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Media vs. Tantric Movements: Applying Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model

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ABSTRACT: Tantric movements almost invariably face hostile media coverage. Their philosophy is often misunderstood or misrepresented, while their members remain largely unheard and suffer discrimination. Yet the journalists who produce content about tantric groups believe in the objectivity and impartiality of their work. This paper, whose author is herself a student at a tantric school that is part of the MISA network, seeks the causes of this discrepancy between how the media treat tantric groups and how the media believe they fulfill their social role of informing the public. It answers the question by applying the propaganda model developed by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky. From this perspective, the media appear as institutions that propagate a mainstream doctrine and manufacture the consent of the masses to government policies, by presenting "us" as the right and just ones and the "other" as deviant and dangerous. In this clash of ideologies, tantric groups are identified as enemies, because transgression of social and ethical norms is a fundamental aspect of tantra, and the media treat them accordingly. The propaganda model is applied to the media coverage of the Osho movement, POYRA, and MISA.

KEYWORDS: Tantra, Media and New Religious Movements, Osho, POYRA, MISA, Gregorian Bivolaru, Media Ethics, Noam Chomsky.

Introduction

New religious movements practicing tantra are a favorite target of journalists, since they tend to supply the media with attractive stories of alleged—or possibly real—sexual or psychological abuse, forced and unpaid labor, money laundering, and human trafficking. With a certain degree of imagination, one may say that tantric new religious movements are like a supermarket for journalists: every time they go there, they find plenty of topics they can turn into a story. Or the other way around: whenever they do not know what to write about, they can pick a tantric new religious movement at random, and they will have enough material for a series of articles. It is an easy and always accessible source of sensational and shocking news.

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Yet those who are members of such a movement, or who study religions and matters of faith, or who simply like to think critically, may perceive a sense of injustice and unfairness when they read or watch the stories appearing in the media, and many questions arise. How is it possible that, almost without exception, when members or leaders of a tantric group are accused of an offense or a crime, journalists automatically apply a presumption of guilt instead of the presumption of innocence embedded in the code of journalistic ethics? Why are journalists not at all open to admitting a version of the story other than the one in which the tantric movement is guilty? Why does journalistic objectivity reach its limits in such situations? Why are tantric movements always portrayed in the media as "cults," and why is their lifestyle presented as deviant?

We can summarize these and similar questions into a single one: what happens to journalistic professionalism when it comes to reporting on tantric groups?

In search of answers, I will apply the propaganda model developed by Edward S. Herman (1925–2017) and Noam Chomsky. Within the structure of this model, the authors describe several concepts that, in my opinion, are also valid for interpreting and understanding the behavior of the media vis-à-vis tantric groups.

As case studies, I use the media coverage of issues related to POYRA, the movement founded in the Czech Republic by Jaroslav Dobeš, known as Guru Jára (and later YahRa); the Osho movement; and MISA, the Movement for Spiritual Integration into the Absolute, founded in Romania by Gregorian Bivolaru.

The Propaganda Model

The American linguist, philosopher, and social critic Noam Chomsky developed the propaganda model as an alternative explanation of the position and role of the media in society, and as a tool for understanding the mechanisms of media production. The propaganda model is a counter-theory to liberal theories that regard the media as independent institutions.

Chomsky presented the propaganda model in the book *Manufacturing Consent*, co-authored with Edward S. Herman, first published in 1988 and since republished several times. For Herman and Chomsky, the relationship between the media, the ruling power, and economic interests is a complex one. While the media maintain the appearance of being free institutions, certain structural mechanisms

are in reality at work that ensure their conformity with the dominant ideology and the dominant economic interests.

According to Chomsky, the media play a key role in supporting the powerful societal interests that control and finance them. This supportive role consists in advancing the important agendas and principles of these powerful groups (owners, advertisers, and those who provide content for the news, or the "experts" used as news sources). In turn, control over the media is exercised by shaping and constraining media policy, which is achieved "by the selection of right-thinking personnel and by the editors' and working journalists' internalization of priorities and definitions of newsworthiness that conform to the institution's policy" (Herman and Chomsky 2002, xi).

Chomsky, as a political theorist, was interested in the connection between the media and the US government, namely in how the media report on government policies. He and Herman examined the news coverage of several major wars the United States waged in the second half of the twentieth century and compared it with the way journalists reported on other wars in which presumably "enemy" states, such as the USSR, were engaged.

