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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science by Christopher F. Silver

TRAINING OF OBSERVERS IN RISK RITUALS OF THE MANASA SECT OF
HINDUISM AND SERPENT HANDLING SECTS OF APPALACHIA

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science in the Department of Psychology.

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A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science Degree

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

[Faint background text listing faculty names and departments: Charles Lewis - Religious Studies, Stephen Eskildsen - Religious Studies, William Harman - Religious Studies]

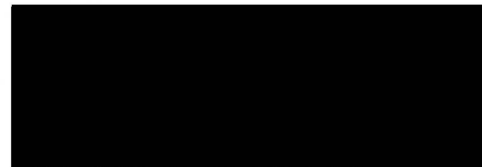
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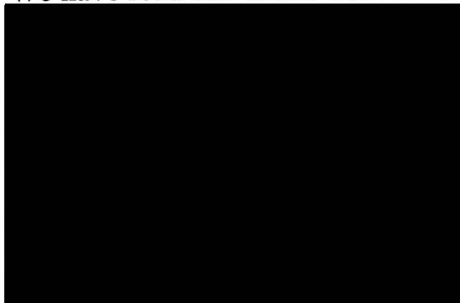
To the Graduate Council

I am submitting a thesis by Christopher F. Silver entitled "Training of Observers in risk rituals of the Manasa sect of Hinduism and Serpent Handling Sects of Appalachia." I have examined the final copy of this thesis and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Masters of Science with a major in Research Psychology.



Ralph Hood, Chairperson

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:



David Ross - Psychology

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Abstract

This study proposes to examine observer attitudes. Any ritual action that has the potential for injury or death, will be coined a religious risk ritual (RR). Observers will examine examples of video from the Manasa Hindu tradition in India and the Pentecostal and Holiness Serpent Handling traditions (SHS) of the southern Appalachian Mountain region of the United States. While training had no overall effect, study participants perceived the Manasa religious ritual as being more legitimate than the SHS religious ritual. Participants accepted of existence of a religious risk ritual cross-culturally but were biased against it in the southeastern United States.

Training of Observers in risk rituals of the Manasa sect of
Hinduism and Serpent Handling Sects of Appalachia and

Serpent Handling Sects of Appalachia that
have While psychologists of religion have proposed several
multi-dimensional models of religion including ritual as a
characteristic, none has extensively studied religious
ritual. Although no single model is universally accepted,
the major models of religion all propose that ritual is one
of the dimensions that characterize religion (Hood, Spilka,
Hunsburger, & Gorsuch, 1998 pg. 7-14). Anthropologists
(Bell, 1997; Heinze, 2000; Turner 1969) have done most of
the empirical research on ritual within the social
sciences. It is not clear if the psychologists of religion
rely on an anthropological definition of religious ritual
or assume that the concept of ritual is obvious. Catherine
Bell's (1997) model of ritual most closely represents a
model that characterizes religious ritual psychologically.

Catherine Bell (1997) notes many different rituals and
how they function. She states that many ritual-like
activities serve a purpose for groups or societies. Ritual
elements can be found within academia with graduation
ceremonies, the political arena with induction ceremonies
of politicians, and religious groups with many rites of
passage ceremonies such as baptisms, bar mitzvahs, etc.

Ritual is a physical manifestation in action and belief of deeper devotion and symbolism.

Bell (1997 pg. 138-169) states that activities that have "ritual like action" have several characteristics. The first is formality or that which is restrictive in speech and behavior and is appropriate only within the context of the ritual. Formalism requires proper speech and action, while forcing the leader and audience not to break a routinized behavior pattern within the context (Bell, 1997 pg. 139-144).

Another characteristic of ritual is traditionalism. Traditionalism is a set of activities that has remained consistent over time. To be traditional is to try to replicate those beliefs, behaviors, and actions exhibited in times past. According to Bell (1997 pg. 145-150), traditionalism adds legitimization to the activity.

Invariance is another characteristic of Bell's (1997 pg. 150-153) ritual theory. Invariance is the controlled set of actions and behaviors that are marked by precise repetition and physical control. Invariance is the molding, shaping, and adjusting of behavior through repetition over time.

An additional characteristic is rule-governance. Rule-governance is control over the activity by tradition or by

leaders of the activity. Rules provide limitation of what behavior is appropriate and what behavior is not (Bell, 1997 pg. 153-155).

Symbolism is another characteristic of ritual. Symbolism occurs when an object, image, or physical representation becomes imbued with emotion, personal significance, or an idea. Symbols can be a rallying point for people and have a deeper meaning than they appear to have on the outside (Bell, 1997 pg. 155-159).

The final characteristic of Bell's model is performance. Bell (1997 pg. 159-164) states that performance can overlap with other characteristics by being "the deliberate, self-conscious doing" of different symbolic actions and activities. They provide a multi-sensory experience for the participant by allowing the participant to cognize the world within the ritual context (Bell, 1997 pg. 159-164).

While Bell's (1997) model generalizes to most forms of ritual, it does not explore aspects that are uniquely present in religious ritual nor does it help define interpretations of the transcendent.

The present study modified Bell's (1997) ritual theory to produce a ritual model with specific characteristics that can be generalized to most religious rituals. This

religious model can be operationalized with many different religious traditions.

One purpose of this paper is to operationally define ritual within a psychological-theoretical framework, as it appears across the different multi-dimensional models of religion in psychology of religion literature. None of the religious models used by psychologists thoroughly examines ritual in and of itself. In addition to providing a working definition of ritual, this study will examine factors affecting outside observer's perception of their legitimacy. Southeastern outside observers will likely rely on knowledge from cultural norms when making judgments about religious rituals, especially rituals that elicit potential harm, actual harm, or death. This study will assess if education in religious ritual theory has any effect on attitudes toward rituals that deviate from the social norms of southeastern American society and if change in observers' attitudes toward different types of religious rituals could be assessed. By including a cognitive or ritual recognition measure and emotional or ritual legitimacy measure, this study can determine if outside observers recognize and perceive ritual characteristics.

After modifying the Bell (1997) ritual theory with our own interpretations of religious ritual, we can then

educate observers to recognize religious ritual regardless of the level of risk exhibited in the religious ritual. This study proposes to examine when emotional or cognitive rejection toward a religious group occurs. This study ~~is not~~ proposes to examine when emotional or cognitive rejection toward certain religious rituals occurs and whether the emotional or cognitive rejection is based on careful reasoning of the culture or risk factors. It is suggested that there is a threshold or limitation of acceptable religious behavior within the southeast United States. For each outside observer, religious behavioral acceptance may differ but the majority of southeastern American society may accept only certain types of religious behavior that do not challenge current social norms.

In addition, southeastern American society may accept only certain types of behaviors that exist outside of the observer's cultural context. It is suggested that culture plays a significant role in what is acceptable religious ritual by outside observers. If southeastern observers view a religious risk ritual that occurs outside of the observers own cultural context, they are more likely to accept it as legitimate practice for the ritual participants than a risk ritual that occurs within a religious tradition similar to that of the observer (e.g.

Hood, Morris & Williamson, 1999). This phenomenon will be called the outsider effect. This is when one will view a tradition that is completely independent of one's own culture and is more likely to accept it because it does not interact with it within one's own culture. If one can be educated on what characterizes religious ritual, then a researcher could control for cross-cultural perceptions of religious rituals that can elicit potential for harm, actual harm, or death.

Two such risk ritual traditions that have emerged in religious studies literature and will be examined. The first, serpent handling sects, is unique to the region in and around southern Appalachia. The second is the Manasa sect of Hinduism that handles serpents in India. The modified ritual theory will be used to train people to appreciate the legitimacy of religious ritual cross culturally and hence to appreciate the religious significance of rituals that can maim or even kill the ritual participants.

Characteristics of ritual

There are eight factors that best define religious ritual cross culturally. For a clear example of religious ritual in American society, a Methodist church service will be an example of each point. Each religious ritual factor

will be followed with an aspect of a typical Methodist religious service and a corresponding explanation.

One, ritual is contextual. Ritual behavior is appropriate only within a specific setting. An example of ritual context is a Methodist church service where communion is performed. The Methodist church congregation with its pastor is required to facilitate the practice of communion. The church congregation and the specific space used are the context of the practice. Ritual context is similar to Bell's (1997 pg. 139-144) aspect of formalism, where speech and behavior are restrictive within formal space. However, in this ritual theory, the practice method and religious space are flexible based on the appropriateness of the moment or the rules and edicts of the tradition.

Two, ritual is traditional. It has established patterns of shared meaning within a group that persist over time (Bell, 1997 pg. 145-150). An example of this would be Methodist church services that have continued the similar format of worship and style of service for one hundred years. A church participant would find similar church services to those a hundred years ago. Traditionalism is keeping with the practices of the past through cultural

continuity of religious customs even as some aspects of the ritual change (Bell, 1997 pg. 145-150).

Three, ritual is episodic. It varies in length but begins and ends at specific times. There is a recognized moment in time when the atmosphere changes and the religious ritual participants become aware of the beginning and the ending of the religious activity. An example of this is when the Methodist church service begins with a preacher or leader welcoming the congregation to the service and the service ends with the closing prayer of the service.

Four, ritual is repetitive. It has a routinized pattern of similar behavior and meaning that can be identified with minor variation. Each service may vary in action (e.g. song, prayer, and sermon), but typically there is a similar set of actions that will occur in every service with minor variation. This religious ritual repetitiveness has antecedents in Bell's (1997 pg. 150-153) concept of invariance.

Five, ritual is a performance. A participant or participants enact the action for an individual, audience or deity. In a Methodist church, a minister's sermon is an example of a performance for a group. Prayer is a performance for a deity or one's inner enlightened quality

as in Vajrayana Buddhism. Performance is ritual actionayer performed for an individual, audience, or deity (Bell, 1997 pg. 159-164).

The following three characteristics are what specifically define ritual as a religious ritual.

Six, religious ritual is symbolic. It is a commitment to a set of representative behaviors that is not literally understood by outsiders unfamiliar with the beliefs of the tradition (Bell, 1997 pg. 155-159). Religious rituals employ symbols. These symbols represent the transcendent. They can have a deeper auspicious meaning that is realized only to the believing participants. Transcendence is experienced in and through these symbols, which point to or suggest this reality without exhausting it. Methodist communion is not the literal body and blood of Christ. Rather, it is representative in the Methodist tradition of the sacrifice that Christ made for humankind's sins.

