text is an important source, because Hubbard reveals his choice of the definition of religion,

In a few words, religion can be defined as belief in spiritual beings. More broadly, religion can be defined as a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with the ultimate problems of human life. The quality of being religious implies two things: first, a belief that evil, pain, bewilderment and injustice are fundamental facts of existence; second, a set of practices and related sanctified beliefs that express a conviction that Man can ultimately be saved from those facts (Hubbard 1973, 3).

Looking at this paragraph, there are obvious and not so obvious overlaps with different definitions of religion in the academic field. The first essentialist statement is a clear repetition of the classic animist definition from Edward Burnett Tylor's (1832–1917) milestone book, *Primitive Culture* (Tylor 1871). The rest of the paragraph is a mixture of substantive and functional elements, which implies again the American Pragmatist influence, namely of William James (1842–1910). As Ann Taves summarized:

James [in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, James 1902] defined religion in terms of an uneasiness and its solution, where the solution involves “a sense that we are saved from the wrongness by making proper connection with the higher powers” (Taves 2021, 198).

Hubbard's enumeration of life's hardships and reference to religion supplying the hope of solving the corresponding problems by “a set of practices and related sanctified beliefs” (placing practice in the first place!) bears the Pragmatist mindset of James. A scent of Paul Tillich's (1886–1965) theory of the “ultimate concern” may also be detected here—and since Tillich was a contemporary philosopher-theologian, Hubbard may have met his works—but I did not find any explicit reference to him.

What is more important is that Hubbard committed himself to the Tylorian definition, so that unraveling the religious turn along the evolution of the conception of the spirit seems an appropriate approach. Of course, the critics of Scientology would object that Hubbard matched a definition to his theory, but a) these definitions are still broadly accepted by the academia too, and b) it is very unlikely that Hubbard's way of thinking or intention can be credibly proven in one sense or the other.

While this religious turn occurred in Dianetics-Scientology it is also interesting whether it influenced the practice of Dianetics and Scientology.

### *A Technological Turn?*

The episode of L. Ron Hubbard's biography about studying engineering is widely covered and has been studied by different scholars. An unabridged overview has been published in *The Journal of CESNUR* in 2018 by Ian C. Camacho, titled *Degrees of Truth: Engineering L. Ron Hubbard* (Camacho

2018). I refer to Camacho's article for a discussion of how much L. Ron Hubbard was trained as an engineer. What is beyond reasonable doubt is that he attended science classes. His interest in applying the "engineering attitude" to his methods when approaching the mind in Dianetics, or the *thetan* in Scientology, is proven by the actual processes he developed. I am also not trying to prove or disprove the validity or success of these processes, which is not relevant for this paper, as I am only focusing on his endeavors.

Distinguished scholars have already explored this aspect from different angles. For example, Frank K. Flinn (1939–2015) had already examined Scientology as "technological Buddhism" (Flinn 2009). In this context, he offered a definition of technology.

By technology I mean the linguistic union of *techne* (craft, art, making) with *logos* (word, reason, rationale) so that "knowing" is co[m]penetrated with "making" or "doing" (Flinn 2009, 212).

This definition aptly describes the pragmatic or instrumentalist attitude in Scientology's religious practices. Flinn also solved the problem of how religion and technology can "get along" by citing examples from older religious traditions (Flinn 2009, 212–13).

Hubbard's endeavor to provide standardized procedures can be detected from the earliest publication in which actual methods were presented. In his mainly theoretical first book *Dianetics: The Original Thesis* (1948), he provided the first description of the "auditing technique"—often regarded as "therapy"—and its basics (Hubbard 2007b, 85). Then in *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health (DMSMH)* (originally published on May 9, 1950), which focused on application, he used repeatedly the terms "therapy," "procedures," and "techniques" (Hubbard 2007a).

Barely two months after the publication of *DMSMH*, on July 10, 1950, Hubbard delivered a lecture titled "A Summary of Standard Procedure" (Hubbard 1950b, 151–59). This lecture shows that Hubbard tried to provide its *auditors* (practitioners) with some kind of procedure that they can uniformly apply. Dianetics was fast evolving in those days, which is well demonstrated by the fact that in the very first issue of the publication called *The Dianetic Auditor's Bulletin* (Vol. 1, Issue 1-2, July-August 1950), titled "Standard Procedure,"

Hubbard was already mentioning that the “Standard Procedure” was being revised (Hubbard 1950a, 24).