In their surveys, Herman and Chomsky discovered an interesting aspect. The very same action, even a drastic one costing thousands of human lives (for instance, heavy bombing of a populated rural area), was framed as acceptable—as a necessary sacrifice for the greater good of the world, or as legitimate defense—if carried out by the US Army, and condemned as genocide, mass murder, or an atrocity if committed by a state hostile to the United States. Such differing reporting reveals an ideological conflict, or a tendency to present one ideology as right and the other as wrong. Two almost identical actions are described by journalists in different terms and framed as different, and the presence of these differences points to an underlying ideological conflict.

In the following sections, I select some of Herman and Chomsky's concepts and apply them to the media image of tantric groups. It should be noted that Herman and Chomsky studied the structure and performance of the media, not the effects of media production on the public. Their theory is nonetheless valid for explaining how the media behave when they create a particular narrative carrying a particular message.

Ideology

Herman and Chomsky do not believe that the media are impartial, neutral, and independent. In the theory they advance, media messages circulate a certain ideology and integrate the audience into it, "manufacturing consent" of the population to economic, social, and political policies. In their words:

> The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society (Herman and Chomsky 2002, 1).

The authors also note that, even though journalists firmly believe their work is neither influenced nor controlled by anyone and that they exercise the freedom of the press in full objectivity,

> the same underlying power sources that own the media and fund them as advertisers, that serve as primary definers of the news, and that produce flak and proper-thinking experts, also play a key role in fixing basic principles and the dominant ideologies (Herman and Chomsky 2002, xi).

Interestingly, dissent and anti-institutional criticism are allowed to a certain extent, so that "while their presence shows that the system is not monolithic, they are not large enough to interfere unduly with the domination of the official agenda" (Herman and Chomsky 2002, xii).

Ideology is not propagated by being formally imposed. Only in totalitarian regimes do we encounter explicit rules for journalists that are codified, applied, and enforced: it is desirable to write about this topic, it is desirable to show the leaders in a positive light, and so on. According to Herman and Chomsky, the persistence of an ideology is secured by subtler means, through the internalization of its values. As Chomsky writes:

> Those who occupy managerial positions in the media, or gain status within them as commentators, belong to the same privileged elites, and might be expected to share the perceptions, aspirations, and attitudes of their associates, reflecting their own class interests as well. Journalists entering the system are unlikely to make their way unless they conform to these ideological pressures, generally by internalizing the values; it is not easy to say one thing and believe another, and those who fail to conform will tend to be weeded out by familiar mechanisms (Chomsky 1999, 19).

Chomsky adds that

> to confront power is costly and difficult; high standards of evidence and argument are imposed, and critical analysis is naturally not welcomed by those who are in a position to

> react vigorously and to determine the array of rewards and punishments. Conformity to a "patriotic agenda," in contrast, imposes no such costs (Chomsky 1999, 19).

The ideology Herman and Chomsky discuss is unspoken, unexpressed, and invisible, because it lies at the very foundation of the way media personnel think. Journalists never identify it as such, but it can be inferred from verbal cues and discourse. While for Herman and Chomsky the dominant ideology was anti-communism, in the context of this paper we can understand ideology in a very general sense, as a set of life values and moral principles.

When analyzing media discourse on tantric groups, we encounter strong and intense disapproval whenever the tantric group is organized, has a leader, practices certain secret techniques, and engages in erotic activities between individuals outside a traditional couple relationship. The media reacted in this way, for example, to the tantra-practicing group established in the United States by Pierre Bernard (1875–1955), nicknamed by the American press "the Loving Guru." Similar media strategies were later applied to Osho Rajneesh (1931–1990), and, in recent times, to YahRa and POYRA, and to MISA.

When tantra is practiced individually rather than in a large organized group, and is kept away from spiritual purposes, the media present it in a favorable light, as an exotic therapeutic approach that helps people improve their sexual satisfaction and connect with themselves. An example is the BBC Reel video of April 30, 2020, on the tantra teacher Christina Low, entitled "The Tantra Teacher Giving Millennials 'Orgasms' in Singapore" (BBC Reel 2020). Christina Low uses breathing techniques, without any intimate physical interaction with her clients. Similarly, in *Brainz Magazine* we find an interview from June 30, 2025, with Stacie Steinbock, who received "an advanced certification from the only government-accredited Tantra program in the world," and who also downplays the religious nature of tantra, focusing instead on "healing, pleasure, and deep connection" (*Brainz Magazine* 2025).