Seven, religious ritual elicits a sense of the transcendent. It allows the participant to experience a transcendent world as defined by tradition. This may include a sense of the presence of God or gods or of a dimension of reality felt to be ultimate or absolute. The experience of transcendence includes an assurance that what is experienced is objectively real and not simply the

product of imagination or wishful thinking. Through prayer and worship, the Methodist is in the presence of God. The church service gives the congregation a special place to pray and ask for forgiveness from the transcendent, which in the Methodist tradition is God. The service gives the participant a place to interact and experience the transcendent.

Eight, religious ritual empowers the participants within the context of the beliefs in the tradition. For a Methodist, prayer and song empower the participant to experience God. Religious ritual empowers the participants within the context of the beliefs of the tradition. Ritual participants are empowered to act through a sense of the transcendent. This action can be manifest in a variety of ways as defined by the tradition. The sermon empowers the participant to learn how to become a better Christian and a better person. Thus, through religious rituals, participants engage in meaningful symbolic acts that empower them through a sense of transcendence that is both defined and sustained by their religious tradition.

This study will examine observer ability to recognize rituals cross culturally using the modified ritual theory. The focus of this study is upon rituals that involve four conditions: first a ritual without injury; second, a ritual

with the potential of risk and injury; third, a ritual where the participants are injured as a result of the practice; fourth, a ritual where a participant is killed by the practice. By examining these particular conditions of risk, researcher will have a better understanding if ritual legitimacy is based on levels of risk or just a risky action itself. Two cultural conditions will be examined: the ritual of serpent handling (SHS) in the Southern Appalachian Mountain region of the United States and the Manasa serpent handling sect of Hinduism.

Serpent handling as ritual

Serpent handling as a religious practice appeared within the first ten years of the twentieth century. The religious practice appeared in east Tennessee and spread to other parts of the Southern Appalachian Mountain region of the United States. While many different groups, both Holiness and Pentecostal enact the practice, the serpent handling groups (SHS) themselves have no parent organization that binds them together. What binds the groups together is a sharing in diversity of belief with similar religious practices (Burton, 1993 pg. 20-21). Serpent handling sects are historically and philosophically linked to three forms of American Protestantism: Holiness, fundamentalism, and Pentecostalism, although typically many

groups would identify their membership as Holiness (Hood, found in Brown & McDonald, 2000). Historically, Holiness is associated with John Wesley and the early Methodist tradition. One would find the current Methodist tradition today accepted by the American religious community and hardly controversial, whereas serpent-handling churches lack social or legal acceptance in most states. Literal interpretation of the Bible defines the world view of the serpent handler. The world of the serpent handler is defined through the fundamental principles of the Bible.

Fundamentalism emerged in the second decade of the last century as orthodox and biblically literal in philosophy and belief. Fundamentalists wholly and unconditionally accept the Bible as the word of God. While serpent handlers do not identify themselves as fundamentalists they do try to live their lives as mandated by the word of God. Interpretation of the day of Pentecost is the common link that the serpent handlers share with mainstream Pentecostalism. It is said in the Bible in Acts 2 that during the day of Pentecost the apostles were filled with the Holy Spirit. The modern Pentecostal groups trace their origins back to the day of Pentecost. These contemporary groups want to experience the Holy Spirit. Many of them practice some or all signs of Mark 16:

And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover. So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. (Mark 16: 15-18, KJV)

The serpent handler is filled in the Holy Spirit or an emotional validation of God's power and presence. Acts 2 is a textual explanation for feeling spiritually and emotionally anointed.

Acts 2 also validates the signs of Mark 16 by biblically linking speaking in tongues, signs, and wonders.

Acts 2 verse 4 states,

And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. (Acts 2: 4, KJV)

Acts 2 verse 43 states,

And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles. (Acts 2: 43, KJV)

The events expressed in Acts 2 link the day of Pentecost to signs of Mark 16. Mark 16 is the commission in which the Bible clearly states what religious actions "those who believe" shall perform. This is true of many other Pentecostal churches. While some embraced all the signs of Mark 16, others accepted the less controversial signs such as speaking in tongues, healing of the sick, and in some cases casting out of demons (Hood, 1998 pg. 79-81).

In many new religious traditions, there are those who inspire new interpretations of religious practice and embrace philosophical change. Historically for the serpent handlers, that individual was George Hensley, who is considered the founder of contemporary serpent handling. He was associated with the Church of God [Cleveland, TN] although later he resigned his ministry with the organization. The early Church of God [Cleveland, TN] was the greatest driving force for serpent handling with the practice promoted by evangelists and Church of God missionaries. After a short time, the practices of serpent handling and conditional drinking of poison were opposed by individuals within the Church of God. Eventually the drive

to become a mainstream denomination would move least once a congregations away from the controversial signs of Mark 16, and to this day the practice of serpent handling is aggressively shunned by mainstream Church of God [Cleveland, Tennessee]. In some states laws were enacted against the practice. These laws are the fine line between religious freedom and socially acceptable religious behavior (Burton, 1993).

An examination of a SHS religious service is necessary within this paper to understand the practice of serpent handling and the antecedents of religious ritual theory in this study. The practice of serpent handling represents a very real danger for the members of SHS. This danger is taken very seriously by SHS. Serpents are handled only if one of two criteria is met. First, the SHS participant must feel anointed by the Holy Spirit as an emotional and physical validation of the Holy Spirit's presence. The second criterion is the participant's unwavering belief in all the signs of Mark 16. The textual interpretation is firm for the members, and SHS believe that serpents must be handled as commanded by God in Mark 16. The serpent handlers have practiced the signs of Mark 16 and services have continued in much the same fashion as the services of early 1900s. While meeting times and meeting frequency have

varied over time, the groups typically meet at least once a week.

Although the services lack formality, the services of have continued over time using similar routines of behavior. With many variations, the services are episodic and can last between one and four hours. The service begins when a leader or designated individual may welcome the congregation to the service. In some churches the leader or designated individual may openly refer to the vicinity of serpents and a container of poisonous solution within the area. The leader and SHS members encourage the audience to be cautious before approaching the serpent boxes. In many churches, participants are told to be certain of God's anointing before engaging in the practice of serpent handling or the drinking of poison (Williamson, 1999).

As the service begins, some SHS participants will sing religious songs accompanied by instrument players. Many believers move freely about the space within the church and celebrate God's presence. Some SHS participants may move toward a wooden box holding a serpent and extract a venomous serpent from the box. Some participants may go to the container of poison near the pulpit and drink a portion of the poison. Others pray, give personal testimony, sing,

and celebrate God's glory. SHS participants become energetic and excited as the service progresses.

Throughout the service, the ritual elicits a sense of the transcendent for the participant. This is obvious by the behavior of SHS members and the seriousness of the service, especially in rare occasions when a member is injured or killed. SHS members describe their belief that God is present with them during the service (Williamson 1999 pg. 20-55).

The handling of serpents represents a religious conviction that is not symbolic, but rather a mandate by God as stated in Mark 16. As the members of SHS become more involved in the service, they begin to become part of a collective whole worshipping God together and interacting through dance, singing or the practicing any or all of the five signs during the service. The SHS members' participation in these interactions is the physical manifestation of spiritual empowerment.

If participants feel the atmosphere has shifted and the Holy Spirit is no longer present, the serpents are returned to their boxes and the poison is put away. Afterward, the sick and spiritually needy are offered ministry through prayer and the laying on of hands. Special singing, personal testimony, instructions in righteousness,

the admonishing of the backslidden and/or the exhorting of the unbelievers may follow the ritual activities (Williamson, 1999). Services may vary in pattern and duration; the majority of the services are repetitive in format and process.

One can see that the serpent handling service does fit our definition of ritual, and all eight of my ritual characteristics are present in the serpent handling service. The value of life is real for the participants and the risk of injury or death could elicit a more powerful sense of the transcendent. The participants are very aware of the risk during the ritual. This is shown through their constant reminders of the dangers of the practice of SHS (Williamson, 1999).

Manasa the serpent goddess of Hinduism

Serpent handlers in Southern Appalachia remain unique because of their literal understanding of Mark 16. However, they are not the only religious group to handle snakes as part of religious practice. The Manasa sect of Hinduism is also known for handling (what they call playing with) dangerous cobras and other snakes. Within the Manasa sect, the intent behind handling serpents is different than SHS. Manasa members handle serpents to appease the goddess Manasa. This intent is quite different from the serpent

handlers of Appalachia, who handle in obedience to Mark 16. Although the risk is the same as that in SHS, practitioners of Manasa sect will allow themselves to be bitten to please the Goddess Manasa. Many Manasa devotees have died playing with cobras. This section will examine the history of the Manasa sect, aspects of symbolism and some of the historical aspects, and how all these elements tie into what Manasa devotees call "serpent play".

There is a plethora of religious traditions and practices in Hinduism. Of the multitude of religious practices, naga or serpent worship was not uncommon in early Vedic India. Some of the first snake rituals were by the Harappa culture within the Indus Valley (Klostermaier, 1994 pg. 38-43). Later Hindu religious sects would invoke different types of serpent worship. One of the more popular religious groups is the Manasa sect.

The small groups in the sect of Manasa did not appear until around the 1400's. Early textual evidence dates to the Bengali mangal¹ literature and poems of the 1500's (Maity, 1966). Manasa is even mentioned in the Puranas, one of the early Hindu texts. Maity (1966 pg. 22-25) notes that out of all in the pantheon of Gods in Hinduism, Siva is

¹ Mangal in this reference refers to the poems and songs sung by Bengali worshippers of Manasa. The term Mangal has also been used in reference to wedding songs and performances (Smith, 1980)

most closely linked with snake worship. Other deities are represented with snakes as adornments around them or on their body. However, in many parts of India, Siva is worshipped as a snake. For many Manasa worshippers, Siva is the father of Manasa. This concept is exemplified in the stories of the poets of Bengal. Within these stories were narratives about the Goddess, lessons on life, and instruction on proper worship for devotees.

Much of the Goddess lore varies across India but most notes that Manasa was born from the seed of Siva. One of the more popular stories is that Siva was moving in the universe, became aroused at the sight of something attractive, and ejaculated. Siva's seed ended up near the lake at Kalidala where snakes live. Although the story of the birth of Manasa varies, many devotees believe that a snake came along and swallowed Siva's celestial seed. Born from the snake was Manasa. After having interaction with the gods, Manasa later decided to establish her worship on Earth. She manifested herself to humans and instructed them in her worship. Manasa was said to visit her devotees and non-devotees at different times and places. Although cowherd boys² were visited most frequently, individuals from any caste could find themselves in audience with the

² Cowherd boys are those who take care of cows and graze them in the fields.