The next significant development was parallel with the eventual change in the definition of the spirit. Few months after the delivery of the already mentioned *Route to Infinity* lecture series, in October 1952, in the lecture titled “Basic Summary on SOP of Technique 8-80” (Hubbard 1952d), Hubbard introduced “Standard Operating Procedure” (SOP), a social and mechanical engineering term that is said to have emerged in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Nolan 2023). Apparently, he was keeping pace with contemporary terminologies. About a month later, on November 14, 1952, “Standard Operating Procedure Issue 2” was announced (Hubbard 1952e, 303). It will be followed by several further versions of SOPs, up to *SOP 8-0* (Hubbard 2007e, 373).

In early June 1958, in the *Ability* magazine’s issue 76, in the article “Offbeat Processing,” Hubbard stressed the importance of “being standard,” by stating,

*Every process was once experimental. BUT when you want results you had better use standard techniques and procedures. [...] Most clearing “failures” are caused by the use of nonstandard techniques and procedures (Hubbard 1958, 367).*

Then, a period of about ten years passed before he will return to this particular subject in 1968, on the occasion of the delivery of the so-called Class VIII auditor course, which is one of the highest classes for Scientology practitioners. Connected to that, before and in the course, he gave several definitions. The first mention of the term “Standard Tech” I have found is of May 31, 1968:

There is one Tech and that is Standard Tech. [...] Other tech is defined as any tech which is not Standard Tech (Hubbard 1968, 651).

This may be interpreted as the *tertium non datur* (the principle of excluded middle) definition of “Standard Tech,” as it sets that something is either standard or not: there is no third option. On 24 September 1968 in Class VIII, Lecture 1, he added:

[...] that terribly narrow path which we now call standard tech is composed of those things which if they are out inhibit and prohibit all case gain (Hubbard 1975, 403).

The term “out” in such context in Scientology means “missing,” “not done,” “neglected.” On October 15, 1968, in Class VIII, Lecture 19, Hubbard urged “a standardization of processes so that they apply to 100 per cent of the cases to which they are addressed” (Hubbard 1975, 403). Then, on February 26, 1970:

“Standard Tech is not a process or series of processes. It is following the rules of processing” (Hubbard 1970, 33).

In these latter quotes, Hubbard emphasized that “Standard Tech” in fact designates the quality and norms of Scientology religious practices. However, on September 29, 1982, he also indicated where one can find the different items of “Standard Tech”:

“Standard Tech” is contained in the official volumes of the technical services and HCO Bulletins and charts within them and in textbooks on the subject (Hubbard 1982, 1110).

### *Conclusions—Future Directions*

Since this is a research note, very strong conclusions may not be drawn. There can be, however, the hypothetical conclusion that Hubbard was strongly influenced by American Pragmatism by his primary educational and cultural environment and subsequent line of studies together with his education in science and engineering. This educational and cultural combination resulted in his Pragmatist, instrumentalist approach in the development of his mental, later spiritual technology.

Since Hubbard himself regarded the Tylorian animist formula as a valid definition of religion for him (“In a few words, religion can be defined as belief in spiritual beings”: Hubbard 1973, 3), this seems an appropriate approach to examine the development line from Dianetics towards Scientology along the evolution of the concept of the human spirit and spirituality. According to the selected source text data, the actual turn happened between June 1951 and July 1952 gradually, from the *Science of Survival* to the *History of Man* books.

A strong endeavor to standardize the procedures was present from the very early days of Dianetics. It did not change with the spiritual/religious turn, but even grew stronger, culminating in the ideas subsumed under the term “Standard Tech.”

A future direction may be the full mapping of traceable philosophical influences and intersections with different philosophies. This is an ongoing larger study, but research notes such as the present paper may perhaps still assist social

scientists in proposing more complete research designs and contextualizing the subject.

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