Practicing tantra is also considered acceptable (or cool, or attractive) for celebrities who do not mention how or where they learned it, as in the cases of Sting, Raquel Welch, or Mae West.

The varying attitude of the media was also noticed by Joseph Laycock (2009) in his paper on the marketing of yoga to the American public. Laycock writes about the already mentioned Pierre Bernard, who, after facing accusations of abduction and being accused by the press of running a "love cult," abandoned his original

esoteric strategy of exotic mystique and shifted to an exoteric strategy of demystifying yoga and tantra, teaching them as preventive medicine rather than as religious practice:

> New religious movements tend to meet less resistance in America when they resemble Bernard's exoteric strategy. By contrast, groups that follow Bernard's first strategy, featuring initiatory knowledge, charismatic leaders with miraculous abilities, and prescribed forms of dress and behavior are typically regarded with suspicion (Laycock 2009, 1; see Laycock 2013).

If tantra is taught by a tantric master or expert in an organized group, including secret initiations, journalists express doubts and disapproval. Their objections are of two kinds.

The first is that no mentally sane person would engage in such tantric practices without being manipulated into them. This conviction was expressed, for example, by Rowan Deacon, director of the Apple TV series *Twisted Yoga*, in an interview with Nick Vivarelli for *Variety*, published on March 5, 2026:

> The key thing that drew me to the project is: what were the mechanics? What was the system? What was the kind of boiling frog syndrome that meant that these worldly, educated, interesting people had got themselves involved in a set of ideologies and beliefs that ultimately, perhaps, didn't serve them (Vivarelli 2026).

The second is that the idea of reaching spiritual evolution through eroticism is a lie: tantra teachers are fakes, who only seek power over naive people, their money, and sexual pleasure through exploitation.

The ideology promoted by the media thus appears to be one of secularism, even atheism. The ideology identified as dangerous—the "tantric" ideology, if there has ever been one—rests on disobedience to official institutions, which are replaced in their normative role by the spiritual teacher, or even directly by God. It can be argued, at this point, that the conflict of ideologies is in this case a conflict of authority. In a secular or atheistic society, the key themes and values are personal well-being and the harmony of a religion-free society, ensured by one's submission to political authority. The main values of a tantric practitioner, by contrast, are his or her pleasure and the Divine, speaking through the voice of the guru. As a transgressor of norms, the tantric practitioner is feared by the authority governing worldly affairs, because he or she is uncontrollable and unpredictable, and in this ideological war the authority seeks to bring him or her under control.

Defining the Enemy

For any ideology, the universe is divided between Us and the Other. What "We" do is always good and well intended, even though we may sometimes fail, while what the Other does is always evil. In Herman and Chomsky's findings, the dichotomy was between anti-communists and communists. Whatever the anti-communists did, however brutal or unjust, was presented as an achievement and the right thing to do, or at least as an unwise action taken with the best interests at heart. The actions of the communist side, by contrast, were portrayed in the darkest colors, as deliberate evil and proof of thoroughly malevolent intentions.

Tantric practitioners have always had a reputation, if not as enemies of mainstream society, certainly as outsiders. The nature of tantra is, and has always been, secretive (Timalsina 2011, 274). Tantric practices in India differ greatly from those in Europe and America: in India they are not necessarily sexual, while Western forms focus predominantly on the sexual element (Urban 2009, 2024). Western forms of tantra are also characterized by increasing secularization, brought about by commercialization and the capitalist Western environment (Timalsina 2011; Urban 2022). Still, tantra in its Western forms maintains, or even further develops, its "counter-cultural and anti-social aspect" (Timalsina 2011, 281), with transgression of norms at its core. Thus,

> although there are numerous incompatibilities between the experiments with Tantra in India and the West, the fundamental social character that Tantrics are "outsiders" or intruders upon the pure domain of religion and transgressors of norms, is consistent (Timalsina 2011, 282).

It is easy to understand that tantric practitioners, notorious transgressors of norms, automatically become enemy figures for any dominant ideology within which they find themselves. Another element in defining the enemy is generalization: the inherent conviction that all members of the "enemy" side are the same. Just as all the "commies" of old were the same, so are all tantric practitioners.

We find this generalized image of depraved tantric practitioners, for example, in media coverage of Osho and his movement. Since the subject of this paper is the media image of tantric groups, I leave aside the discussion of the alleged crimes and examine only how the media handle the situation.