Goddess. In many accounts, Manasa announces her presence and tells the individuals to worship her. Many individuals rejected her claims of being a deity or denied her worship for another Hindu deity. In every case, human resistance was met with unfortunate circumstances. Some stubborn individuals could meet their doom by the bite of a serpent or serpents. Others may become sick or die suddenly.

Among all Goddess lore found in India, the story of Cando the merchant is the most well known in India for fiercely opposing the worship of Manasa. The Bengali texts note that Cando, a higher caste Hindu, became revolted by his wife's worshipping Manasa. Cando destroyed Manasa's shrine built by his wife and even destroyed the building housing the shrine. Manasa became angry with Cando and punished him by destroying his property. Cando still failed to submit, so Manasa eventually destroyed Cando's fleet of ships and killed him as well. However, Manasa showed him compassion and brought him back to life. Both Maity (1966 pg. 200-206) and Smith (1980 pg. 97-100) note that the significance of this story is that if a God or Goddess approaches you in any form, they are to be idolized and worshipped no matter within which caste they are predominantly worshipped.

² Cowherd boys are low caste Hindus who take care of local livestock and agriculture in the fields.

Other Manasa stories repeat similar themes of disobedience against the Goddess and punishment by the Goddess. Sometimes after punishment, Manasa would revive those individuals she killed and allow them a second chance to become devotees. This experience was not limited to the lower caste; Hindu kings and Brahmins also received the same warnings and instruction. They too, lost property and loved ones, became sick, or died (Maity, 1966 pg. 77-206).

Stories and regional interpretations of the stories vary, based on when and where the Bengali poet lived. An example of deviation in the Manasa story is apparent in the meeting of Manasa with the cowherd boys. In one version, Manasa steals the cattle from the cowherd boys, comes to them in a dream, and urges them to worship her. In another story, Siva leaves Manasa in the woods where the cowherd boys find her. Some who want to marry her; others want to rob her. Eventually one deformed cowherd boy helps the Goddess by offering her milk. She returns the favor by removing his deformity. The other cowherd boys see this and begin to worship Manasa. Smith (1980 pg. 64-65) notes many other variations of the cowherd story from different parts of India. The dramatic differences could be the result of the oral tradition, which is sustained from teacher to student, parent to child, and nomadic trader to locality.

While the stories vary, some elements and themes remain consistent across India. As stories travel across India, interpretations and cultures have been known to change the story from the original Bengali interpretation (Smith 1980).

While many Hindu households accept the Goddess as the main godhead of worship, others may worship Manasa only when an illness or bad times have befallen a member of the family. Lower caste Hindus stereotypically worship the Goddess as godhead, noting that Manasa is a daughter of Siva but she has power and control over him. Like the godhead of many other sects of Hinduism, Manasa has the power to take life and revive life. This is important for devotees who handle serpents. They feel their devotion will protect them from a serpent bite. Should a devotee be bitten, only Manasa has the power to heal and to take away injury and pain. This dichotomy of power through both eyes is visual difference as well.

The Goddess takes many visual forms (Maity, 1966). She shares some characteristics of Durga and Kali in visual representation. Manasa's true form is said by Mangali literature to be wrathful, although when approaching humans, she sometimes can take a form that is pleasing to the eye. Manasa has an all seeing eye and a eye that is

blind³ (Maity, 1966). The blind eye has the ability to kill and the seeing eye has the ability to heal. She will use each eye either to inflict punishment and to heal. This characteristic of the Goddess could be analogous to of an all-seeing eye that watches the deeds of man and punishes when necessary.

In some parts of India, Manasa wears a blue cloth which is rare for a deity (Smith, 1980). In other parts of India she is said to wear only snakes and snake symbols⁴. She is depicted having four arms and yellow skin. In more rare accounts the Goddess has the face of a fish and is not physically desirable. Like many Gods and Goddesses, Manasa has a vehicle that carries her to different points in the cosmos. Her aerial vehicle is a swan, which is similar to that of Sarasvati, Goddess of learning.

One of the more interesting points of Manasa is that she does not reside with the gods in Heaven, although she may appear there. She typically resides in alternative locations in the cosmos and on Earth. The locations vary according to the belief of different Manasa communities.

³ Some literature refers to Manasa as having only one eye she can see from. The seeing eye is the healing eye. The poison eye was damaged in physical confrontation between Manasa and another deity. The confrontation stories vary on which deity the confrontation was with (Smith, 1980; Maity, 1966).

⁴ This is also true of Kali, who wears only severed human heads (Smith, 1980).

some beliefs in her residence on Earth indicate a horizontal cosmology where Manasa lives on earth in specific holy places. Some of these places are where serpents live or bask. Other believe she resides in a form in heaven but does not reside in the heaven of Siva and other Hindu gods.

Over time her depictions even transcend religious boundaries. Forms of Manasa are present in Tantric Buddhism and Jainism where she is depicted visually with similar physical characteristics with serpents and serpent jewels (Maity, 1966). While visual aspects hold true to Buddhism and Jainism, the practice of puja⁵ is quite different in Hinduism (Maity, 1966 pg. 262-277).

One of the earliest instructional texts was the Vyaribhaktitarangini. This text explained in short detail the proper worship of Manasa. Manasa is to be worshipped by handling snakes and the making of sacred clay pots. Auspicious items which are used during the ritual include mirrors, water, milk, and incense, as well as many other items depending on the locality and belief of the participant. These offerings occur in front of a Manasa shrine or holy site. In those holy sites, Manasa can be

⁵ Puja is an offering to deity or teacher. Puja is typically implemented during religious services and festivals however, they are also used to honor a teacher.

represented either by an image or by clay pots as an earthly vessel.

The physical context of Manasa worship is typically within a holy place. The performances of the religious practices are not restricted to shrines or temples, but can be done in homes, at the base of trees, by bushes, and at waterside. The trees, bushes, and water are places one would naturally find serpents. Some villages and communities across India have elaborate shrines with beautiful images of the Goddess with elaborate garb, while other villages may have only a simple shrine at which offerings are made. Homes may hold sacred clay pots for worship. Clay pots can also be found near trees and bushes where serpents are commonly found.

The process of worship is just as diverse as the tradition (Maity, 1966 pg. 262-277). These religious practices are traditional in that they have continued in much the same repetitive fashion, although some variation is found between localities. Worship and practice can be simple or elaborate, depending on the time of day and year (Smith, 1980 pg. 22-24). The worship is episodic in that the practices can vary in length, but begin and end at specific times of the day.

The devotees worship two physical forms of Manasa: images and clay pots that symbolize Goddess. Some devotees believe that the Goddess will manifest herself within the clay pot. As stated in the Vyaribhaktitarangini, devotees worship Manasa by playing with serpents and making offerings of food, incense and other valuable items (Maity, 1966). Those devotees who worship Manasa as Godhead see her permeating the universe as the transcendent force that creates and destroys. During the religious practice, she becomes present with the devotees as they make offerings and play with serpents.

To die by a serpent is to show a lack of faith in Manasa's power. Many Manasa high priests will allow serpents to bite them to show the power of the Goddess. If she allows them to live, they are worthy and devoted. Should they die, they lack faith in Manasa and her power (Smith, 1980). The religious practice empowers the participant to experience Manasa while honoring her as a protective mother. This empowerment is not limited to devotees or high priests but is open to all that participate in her worship and festivals (Maity, 1966).

Manasa worshippers are most known for the Jhapan festival in Bengal. Devotees come from miles around to make offerings and worship the Goddess. The festival serves a

communal aspect within the worship of the Goddess. It gives the laity the ability to see the high priests and the devoted play with serpents. It also offers a healing quality for the community by allowing all worshippers to pray with the devotees and high priests and by bringing the religious community together.

The climax of the festival is the ceremonial bathing of the Goddess while devotees handle serpents. Images of Manasa and clay pots are specifically made for the ceremony. Devotees prepare the Goddess to be transported in the clay pot. During the preparation, devotees handle serpents and make offerings to Manasa. The ceremonial clay pot is brought from a Manasa shrine and carried to a local river or body of water. The clay pot is the goddess herself manifest within. Depending on the community, a vegetable or an animal is sacrificed during the ceremony. The pot is then carried back to the shrine where musicians play and priests tell stories about the Goddess and handle serpents. The festival concludes with chanting and the removal of the clay pots (Maity, 1966 pg. 262-266).

These three aspects play a vital role in the formation of this extensive religious tradition. Although the ritual of the Manasa devotee may appear opaque at first, once one becomes familiar with the aspects of the tradition, they

can understand why the beliefs and practices are so vital for the participant. For the devotees, Manasa is very real and alive on Earth and in the universe. She is not a deity that looks down on her subjects but, rather, is present with them when she is called to do so. As mentioned earlier, the swan is her celestial vehicle, but while she is on earth, the clay pot becomes her dwelling. This is interesting for two reasons. The swan may represent grace for Manasa as it does for Saravati. However, she can be manifest for low caste Hindus also in the clay pot. The clay pot is a simple item that is available to anyone, rich or poor. It appears to serve two purposes; it is a non-expensive item available to anyone and it provides a religious item that more than symbolic of the Goddess. This makes worship items available for those who typically cannot afford them.

Like many other godheads in other Hindu traditions, Manasa has the power to create and destroy in many of the regional interpretations. Her eyes play a dualistic role in how the Goddess reacts to her subjects and dishonorable Hindus. She will appear to anyone and encourage him or her to worship her, and should they refuse, like Cando, the result can be catastrophic. The followers appear to be aware of this fact and try to do things to please her.

The aspect that makes Manasa worship so interesting is the practice of serpent handling. As noted before, serpent play is a risky behavior, and some of Manasa's followers have been injured or killed during this practice (Maity, 1966). Some of the high priests will even show the power of the Goddess by allowing themselves to be bitten. One could argue that this type of risky behavior adds value to the religious ritual for the participant. When a devotee's life is threatened, the threat can make the religious ritual more meaningful. Earlier in the paper, Manasa's healing and killing eyes were mentioned as symbolic of the risk and injury that occurs in serpent play. Life and death are real issues for the devotees.

The case of the Manasa sect of Hinduism is a reminder that religious rituals have meaning for the participants. It is easy to see how one could see the practice as unsettling. It appears that the spiritual experiences are very real for the participant no matter how risky the belief. The worship of Manasa and worshipping actions of the devotees have legitimacy for the devotees. Their religious behavior is necessary for community that cannot control nature and the elements. Although the practice is dangerous, it provides some transcendental control in an uncontrolled world.

Empirical studies of risk ritual

Empirical studies have examined SHS as a legitimate belief system (e.g. Hood, 1998; Hood et al., 1999; Hood et al., 1998). Holt (1940) noted that the serpent handling sects (SHS) of southern Appalachia were difficult to study because they lacked the institutional organization found in many churches within the Pentecostal tradition. Thus, it is not surprising that many of the writers on SHS have spent little time in participant observation of SHS. Most commentary has been made without direct observation of this tradition (Hood, 1998). Based upon extensive participation and observation of SHS over ten years, Hood et al. (1999) have argued that most of what is written on SHS both within the popular media and scientific literature is more stereotypical than factual. If this is true, Hood et al. (1998) note that observer attitudes toward SHS are likely to be prejudicial rather than based upon factual knowledge.

One empirical study by Hood, Morris, and Williamson, (1999) used Ehrlich's (1973) prejudice measure to compare a hypothetical conversion experience as a function of the five signs of Mark 16. The Ehrlich prejudice measure has three subscales: Behavioral Intention, Negative Affect and Stereotyping. Using a hypothetical religious conversion vignette and indices, Hood et al. (1999) demonstrated that

participants evaluated conversion as more valid when the two most controversial signs of Mark 16 were not involved. Those signs specifically were serpent handling and drinking poison. The more accepted signs of laying on of hands, casting out of demons, and speaking in tongues led to a more accepted form of conversion experience. The reasoned evaluation indices noted include the following tradition specific questions: This tradition is sincere in their faith, this religious practice should carry illegal sanctions, and this religious practice should be regarded as unfortunate. Hood et al. (1999) found that there is a strong relationship between the prejudice measures and legitimacy of conversion as a function of the more extreme signs of Mark 16. With these results, Hood et al. (1999) demonstrated that the rejection of SHS was partly based upon prejudice and not simply upon rational disagreement over the validity of the serpent handling ritual by the study participants.

Based on the research noted above, attitudes play a vital role in determining what people consider acceptable in ritual. Hood et al, (1999) suggest that people were less accepting of a dangerous religious practice within their own culture. Unfortunately, there are no data on cross-cultural perceptions of ritual legitimacy or religious risk

ritual acceptance within other cultures. However, data do exist on changing the attitudes of those who may lack proper information about religious risk ritual.

In a second study, Hood, Williamson, and Morris (1998) examined attitudes of prejudice toward serpent handling as an acceptable religious practice from the outside observer's perspective. Two videotapes were shown: one showed serpent handlers within their interpretative context including testimony and serpent handling; the second control tape showed a similar religious service, but with no serpent handling. Before participating, all surveyed were asked if they had an interest in religion. Hood et al. (1998) state that all study participants had at least a moderate interest in religion. Hood et al. (1998) found that prior to observing serpent-handling video, outside individuals held prejudicial views about serpent handling and favored laws against the practice. When participants observed a serpent handling within its interpretive context, individuals were more likely to view serpent handling less stereotypically. Although observers in the study did not agree with the practice of serpent handling, they were more willing to think that the practice should be tolerated. Sermons and interviews had an impact on outside observer discrimination. Hood et al. (1999) state that the

serpent-handling stance can be persuasive once heard and considered.

Hood et al. (1999) changed outside observer perceptions by showing SHS video within the ritual context. By adding education on religious ritual theory, outside observers should accept a religious ritual cross-culturally, no matter the risk, potential for risk or death in ritual.

This study proposes to examine observer attitudes. Any ritual action that has the potential for injury or death, will be coined a religious risk ritual (RR). Observers will examine examples of video from the Manasa Hindu tradition in India and the Pentecostal and Holiness Serpent Handling traditions (SHS) of the southern Appalachian Mountain region of the United States.

The purpose of this study is to test three main effect hypotheses and four interaction hypotheses. The three hypotheses are relative to the main effects of training, culture and risk:

Hypothesis 1 (training): Observers trained in religious ritual theory will assess all religious action as more legitimate ritual than untrained observers.

Hypothesis 2 (culture): Southeastern American observers will be more accepting of rituals including risk

and maiming as a result of a religious ritual in India than those taking place in America.

Hypothesis 3 (risk): Observers will be less accepting of religious rituals that involve risk, maiming, or death. It is expected that observers will be less accepting as the risk increases.

Hypothesis 4 (triple order interaction): It is anticipated that there will be a three way interaction among risk, training, and culture. If the training manipulation succeeds, then a three-way interaction is expected. This will be clarified by a study of the three hypotheses relative to the following three two-way interactions:

Hypothesis 5: A significant interaction is predicted between a person's acceptance of religious ritual cross-culturally and a person's training in ritual theory. Trained observers should judge religious ritual by the proposed ritual criteria, not by cultural context.

Hypothesis 6: A significant interaction is predicted between the differences of observed potential harm in ritual and a person's training in religious ritual theory. Trained observers should judge religious ritual by the proposed ritual criteria, not by the potential of harm or death.

Hypothesis 7: A significant interaction is predicted between a persons acceptance of existence of a religious ritual cross-culturally and observed potential for harm in ritual. Individuals will be more accepting of religious risk rituals that occur outside of the observers own culture but less accepting of religious risk rituals that occur within their own culture.

Methods

Participants

The study consisted of 291 participants from the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. Of the total group (including trained/pass, trained/fail and the control group), less than half were males (40%) and more than half were females (60%). Racially 58% were European American (white), 38% were African American (black) and 3% were alternatively culturally or racially identified (Pacific Islander, Hispanic, Asian, or other).

While individual characteristics were reported, this study focused on the mean differences between groups rather than individual difference factors.

Materials and Procedure

Materials used included a 30 minute religious ritual training video, 30 minute Italy travel video, four videos

of SHS with varying degrees of risk and 12 to 15 minutes in length, three videos of Manasa sect with varying degrees of risk and 12 to 15 minutes in length, a ritual recall measure, a ritual assessment measure, and a ritual legitimacy measure. All videos were edited or created using a digital video compatible computer system. Questions on the ritual legitimacy and ritual assessment scales were positively and negatively worded. The ritual assessment measure questions and the ritual legitimacy measure questions were randomly intermixed to make up a total questionnaire. The ritual recall or experimental groups were shown a thirty-minute film on the characteristics of religious ritual. The training video included footage of an Indonesian funeral and a Catholic mass as examples of two types of religious rituals. The film design was decided after the pilot study was conducted (appendix A). The film was designed to help participants to recognize religious rituals by this study's defined characteristics within two distinct traditions. The participant control group was shown an Italy travel video with no footage of religious action.

A religious ritual recall test was administered to all those within the experimental group. Each individual was asked to recall the three characteristics that define a

religious ritual. Participants within the experimental group had to recall two of the three characteristics of symbolism, empowerment, and transcendence. If they recalled either the term or the definition of the term, they were retained within the training/pass group. If they missed more than one of the three, the participant was placed within the training/fail group.

Seven videos of religious ritual practices were used with varying degrees of risk. Four videos were of the SHS tradition and three videos were of Manasa ritual. Each of the three videos had one of three characteristics. The first tape "or control condition" shows a religious ritual where the ritual participants in the tape have no potential for harm. The second tape shows a religious ritual where the ritual participants have the potential for harm but harm by a serpent does not occur. The third tape shows a religious ritual where a ritual participant was harmed as a result handling a serpent during the religious ritual. A fourth tape is strictly in SHS and includes the first three levels of risk but, in addition includes a participant dying as a result of the religious ritual. The death condition does not show the person die, but the death is alluded to by the events that occur on the tape.

Each of these groups was sorted randomly into four subgroups of thirty two participants per risk condition. Each of these groups were sorted into sixteen trained participants and sixteen participants not trained. Each of these groups was ordered into two groups of sixteen participants per training and non-training conditions. Each of the groups of sixteen participants was shown a cultural condition in reverse order to detect any ordering effects. Each group examined two videos with the exception of those in the death condition, which will only view one SHS death video. The first group of thirty-two participants examined a tape of an SHS church service with no harm and a Hindu service with no harm. The second group of thirty-two participants examined two videos with the potential for harm, but with no actual harm occurring in the observed ritual. The same group examined a Hindu Manasa serpent handling tape with the potential for harm, but with no actual harm occurring in the observed ritual. The third group of thirty-two participants examined two videos where the ritual participants are injured as a result of the religious practice in each tape one from SHS and one in the Manasa tradition. The fourth group of thirty-two participants viewed a death tape from SHS in which a death

was alluded by serpent bite at a church and the individual becoming deathly sick.

Statistical Analysis

For the statistical analysis, the multivariate analysis of variance or MANOVA was used. Since the study invokes a mixed model analysis of both independent measures and repeated measures, MANOVA provides the proper method to examine one-, two-, and three-way effects. The independent variables (IV) are the cultural conditions, training conditions, and risk conditions excluding the death condition. The two dependant variables (DV) are ritual assessment scores and ritual legitimacy scores for which a correlation occurred. An ANOVA or analysis of variance was used to examine the differences between the trained pass, trained fail and the control groups within all risk conditions while including the death condition. An ANOVA or analysis of variance was used to examine the differences between all risk conditions while including all training conditions. This procedure allows the researcher to examine if statistical significances occur when the death condition is included. A correlational analysis of ritual legitimacy with ritual assessment was conducted to determine if the two scales share variance.

The MANOVA design is a 2x2x3 factorial design excluding the death condition, using repeated measures in the culture condition while using ANOVA to independently test the death condition. The order of presentation of the videos was reversed within the similar fifteen member groups to discover if any ordering effects had occurred. Once it was determined that ordering effects did not occur, the research model was collapsed into the 2x2x3 design. Significant F scores for the religious culture IV, risk IV, and training IV and all possible interactions were expected. Again using MANOVA all two-way and three-way interactions between the IV with the DV was explored.

Results

Study participants (N=291) were divided into three groups consisting of n=124 participants who passed the ritual recall measure, n=122 within the control group and n=45 who failed the ritual recall measure. The revised version of the ritual assessment and ritual legitimacy inventories (appendix D, E, F, G) was used for both the Manasa and SHS videos. Additional questions were added to focus upon specific religious ritual criteria of symbolism, empowerment and transcendence. The ritual assessment and legitimacy inventories were revised to include grammatical revisions (appendix A).