Journalists have presented many stories of alleged victims of the Osho movement, including in the Netflix series *Wild Wild Country* (Way and Way 2018). Articles and films use the same narrative model: a victim's testimony. The alleged victims, who benefit from a presumption of sincerity, describe their life in Osho's community. For example, we read in anti-cult activist Anke Richter's interview with Sarito "Ma Prem" Carroll in *1News*, entitled "Survivor of Infamous Osho Cult Speaks on Sexual Abuse She Endured from Age 10" and published on September 14, 2025:

> Open relationships were the norm. Young women got sterilised because the master didn't want children, claiming they would hinder spiritual development. [...] Carroll estimates that 80 % of the approximately 40 teenagers on the ranch were sleeping with adults. She knows of one girl who was with 70 men before the age of 16. Another with 150 (Richter 2025).

As Chomsky notes, "charges against official enemies barely require substantiation" (Chomsky 1999, 20). The words of the victims are taken a priori as true and then generalized and applied to all members of the movement. In this herd, there are only black sheep.

Once the public enemy has been identified, the next logical step is to detect and destroy him. In this holy war in the name of moral purity, journalists eagerly take on the role of protectors of public safety, abandoning their role as impartial observers and forgetting the ethical rules of religious tolerance and the presumption of innocence. Hence we find TV series, series of news articles, and podcast series that not only target tantric groups, with journalists often going undercover in such groups and presenting shocking revelations, but also track down their members and destroy their public image by any means.

In the Czech Republic, two members of POYRA recently lost their jobs (one was a high school teacher, the other a university teacher) after a media outlet (*CNN Prima News*) informed their superiors of their ideological affiliation. The initiative came entirely from the media, since the teachers were not under any criminal investigation and their students had never complained about them.

Calling a tantric movement a cult is a ready-made and fully effective way of discrediting the group, with no further explanation needed or demanded by the public.

Sometimes journalists even pose as experts on cults. We can observe this trend in the interviews with Rowan Deacon and Suzanne Lavery, makers of the Apple TV

series *Twisted Yoga*, who are presented as qualified to give opinions on the case of MISA and Gregorian Bivolaru.

In an interview with Scott Fishman for *TV Insider* on March 10, 2026, Rowan Deacon says:

> We need to check the files and files and find if it was true, and it had been true because the Romania part nobody had pulled it together in the longform. So we're having to do a lot of first-hand research to understand that. [...] Of course, he [Gregorian Bivolaru] denies the allegations which the film sets out. In terms of where it's going next, one hopes there will be a trial, but the schools are all still opening and functioning (Fishman 2026).

In the Czech context, the journalist Valerie Fišrová of *CNN Prima News* infiltrated POYRA and acted as a member for one year. After she published articles about her experiences, other media quoted her as a specialist on POYRA, or even invited her for interviews, such as the one with Marek Pausz on *CNN Prima News* on May 4, 2025 (*CNN Prima News* 2025).

Unworthy Victims

Herman and Chomsky introduce the notion of "unworthy victims" to show how the media sustain official narratives and side with the government in its conflicts with internal or external actors: "A propaganda system will consistently portray people abused in enemy states as *worthy* victims, whereas those treated with equal or greater severity by its own government or clients will be *unworthy*" (Herman and Chomsky 2002, 37). The distinction manifests itself in the extent and degree of attention and indignation. Unworthy victims are either ignored or reported on only briefly, without sympathy, compassion, or much attention. Worthy victims, on the contrary, are depicted as martyrs and heroes, and their suffering is widely publicized.

We can say that members of tantric groups who have been subjected to brutal police operations or to media crusades receive no sympathy and almost no space in the media. The public knows nothing about them, or, if it does, they are presented as deserving such treatment because of their deviant beliefs. From the perspective of the dominant ideology, a tantric group has only two kinds of members: the indoctrinated, who keep the organization running, and those who have awakened from their indoctrination and are now on a quest to save their fellow members.