Reliabilities (alpha coefficient= α) for ritual legitimacy scale for each religious tradition were Manasa ($\alpha=.81$) and SHS ($\alpha=.84$). Alpha scores for ritual assessment for each religious tradition were Manasa ($\alpha=.63$) and SHS ($\alpha=.77$). Three of the scales: Manasa/Legitimacy (appendix H), SHS/Legitimacy (appendix H) and SHS/Assessment (appendix g) were within acceptable limits for reliability while Manasa/Assessment (appendix F) had marginal reliability. Manasa ritual assessment scale and the Manasa legitimacy scale were correlated as were the SHS ritual assessment scale and the SHS ritual legitimacy scale. Significant correlations were found between the legitimacy scale and assessment for Manasa, $r(183) = .40, p < .000$. Significant correlations were also found for SHS between the legitimacy scale and assessment, $r(244) = .416, p < .000$ (table 1.1). The correlations indicated that the legitimacy scale and assessment scale do share considerable variance. Descriptive statistics were calculated for ritual assessment scores overall between the two religious traditions, Manasa ($M=136.64, SD=21.23$) and SHS ($M=147.64, SD=21.47$). A significant difference in assessment score than Manasa ($t = -9.941, p < .000$) (table 1.2).

Table 1.1

Correlations

		Legit Total Score Manasa	Ritual Assess Total Score Manasa	Ritual Legit Total Score SHS	Ritual Assess Total Score SHS
Legit Total Score Manasa	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.400**	.617**	.423**
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
	N	185	185	185	185
Ritual Assess Total Score Manasa	Pearson Correlation	.400**	1.000	.229**	.590**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000		.001	.000
	N	185	185	185	185
Ritual Legit Total Score SHS	Pearson Correlation	.617**	.229**	1.000	.416**
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.001		.000
	N	185	185	246	246
Ritual Assess Total Score SHS	Pearson Correlation	.423**	.590**	.416**	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	185	185	246	246

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Participants were randomly assigned to either a training condition or a control condition. Of the total group 43% qualified for inclusion as a trained individual in ritual theory, 42% were randomly assigned to the control group, and 16% failed the ritual recall assessment. Descriptive statistics were generated for ritual legitimacy scores overall between the two religious traditions, Manasa (M=56.06, SD=13.67) and SHS (M=47.43, SD=16.25). Manasa had a significantly higher average legitimacy score than SHS $t(214) = 8.017, p < .000$ (table 1.2). Moreover, descriptive statistics were generated for ritual assessment scores overall between the two religious traditions, Manasa (M=136.64, SD=15.21) and SHS (M=147.64, SD=21.42). SHS had a significantly higher assessment score than Manasa $t(214) = -9.941, p > .000$ (table 1.2).

Table 1.2

Descriptive Statistics				
	N	Range	Mean	Std. Deviation
Legit Total Score Manasa	215	72.00	56.0628	13.6711
Ritual Assess Total Score Manasa	215	80.00	136.6395	15.2069
Ritual Legit Total Score SHS	291	72.00	47.4278	16.2500
Ritual Assess Total Score SHS	291	99.00	147.6426	21.4246
Valid N (listwise)	215			

Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to test all of the hypothesized. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted along with the MANOVA to test hypothesis one (training condition) and three (risk condition) since death condition would not be included within the MANOVA model. MANOVA was used to examine main effects and to determine if any interaction effects occurred between the dependent variables (ritual legitimacy, and ritual assessment scores) and the independent variables (Training, culture, and levels of risk). Descriptive statistics were generated and are presented in table 1.3.

It was also determined that no ordering effects existed.

Each of the hypotheses was examined.

Table 1.3

8. Trained and Not Trained * RISK * CULTURE

Measure	Trained and Not Trained	RISK	CULTURE	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
LEGIT	Trained - Group Pass	NRID	1	58.625	2.402	53.888	63.362	
			2	53.844	2.743	48.436	59.252	
		RNID	1	58.355	2.441	53.542	63.167	
			2	49.548	2.787	44.054	55.043	
		RIND	1	56.583	2.481	51.691	61.475	
			2	46.450	2.833	40.865	52.035	
		Control Group	NRID	1	57.233	2.481	52.341	62.125
				2	50.950	2.833	45.365	56.535
	RNID		1	58.032	2.441	53.220	62.845	
			2	49.774	2.787	44.280	55.269	
	RIND		1	51.677	2.441	46.865	56.490	
			2	45.532	2.787	40.038	51.027	
	Trained Group Failed		NRID	1	49.923	3.769	42.492	57.354
				2	46.154	4.304	37.669	54.638
		RNID	1	59.000	6.795	45.603	72.397	
			2	38.250	7.758	22.954	53.546	
RIND		1	51.385	3.769	43.953	58.816		
		2	46.769	4.304	38.285	55.254		
ASSES		Trained - Group Pass	NRID	1	139.813	2.682	134.526	145.099
				2	157.281	3.635	150.115	164.448
	RNID		1	136.355	2.725	130.983	141.726	
			2	145.290	3.693	138.009	152.571	
	RIND		1	138.650	2.770	133.190	144.110	
			2	152.817	3.754	145.415	160.218	
	Control Group		NRID	1	138.133	2.770	132.673	143.594
				2	151.583	3.754	144.182	158.985
			RNID	1	136.548	2.725	131.177	141.920
				2	146.290	3.693	139.009	153.571
			RIND	1	136.968	2.725	131.596	142.339
				2	143.968	3.693	136.687	151.249
		Trained Group Failed	NRID	1	127.154	4.207	118.859	135.449
				2	151.846	5.703	140.602	163.090
			RNID	1	131.000	7.585	116.046	145.954
				2	139.750	10.281	119.480	160.020
			RIND	1	132.077	4.207	123.782	140.372
				2	138.308	5.703	127.064	149.551

It was also determined that no ordering effects existed.

Each of the hypotheses was examined.

Hypothesis one states that observers trained in religious ritual theory will assess all religious action as more legitimate ritual than untrained observers. Testing hypothesis one, there was no overall effect for training. However there were some small group differences between training-pass, training-fail, and the control groups. Before including the SHS death condition, the difference between the training-pass and the training-fail groups on ritual assessment was insignificant at $F(2, 215) = 2.660$, $p < .072$ (table 1.4).

Table 1.4

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Transformed Variable: Average

Source	Measure	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	LEGIT	719540.104	1	719540.104	2127.419	.000
	ASSESM	5405744.571	1	5405744.571	10875.926	.000
TRAINGR	LEGIT	1063.951	2	531.976	1.573	.210
	ASSESM	2644.097	2	1322.048	2.660	.072
RISK	LEGIT	628.944	2	314.472	.930	.396
	ASSESM	1406.602	2	703.301	1.415	.245
TRAINGR * RISK	LEGIT	552.235	4	138.059	.408	.803
	ASSESM	593.106	4	148.277	.298	.879
Error	LEGIT	69673.739	206	338.222		
	ASSESM	102389.758	206	497.038		

However, when the death condition was included within the analysis a significant difference was discovered $F(2, 288) = 3.130$, $p < .045$ (table 1.5).

Table 1.5

		ANOVA				
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Ritual Legit Total Score SHS	Between Groups	1112.643	2	556.322	2.123	.122
	Within Groups	75465.841	288	262.034		
	Total	76578.485	290			
Ritual Assess Total Score SHS	Between Groups	2832.067	2	1416.033	3.130	.045
	Within Groups	130281.265	288	452.366		
	Total	133113.332	290			
Legit Total Score Manasa	Between Groups	876.773	2	438.386	2.376	.095
	Within Groups	39119.629	212	184.527		
	Total	39996.402	214			
Ritual Assess Total Score Manasa	Between Groups	1684.739	2	842.369	3.736	.025
	Within Groups	47802.575	212	225.484		
	Total	49487.314	214			

In order to examine the differences between the training-fail group, training-pass group, and the control group within Manasa/legitimacy, Manasa/assessment, SHS/legitimacy, and SHS/assessment scales, an ANOVA was conducted. There were no significant differences between groups on the Manasa/legitimacy scale, $F(2, 212) = 2.376$, $p < .095$ or the SHS/legitimacy scale, $F(2, 288) = 2.123$, $p < .12$. There was a significant difference on the Manasa/assessment scale, $F(2, 212) = 3.736$, $p < .025$, and the SHS/assessment scale, $F(2, 288) = 3.130$, $p < .045$. A Tukey's B analysis (table 1.6a, table 1.6b) was conducted to determine the nature of the differences.

Table 1.6a

Ritual Assess Total Score SHS			
Tukey B ^{a,b}	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
		1	2
Trained and Not Trained			
Trained Group Failed	45	141.3111	
Control Group	122	147.1025	147.1025
Trained - Group Pass	124		150.4718

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 77.956.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 1.6b

Ritual Assess Total Score Manasa			
Tukey B ^{a,b}	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
		1	2
Trained and Not Trained			
Trained Group Failed	30	129.8000	
Control Group	92		137.2065
Trained - Group Pass	93		138.2849

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 54.590.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Within the Manasa assessment scale, a significant difference between the training fail and training pass/control was found $p < .025$ (table 1.6b). Hypothesis one stated that a significant difference was expected between trained individuals and the control group, training pass and control had no significant difference. In addition, within the SHS assessment scale, a significant difference between the training fail and training pass was found, $p < .045$ (table 1.6a). While there were differences between training-pass and training-fail, there were no differences between training-pass and the control group. Again hypothesis one supposes that there would be a significant difference between the training-pass group and the control group. This was not found to the case within this study.

Hypothesis two states that southeastern American observers will be more accepting of rituals including risk and maiming as a result of a religious ritual in India than

those taking place in America. There is a overall effect for culture $F(2, 212) = 77.641, p < .000$. Overall study participants perceived the Manasa religious ritual as being more legitimate than the SHS religious ritual. This finding (as noted in table 1.7) supports hypothesis two.

Table 1.7

Multivariate Tests ^c

Effect			Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Between Subjects	Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.981	5411.856 ^a	2.000	205.000	.000
		Wilks' Lambda	.019	5411.856 ^a	2.000	205.000	.000
		Hotelling's Trace	52.799	5411.856 ^a	2.000	205.000	.000
		Roy's Largest Root	52.799	5411.856 ^a	2.000	205.000	.000
	TRAINGR	Pillai's Trace	.028	1.479	4.000	412.000	.208
		Wilks' Lambda	.972	1.483 ^a	4.000	410.000	.206
		Hotelling's Trace	.029	1.486	4.000	408.000	.205
		Roy's Largest Root	.029	3.001 ^b	2.000	206.000	.052
	RISK	Pillai's Trace	.020	1.049	4.000	412.000	.382
		Wilks' Lambda	.980	1.044 ^a	4.000	410.000	.384
		Hotelling's Trace	.020	1.040	4.000	408.000	.386
		Roy's Largest Root	.014	1.435 ^b	2.000	206.000	.241
	TRAINGR * RISK	Pillai's Trace	.014	.367	8.000	412.000	.937
		Wilks' Lambda	.986	.366 ^a	8.000	410.000	.938
		Hotelling's Trace	.014	.364	8.000	408.000	.939
		Roy's Largest Root	.008	.437 ^b	4.000	206.000	.782
Within Subjects	CULTURE	Pillai's Trace	431	77.641 ^a	2.000	205.000	.000
		Wilks' Lambda	.569	77.641 ^a	2.000	205.000	.000
		Hotelling's Trace	.757	77.641 ^a	2.000	205.000	.000
		Roy's Largest Root	.757	77.641 ^a	2.000	205.000	.000
	CULTURE * TRAINGR	Pillai's Trace	.017	.866	4.000	412.000	.484
		Wilks' Lambda	.983	.865 ^a	4.000	410.000	.485
		Hotelling's Trace	.017	.863	4.000	408.000	.486
		Roy's Largest Root	.016	1.625 ^b	2.000	206.000	.199
	CULTURE * RISK	Pillai's Trace	.071	3.811	4.000	412.000	.005
		Wilks' Lambda	.930	3.814 ^a	4.000	410.000	.005
		Hotelling's Trace	.075	3.817	4.000	408.000	.005
		Roy's Largest Root	.058	6.010 ^b	2.000	206.000	.003
	CULTURE * TRAINGR * RISK	Pillai's Trace	.054	1.418	8.000	412.000	.187
		Wilks' Lambda	.947	1.414 ^a	8.000	410.000	.189
		Hotelling's Trace	.055	1.409	8.000	408.000	.190
		Roy's Largest Root	.038	1.959 ^b	4.000	206.000	.102

a. Exact statistic

b. The statistic is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level.

c.

Design: Intercept+TRAINGR+RISK+TRAINGR * RISK
Within Subjects Design: CULTURE

Hypothesis three states that observers will be less accepting of religious rituals that involve risk, maiming,

or death. It is expected that observers will be less accepting as the risk increases. There was no overall effect using MANOVA. However, including the death condition within ANOVA analysis, there was a significant difference within SHS legitimacy scores between the death condition and the no risk, injury, or death condition for legitimacy $F(3, 287) = 3.338, p < .019$ (table 1.8) as noted by Tukey B post hoc analysis (1.9a and 1.9b).

Table 1.8

		ANOVA				
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Legit Total Score Manasa	Between Groups	775.527	3	258.509	1.391	.247
	Within Groups	39220.875	211	185.881		
	Total	39996.402	214			
Ritual Assess Total Score Manasa	Between Groups	26.494	3	8.831	.038	.990
	Within Groups	49460.820	211	234.411		
	Total	49487.314	214			
Ritual Legit Total Score SHS	Between Groups	2619.266	3	873.089	3.388	.019
	Within Groups	73959.218	287	257.698		
	Total	76578.485	290			
Ritual Assess Total Score SHS	Between Groups	4354.622	3	1451.541	3.235	.023
	Within Groups	128758.709	287	448.637		
	Total	133113.332	290			

In addition, there was a difference between assessment scores between the death condition and the no risk, injury or death condition, $F(3, 287) = 3.235, p < .023$ as noted by Tukey B post hoc analysis. While there was a significant difference between no risk condition and death condition, there was no overall effect within the MANOVA model that fails to support hypothesis three.

Table 1.9a

Ritual Legit Total Score SHS

Tukey B ^{a,b}

RISK	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
		1	2
RID	76	43.4868	
RIND	74	46.1216	46.1216
RNID	66	48.9697	48.9697
NRID	75		51.3533

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.
 a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 72.521.
 b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Table 1.9a

Ritual Assess Total Score SHS

Tukey B ^{a,b}

RISK	N	Subset for alpha = .05	
		1	2
RID	76	144.2895	
RNID	66	145.4242	145.4242
RIND	74	146.5608	146.5608
NRID	75		154.0600

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.
 a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 72.521.
 b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

Hypothesis four states that there will be a three-way interaction within risk, training, and culture. The triple order interaction was not significant. This fails to support hypothesis four.

Hypothesis five states that a significant interaction was predicted between a person's acceptance of religious ritual cross-culturally and a person's training in ritual theory. The two-way interaction was not significant which fails to support hypothesis five.

Hypothesis six states that a significant interaction was predicted between the differences of observed potential harm in ritual and a person's training in religious ritual theory. Within the two-way interaction of training on risk, there was no significance, which fails to support hypothesis six.

Hypothesis seven states that a significant interaction was predicted between a person's acceptance of the existence of a religious ritual cross-culturally and

observed potential for harm in ritual. There was significance of risk on culture for legitimacy, $F(2,206)=3.33$ $p=.038$, $\eta^2=.032$ and assessment $F(2,206)=5.33$, $p=.006$ $\eta^2=.057$ which supports hypothesis seven (table 2.0).

Table 2.0

Univariate Tests							
Source	Measure		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
CULTURE	LEGIT	Sphericity Assumed	4518.064	1	4518.064	51.785	.000
		Greenhouse-Geisser	4518.064	1.000	4518.064	51.785	.000
		Huynh-Feldt	4518.064	1.000	4518.064	51.785	.000
		Lower-bound	4518.064	1.000	4518.064	51.785	.000
	ASSESM	Sphericity Assumed	10188.251	1	10188.251	65.358	.000
		Greenhouse-Geisser	10188.251	1.000	10188.251	65.358	.000
		Huynh-Feldt	10188.251	1.000	10188.251	65.358	.000
		Lower-bound	10188.251	1.000	10188.251	65.358	.000
CULTURE * TRAINGR	LEGIT	Sphericity Assumed	76.604	2	38.302	.439	.645
		Greenhouse-Geisser	76.604	2.000	38.302	.439	.645
		Huynh-Feldt	76.604	2.000	38.302	.439	.645
		Lower-bound	76.604	2.000	38.302	.439	.645
	ASSESM	Sphericity Assumed	296.748	2	148.374	.952	.388
		Greenhouse-Geisser	296.748	2.000	148.374	.952	.388
		Huynh-Feldt	296.748	2.000	148.374	.952	.388
		Lower-bound	296.748	2.000	148.374	.952	.388
CULTURE * RISK	LEGIT	Sphericity Assumed	581.431	2	290.715	3.332	.038
		Greenhouse-Geisser	581.431	2.000	290.715	3.332	.038
		Huynh-Feldt	581.431	2.000	290.715	3.332	.038
		Lower-bound	581.431	2.000	290.715	3.332	.038
	ASSESM	Sphericity Assumed	1660.151	2	830.076	5.325	.006
		Greenhouse-Geisser	1660.151	2.000	830.076	5.325	.006
		Huynh-Feldt	1660.151	2.000	830.076	5.325	.006
		Lower-bound	1660.151	2.000	830.076	5.325	.006
CULTURE * TRAINGR * RISK	LEGIT	Sphericity Assumed	478.103	4	119.526	1.370	.246
		Greenhouse-Geisser	478.103	4.000	119.526	1.370	.246
		Huynh-Feldt	478.103	4.000	119.526	1.370	.246
		Lower-bound	478.103	4.000	119.526	1.370	.246
	ASSESM	Sphericity Assumed	755.300	4	188.825	1.211	.307
		Greenhouse-Geisser	755.300	4.000	188.825	1.211	.307
		Huynh-Feldt	755.300	4.000	188.825	1.211	.307
		Lower-bound	755.300	4.000	188.825	1.211	.307
Error(CULTURE)	LEGIT	Sphericity Assumed	17972.891	206	87.247		
		Greenhouse-Geisser	17972.891	206.000	87.247		
		Huynh-Feldt	17972.891	206.000	87.247		
		Lower-bound	17972.891	206.000	87.247		
	ASSESM	Sphericity Assumed	32112.222	206	155.885		
		Greenhouse-Geisser	32112.222	206.000	155.885		
		Huynh-Feldt	32112.222	206.000	155.885		
		Lower-bound	32112.222	206.000	155.885		

Discussion

One purpose of this study was operationally to define ritual in a way useful to different multi-dimensional models within psychology of religion literature. An additional purpose of this study was to examine two different aspects of how outside observers view ritual. One measurement used was a cognitive assessment, which sought to see if train outside observers in religious ritual theory could assess religious action under the characteristics of religious ritual. The other measurement was a ritual legitimacy scale which asked study participants to determine if religious actions are legitimate religious rituals. While the legitimacy scale has a cognitive component, the legitimacy scale may tap into emotional aspects as well. It is likely that participants rely on reason and emotion when making evaluations about the world around them.

This study would suggest that the viewed religious actions would be no different. The cognitive aspect could explain some of the shared variance between the ritual assessment scale and the ritual legitimacy scales. The legitimacy scale is the emotional component of the study. Outside observers appear to rely on knowledge and emotion to determine what is acceptable religious behavior. While

there was more diversity of response within the Manasa/Assessment scale study, participants overall felt that Manasa ritual was more legitimate than SHS ritual. Participants gave SHS a higher ritual assessment score but lower legitimacy score than Manasa. This finding suggests that study participants recognize SHS as having the religious ritual characteristics but find the practices of SHS less legitimate. In addition, participants noted that within the Manasa tradition, religious ritual characteristics are not as easy to recognize as within SHS ritual. However, they did find it to be more legitimate than SHS.

The data suggest that some participants have some sensitivity while others have immunity to those religious behaviors that test the social norm. In addition, it is clear that the difference in assessment scores becomes statistically significant when including the death condition for SHS. Since there was not a death condition for Manasa, the MANOVA analysis did not include the death condition as a factor. Based on the fact that there was a significant difference between no risk, injury and death (NRID) and risk, injury and death RID group within SHS but not Manasa, this study would propose that had the death condition been included within the total analysis, the risk

is foreign to the observers, it is easier for the behavior to be accepted. This would explain why Manasa footage was more acceptable than SHS footage.

Within the SHS risk conditions, there was a difference between the death condition and the no risk condition for both assessment and legitimacy. This study would propose that there would be more differences between the risk conditions, had the name Serpent Handling Sects of Appalachia been removed from the video and narrative. This was apparent by some of the qualitative feedback that the study participants noted on their surveys. When asked if there was any aspect about the video that disturbed them. Four participants from the no risk, injury, or death group stated the following in regards to SHS:

- "These people are lost! Without God and Jesus Christ as their personal savior - they are lost"
- "I don't agree with anything that was in the video, but once again, I find it very interesting."
- "handling snakes - nothing else."
- "I disagree with it but I don't condemn it."

All these remarks were taken from participants who saw a typical church service but didn't see any serpent handling. It is interesting that by the name and description alone they automatically had reservations about SHS. Future

condition would achieve an overall effect. Further research would need to be conducted to determine if this prediction is accurate.