One example is that of the victims of the French police raids against MISA in November 2023, which led to the arrest of its founder, Gregorian Bivolaru. There is no chance to hear in the mainstream media the voices of those who were arrested and interrogated, speaking about their harsh treatment by police officers and their experiences in French detention. These testimonies were made available not by the mainstream media but in isolated interviews with human rights activists, such as the reports written in 2024 by Willy Fautré for Human Rights Without Frontiers (e.g., Fautré 2024). The media consistently tell the story of victims who were so thoroughly manipulated that they did not even want to press charges against their alleged abusers. On the other hand, the media are silent about the fact that these "victims" filed complaints against the French police. Their suffering in French cells and their trauma are not "worthy," because they have been indoctrinated into a deviant ideology and, as such, do not merit sympathy.

Another example of unworthy victims are the two members of POYRA who lost their jobs after the media tracked them down and disclosed their private activities to their employers. Even these victims of a media campaign—entirely innocent people who suffered the loss of their jobs, of their economic security, and of their dignity—are treated without any care or sympathy.

According to the propaganda model, if an enemy state does the very same thing, the victims will be "worthy" of media attention and glorified, and the enemy state will be depicted as intolerant, cruel, and a violator of basic human rights.

If we look for media coverage of religious persecution, we find passionate articles about the Russian government discriminating against faiths other than Orthodox Christianity. In *Time* magazine, we find an emotional story by Peter Pomerantsev, published on April 20, 2024, which opens with a detailed description of the torture that Azat Azatyan suffered at the hands of Russian forces in occupied southern Ukraine because of his Baptist faith. The account of his inhuman treatment is followed by a list of other Protestant denominations facing persecution (Pomerantsev 2024).

In this case, indignation is powerfully expressed, with the purpose of showing the "enemy" country as thoroughly evil. Yet if two people in Central Europe lose their jobs because of their faith, as members of what has been labeled a "cult," the media celebrate it as a step toward greater public safety.

Another example of this double standard is an article by Christopher Giles and Julia Luft on *BBC News*, published on May 15, 2026, and entitled "Brutal Raid on Woman's Birthday Party Highlights Rise of Russian Vigilante Group" (Giles and Luft 2026).

The main victim, Katya, was celebrating her thirtieth birthday and organized a party in a nightclub for the occasion. The venue was stormed by masked members of the Russian vigilante group Russkaya Obshina (Russian Community), who began to attack Katya's friends physically and verbally, calling them "faggots and lesbians." Russkaya Obshina was allegedly searching for evidence of "LGBT propaganda," which is illegal in Russia. Katya, "well-known in her home city of Arkhangelsk for hosting parties for an alternative crowd," was later convicted of offending the feelings of believers and sentenced to 200 hours of community service because of a red neon light in the shape of a cross in the nightclub.

Here, the journalists sympathize with Katya. They describe how an intolerant member of Russkaya Obshina told her that "she did not conform with traditional values and there was 'something wrong with her,'" and Katya herself explains how "she now lives in fear because coverage of her case in the local media, and on Russkaya Obshina's social channels, has led to widespread online harassment." The aim of Russkaya Obshina, we are told, is to forcefully remove "Western liberalism, and promote traditional family-orientated values."

When the French police raided the houses where MISA yogis were living, there was also "something wrong" with the yogis. The difference is that the French police, unlike Russkaya Obshina, were deemed to be right.

To some extent, it can be said that, from the victims' perspective, the two situations were similar. Both the MISA yogis and Katya and her friends were in places they legally owned or rented, they were minding their own private business, and they were suddenly raided by police or police-like forces, attacked, harassed, interrogated, and eventually punished for simply having a different lifestyle. Yet in the MISA case the police are shown as doing the right thing, guided solely by good and lawful intentions in the best interest of the public and protecting society from a sinister "yoga organized crime group," while in the second case the police are shown as intruding into the private sphere, violating people's human rights, and imposing totalitarian values.

We can also compare the images and descriptions used. To this day, the media circulate video footage of the 2004 Romanian police raid on MISA ashrams, showing heavily armed police officers breaking down doors and defenseless yogis lying on the floor under threatening guns. The interpretation is always that of justified police force used against suspected human traffickers, a glorification of state power taking action against criminals, even though subsequent investigations did not confirm any of the suspicions and the yogis were ultimately awarded financial compensation for their traumatic experience (which, once again, the media do not mention). In Katya's case, the same picture appears, with a person lying on the floor with bound hands, and the caption reads: "Law enforcement (pictured holding a guest on the floor) joined the raid on Katya's party." In the Russian case, the BBC depicts the raid as brutal, unjustified, excessive, and abusive.