There was no overall influence within the training condition. However, there was a difference reported within SHS between the training-fail group and training-pass group on assessment. This would be expected if study participants failed the ritual recall measure. An interpretation of the difference in scores could be that study participants are students seeking extra credit. As a result, many may not have had an interest in the subject. Moreover, there was no significant difference between control and training-pass group on any of the scales. Training appears not to change attitudes or perceptions of religious ritual legitimacy. Ritual recognition could be perceived as common sense and individuals may be able to recognize religious ritual without training but may choose to discriminate.

It is also possible that the training video was not efficient in teaching study participants to recognize religious ritual. It is possible that this study is not teaching study participants to recognize an abstract religious perspective, but rather testing the limits what participants feel are acceptable Christian religious behavior within the SHS video. Since the Manasa tradition

researchers should consider videos in which there is no narrative for the religious action. The researchers could determine if the bias alone is due to the name SHS or to the actual footage of religious actions.

There was a significant overall effect for culture. Study participants viewed Manasa as being more legitimate than SHS but had more difficulty recognizing Manasa by the ritual characteristics. This is an example of the outsider effect, in which an individual views a tradition that is independent of one's own culture. In such an instance, outside observers are more likely to accept a culturally foreign tradition because they lack exposure with it within their own culture. For each outside observer, religious behavioral acceptance may differ but as a majority, participants appear to accept only certain types of religious behavior that do not challenge current social norms or exist outside of the observer's cultural context. This study suggests that one's own sociological norms and religious culture play a significant role in what is acceptable religious ritual by outside observers.

It appears that risk behaviors outside the observer's own culture are more acceptable than those within their culture. This study suggested for each outside observer certain risk behaviors may be tolerable while others are

not, but as a majority southeastern American society will accept religious behaviors only that adhere to social norms or deviant behaviors outside of the observer's culture. If individuals view a religious risk ritual that is not inherent within one's own culture, they are more likely to be accepting of it with risk or injury than a similar religious risk ritual that occurs within their own culture. This would be particularly true if the tradition is similar to that of outside observers (e.g. Hood, Morris & Williamson, 1999).

These results are counterintuitive to those of the Hood, Williamson, and Morris (1998) where participants viewed footage of serpent handling services and interviews. Participants in the study were less likely to view serpent handling stereotypically and understood the rationale for the practice. The present study suggests that individuals judge religious risk rituals by emotion and are less likely to judge based on training. In contrast to the Hood study, participants in the present study did not have a change in attitude after viewing similar footage when educated in ritual theory. The current study seems to concur more with the Hood, Morris and Williamson (1999) study in which participants considered conversion more legitimate when the controversial signs of Mark 16 were not included.

Cross-culturally, observer attitudes play a major role for a couple of reasons. First, in outward appearance, the behavior of SHS is virtually the same as the Manasa sect of Hinduism. The socio-economic conditions are similar between Appalachia and West Bengal. There are some differences in styles of worship, but the major difference is that Manasa devotees actually want to be bitten where SHS members do not. For both groups risk behavior, not potential consequences, denotes devotion. Most of the participants in this study are Christian from the southeastern United States. This could contribute to the low legitimacy scores for SHS. Since the behavior of SHS is not acceptable by the mainstream society, the study participants were more open to learn about Manasa than SHS.

A methodological limitation of the study was that the main researcher was also the narrator on the training video and all of the SHS videos. He facilitated many of the data collection sessions and participants could easily recognize the same voice. This could have caused a lack of authority within the videos and observers could have realized that the principal investigator was trying to manipulate experimental conditions. An additional issue is that the Manasa video has a different narrator. Since there was

a different voice, study participants may have accepted Manasa as more legitimate than SHS.

Since the study was conducted in the southeastern United States, the results may not be representative of the entire United States. It is suggest that future replications of this study include an authoritarian voice used as narration. The lack of difference within the risk conditions could be resolved by removing the name serpent handling sects of Appalachia or not providing any narrative. Also a death condition should be included for Manasa to determine if similar religious risk differences occur within the Manasa tradition as they do in SHS. If possible, the researcher should conduct the study in two other locations, such as the Midwest or the west coast of the United States (where SHS is not likely to be found) and in West Bengal India for a true cross-cultural comparison.

One final suggestion would be to merge the design of Hood, Williamson, & Morris (1998) with the current design to determine where differences between the two studies occur. By merging the two studies, researchers could explore how prejudice relates to religious ritual legitimacy and religious ritual assessment. This merging of the two studies would include: Ehrlich (1973: 103) prejudice measure, Hood et al. (1998) reasoned evaluation

indices, the risk video conditions of the present study, Ritual recall, ritual legitimacy, and ritual assessment scale while excluding the training condition. This would be done while using the Ehrlich (1973:103) prejudice measure as a pre and post test survey. The Ehrlich scale was used originally as a scale to measure prejudice against blacks. The scale has been used successfully to measure religion and prejudice and has three subscales: Behavioral Intention, Negative Affect, and Stereotyping. Hood et al. (1998) reasoned evaluation indices should be used as well. The reasoned evaluation indices noted include the following tradition specific questions: This tradition is sincere in their faith, this religious practice should carry illegal sanctions, and this religious practice should be regarded as unfortunate (Hood et al., 1998).

1954 In combining Hood et al. (1998) with the present study each of these indices should be compared with the legitimacy and assessment scores of this study. The ritual legitimacy response and ritual assessment responses could then be compared with the prejudice and indices responses to determine if they share similarities or differences in response. A combined study could help to examine the true responses of participants in relation to SHS as well as Manasa.

The present study examined two religious traditions, which are unique to their regions. Each of these traditions is imbedded within the culture as a unique form of religious expression. In the case of SHS, serpent handlers consider the behavior a commission as noted in Mark 16, even though serpent handling is deemed an unacceptable practice by the society as a whole. The behavior is shunned within southeastern society to the point of legal prosecution in many states (Hood et al.1998). Further research should be done on religious risk ritual cross-culturally examining the formation of biased attitudes and whether or not they can be changed. By examining the themes of education, emotion and bias, researchers can get a better understanding of how attitudes form and the nature of out-group dynamics with rumor and ignorance (Allport, 1954 pg. 74-79).

Hood,

Hood, B. W.

(1999).

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Appendix A

Pilot Data

A pilot study was conducted to examine the ritual legitimacy, ritual assessment, and training procedure before deciding upon the final research design. Using a psychology 101 class of 34 participant volunteers, half of the class was randomly assigned into two groups: a religious ritual trained group and a control group with no training. All students of the class were given extra credit for participation and had the choice to leave. All participated in the pilot study. The professor of the class supervised the control group and the principle researcher of this project supervised the training group. It was discovered that the legitimacy scale correlated with the assessment scale $r(34) = .619, p < .000$. Based on this finding with a low number of participants, it appears that the two scales can be combined to form a larger predictive scale including emotional (legitimacy scale) and cognitive (assessment scale) subscales.

Differences were examined between the randomly assigned groups (trained and not trained) and their responses on the ritual assessment and ritual legitimacy scales after watching SHS and Manasa videos. Using an independent sample t-test, there was no significant t value

between the training group and the no training "control" group on legitimacy or assessment between the following: Legitimacy scales for Manasa $t(26) = .924, p < .364$, Legitimacy scales for SHS $t(26) = .074, p < .942$, assessment scales for $t(26) = .072, p < .943$, and assessment for SHS $t(26) = 1., p < .107$ (as seen in figure 1.1pd).