The Bounds of the Expressible

Apart from the assumptions silently taken for granted, an ideology can also be identified through what cannot be thought or expressed. If some of these inexpressible ideas are eventually expressed, they meet with a powerful public or professional backlash and with indignation, and their author is accused of being an apologist for criminals. As Chomsky writes,

> the system protects itself with indignation against a challenge to the right of deceit in the service of power, and the very idea of subjecting the ideological system to rational inquiry elicits incomprehension or outrage, though it is often masked in other terms (Chomsky 1999, 20).

In the case of political propaganda, Herman and Chomsky give the example of the impossibility of ever stating that the United States "invaded" a country, even when this is objectively what happened. Instead, journalists use expressions such as "protecting peace," "supporting fragile democracies," or even "defending itself" (Herman and Chomsky 2002).

When the media report on tantric groups, there are several ideas that are never expressed, because they simply seem absurd or impossible to journalistic minds. The first is that tantra practitioners can achieve genuine spiritual results and reach union with the Divine through tantra. The second is that erotic interaction is a valid gateway to the sacred, just like a mass, a sermon, a prayer, a meditation, a

pilgrimage, a song of worship, or any other spiritual or religious practice in the world. The third is that women who take part in erotic initiations with a "guru" can do so of their own free will, fully responsible for their actions, and not necessarily because they have been indoctrinated or manipulated.

In media narratives, consensual participation in tantric initiations or activities involving a teacher or a therapist and including erotic elements is inconceivable. In media discourse, women who complain of having been sexually abused by a tantric leader are automatically considered to have been raped. Any other interpretation is rejected, and whoever suggests it is accused of diminishing the victims' suffering, of siding with the perpetrators, or of lacking common sense. If someone points out that, after all, it is for the courts to decide whether women who complained of sexual abuse consented freely or not, and that their conscious consent is perfectly plausible, the reaction is that "it is impossible," followed by accusations of being an apologist for rapists. As Chomsky writes,

> a challenge to the underlying patriotic assumption is virtually unthinkable within the mainstream and, if permitted expression, would be dismissed as a variety of ideological fanaticism, an absurdity, even if backed by overwhelming evidence (Chomsky 1999, 21).

This also explains why members of tantric groups are excluded from media debates by default: for the media, they embody ideological fanaticism and absurdity, even when they offer overwhelming evidence.

Conclusion

As we have seen, media content on tantric groups tends to follow the principles of the propaganda model advanced by Herman and Chomsky: defining and fighting the ideological enemy; supporting the dominant ideology by classifying the victims of its own side as unworthy, in contrast to the worthy victims of enemy states; and avoiding what is inconceivable and inexpressible. According to Chomsky, it would be naive to expect anything else: "the very structure of the media is designed to induce conformity to established doctrine" (Chomsky 1999, 21).

The dominant ideology that emerges from media discourse on tantra is one of traditional values, atheism, and secularism, with traces of puritanism. The media protect it by identifying and stigmatizing any dissent. It can also be argued that the conflict between these ideologies is a conflict of authority and power, in which a secular system seeks to keep tantric practitioners under scrutiny. Given the

transgression of norms inherent in tantra, tantric groups will always appear as a threat to established power, because of their otherness and because their values differ from the secular and atheistic values of the majority.

It can therefore be said that, when reporting on tantric groups, journalists are ideologically motivated. Their ideology is the everyday common-sense ideology of modern society, which has expelled faith and God beyond the borders of the thinkable, and does not know how to relate to those who still believe in the Divine and even believe that they can meet it face to face in this life, through erotic union.

This modern secular ideology is so deeply ingrained that it becomes invisible, even to journalists themselves. Chomsky expresses this masterfully:

> Journalists often meet a high standard of professionalism in their work, exhibiting courage, integrity, and enterprise, including many of those who report for media that adhere closely to the predictions of the propaganda model. There is no contradiction here. What is at issue is not the honesty of the opinions expressed or the integrity of those who seek the facts but rather the choice of topics and highlighting of issues, the range of opinion permitted expression, the unquestioned premises that guide reporting and commentary, and the general framework imposed for the presentation of a certain view of the world (Chomsky 1999, 23–4).

It is worth noting that, unlike LGBTQ+ sexual orientations, which have become socially accepted as part of "who the person was born," membership in a tantric group is perceived as a mental condition or the result of indoctrination. If being "a tantric" could be classified as an innate sexual orientation, perhaps tantric practitioners would enjoy greater freedom and acceptance.

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