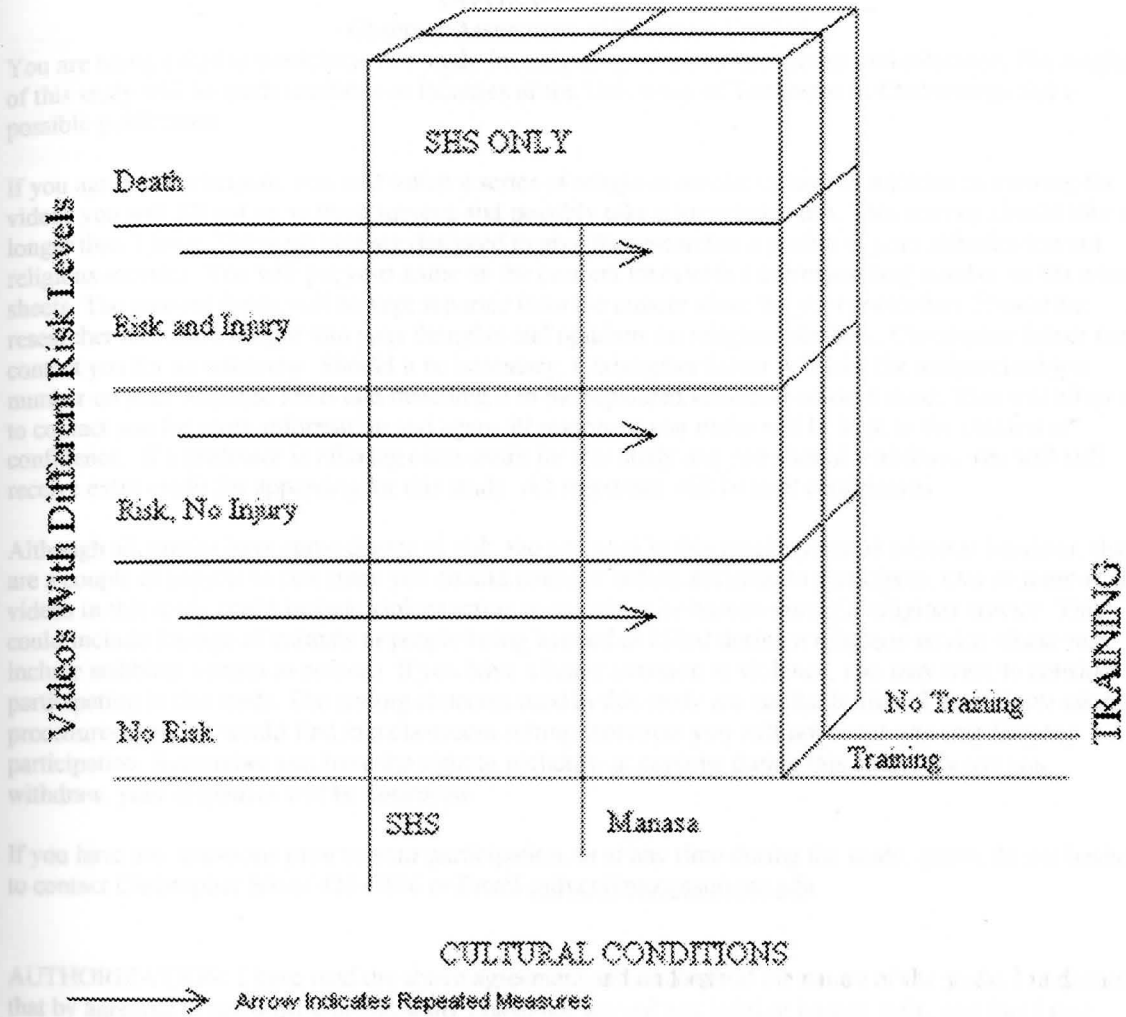
Figure 1.1pd

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Raw Legit Scores for Manasa	Equal variances assumed	.198	.660	.924	26	.364	4.6429	5.0237	-5.6835	14.9692
	Equal variances not assumed			.924	25.984	.364	4.6429	5.0237	-5.6838	14.9695
Raw Legit Scores for SHS	Equal variances assumed	1.060	.313	.074	26	.942	.4286	5.7867	-11.4662	12.3233
	Equal variances not assumed			.074	25.312	.942	.4286	5.7867	-11.4819	12.3390
Raw Ritual assess scores for Manasa	Equal variances assumed	.029	.867	.072	26	.943	.3571	4.9903	-9.9006	10.6148
	Equal variances not assumed			.072	25.320	.944	.3571	4.9903	-9.9140	10.6283
Raw Ritual assess scores for SHS	Equal variances assumed	1.713	.202	1.552	26	.133	10.5714	6.8109	-3.4286	24.5715
	Equal variances not assumed			1.552	22.397	.135	10.5714	6.8109	-3.5390	24.6819

The results of the pilot test and participant reactions to a reexamination of a couple aspects of the study design. It was discovered that the original ritual training video lacked clarity in the defining characteristics of ritual. The final training video included more reminders of the ritual characteristics in narrative and video text and only two religious ceremonies (Indonesian funeral and Catholic mass) as examples of religious rituals, instead of nine shorter examples of traditions.

On the ritual legitimacy and ritual assessment scales, some questions required simpler wording and structure. Because of the findings, the assessment scale was reworded by asking their degrees of certainty verses agreeableness. The Likert scale was increased from five numerical response values to nine for greater statistical variance within participant responses.

Appendix B



The Training fail group was included for contrast assessments.

Appendix C

Subject Number _____

INFORMED CONSENT

Observer Assessment of Religious Services

You are being asked to participate in a study investigating religious knowledge and tolerance. The results of this study will be made available to faculties of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga and a possible publication.

If you agree to participate, you will watch a series of religious service videos. In addition to viewing the videos you will fill out up to three surveys and possibly take a knowledge test. This activity should take no longer than 1 hour. The questions are designed to give the researcher a profile of your attitudes toward religious services. You will put your name on the consent form with a corresponding number on the answer sheets. The consent forms will be kept separate from the answer sheet for your protection. Should the researcher like more insight into your thoughts and opinions on religious services; Christopher Silver may contact you for an interview. Should it be necessary, Christopher Silver will take the assigned subject number on your response sheet and matching it to the separated informed consent sheet. This will allow us to contact you for more information and again all responses you make will be kept in the strictest of confidence. If a professor is offering extra credit for this study and you should withdraw, you will still receive extra credit for appearing for this study. All responses will be kept confidential.

Although all studies have some degree of risk, the potential in this investigation is minimal however; there are a couple of aspects to this study you should consider before deciding to participate. One or more of the videos in this study could include violent action to an animal or human during a religious service. This could include footage of animals or people being harmed or killed during a religious service (these may include stabbing, venom or poison). If you have a heavy aversion to violence, you may want to consider not participating in this study. Our testing elements used in this study are similar to that of normal test taking procedures that one would find in a classroom setting moreover you will not occur any cost for your participation. Remember you have the right to withdraw at anytime during this study. Should you withdraw, your responses will be destroyed.

If you have any questions prior to your participation, or at any time during the study, please do not hesitate to contact Christopher Silver 425-2126 or Email csilver@moccasun.utc.edu

AUTHORIZATION: I have read the above agreement and understand the nature of the study. I understand that by agreeing to participate in this study I have not waived any legal or human right, and that I may contact the head researcher or research advisor at anytime (head researcher: Chris Silver 425-2126 or research advisor: Dr. Ralph Hood 755-4334). I agree to participate in this study and release all responses I make in this study to Christopher Silver. I understand that I have the right to withdraw at anytime for any reason without reprisal or prejudice.

Participants Signature _____ Date _____

Head researchers signature  Christopher Silver Date 01/15/03

Participants name (please print) _____

Participants phone _____

Participants Email _____

May we contact you for an interview should we want more information about your perceptions of our research? Please Circle YES NO

Appendix D

Ritual recall assessment for trained participants

Ritual Recall Assessment

Please try and recall as many characteristics of religious ritual theory as you can as seen in this video. Please print and write legibly. Thank you. There are three characteristics. See if you can recall all of them from this video.

- 1. Gender
 - A. Male
 - B. Female
- 2. Race
 - A. White
 - B. Black
 - C. Hispanic
 - D. Asian
 - E. Other
- 3. Are you currently employed?
 - A. YES
 - B. NO
- 4. What is the highest level of education completed?
 - A. High School
 - B. Bachelor's
 - C. Master's
 - D. PhD
 - E. Vocational training
- 5. What is your marital status?
 - A. Married
 - B. Single
 - C. Divorced
 - D. Widowed
- 6. How would you describe your religious faith?
 - A. Part Time
 - B. Full Time
 - C. Don't work

Was there any aspect of this video that disturbed you, if any? If yes, please list. If no, write, "nothing bothered me."

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____

Appendix E

Demographics for every survey.

Subject Number _____

Demographics

Please circle or fill in the appropriate information.

1. Gender

A. Male

B. Female

2. Race – Which best describes your race?

A. White

B. Black

C. Hispanic

D. Asian

E. Other _____

3. Are you an American citizen?

A. YES

B. NO

4. What is the highest level of education completed?

A. High School/GED

B. Bachelors

C. Masters

D. PhD

E. Vocational training

5. What is your marital status?

A. Married

B. Single

C. Divorced

D. Widowed

6. How would you classify your employment?

A. Part Time

B. Full Time

C. Don't work

7. How much is your annual income?

A. Less than 20,000

B. 20,000 to 35,000

C. 35,000 to 50,000

D. 50,000 to 75,000

E. 75,000 or More

8. What is your Age _____

9. Have you ever attended a religious school?

A. YES

B. NO

10. Would you consider yourself?

A. Spiritual not religious

B. Neither spiritual or religious

C. Religious not spiritual

D. Both Spiritual and religious

11. Which title best describes your religious affiliation?.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| Southern Baptist | Wicca |
| Baptist | Hindu |
| Methodist | Mahayana Buddhist |
| Congressional Methodist | Theravada Buddhist |
| Church of Christ | Taoist |
| Church of God | Jainism |
| Episcopal | Druid |
| Catholic | Shiite Muslim |
| Unitarian Universalist | Sunni Muslim |
| Eastern Orthodox | Zoroastrianism |
| Lutheran | Chinese Regional Religion |
| Trinity Lutheran | Shinto |
| Christian Reform Church | Sikhism |
| Assembly of God | Confucianism |
| Church of Jesus Christ and Latter Day Saints | Dialectical Materialism |
| Jehovah witnesses | Reconstructionist Jewish |
| United Holiness Church | Orthodox Jewish |
| Presbyterian | Jewish Conservative |
| Cumberland Presbyterian | Jewish Reform |
| Seventh-Day Adventist | Atheist |
| Pentecostal | Agnostic |
| Church of the Nazarene | Scientology |
| Disciples of Christ | Pagan "non Wicca or Druid" |
| Christian Scientist | Other? _____ |
| Christ Unity | |

Appendix F

Religious Ritual Assessment in relation to the Hindu Manasa sect

Note: all questions will be mixed. Each of the Ritual characteristics were not listed on the assessment as they are here. Anything in **BOLD** is negatively worded. The questions were not BOLDED when given to the participants.

Religious Ritual Assessment – Manasa Non Randomized**All Negative Questions in BOLD**Contextual

1. Manasa devotees can gather together in a variety of locations such as shrines, trees, river sides or in private homes in order to hold services.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

2. **Manasa devotees seldom worship Manasa in specific locations.**

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Traditional

3. Much of the Manasa tradition is passed down from generation to generation.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

4. **Manasa worship has not been passed down (taught) from teachers to the student.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Episodic

5. There appear to be specific repeated patterns of behavior among Manasa devotees.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

6. **Style of worship is different in every Manasa service.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Repetitive

7. There appear to be specific repeated patterns of behavior among Manasa devotees.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

8. **Style of dance and worship is different in every Manasa service.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Symbolism

9. Singing and music in Manasa services is not simply to entertain the members but rather to praise and worship the Goddess.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

10. **I understand the deeper religious meanings of the practices in this video even if I do not fully understand their beliefs.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

11. The Manasa shines represent different aspects of the Goddess.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

12. **The Manasa images and clay pots have no resemblance to anything religious.**

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Empowerment

13. Devotees feel moved to sing and worship the Goddess in ways that please her.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

14. **During the Manasa service, members dance, worship and sing only to entertain one another.**

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

15. The Manasa devotees feel empowered when they worship the Goddess.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

16. **Manasa devotees do not feel empowered when they bathe the goddess image.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Performance

17. During community services, the Manasa high priest will tell snake lore and stories about the power of the Goddess.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

18. **No religious practices are performed for Manasa or the community.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Transcendence

19. The devotees believe there is a presence of Manasa at every religious service.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

20. Practices of Manasa devotees have little to do with spiritual experiences.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

21. Through participation, Manasa devotees experience transcendence during the religious practice in the video.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

22. Manasa devotees are not moved by their religious ceremony.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

EMOTIONAL MEASURE –Qualitative response

Was there any aspect of this video that disturbed you, if any? If yes, please list. If no, write, “nothing bothered me.”

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

Appendix G

Religious Ritual Assessment in relation to the Serpent Handling Sects

Note: all questions were mixed with the ritual legitimacy scale. Each of the Ritual characteristics was listed on the assessment as they are here. Anything in **BOLD** is negatively worded. The questions were not BOLD when given to the participants.

Religious Ritual Assessment - SHS
 All Negative Questions in **BOLD**
Context

1. Serpent handlers can gather together in a variety of locations such as churches, river sides, or private homes in order to hold services.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

2. **Serpent handlers seldom worship God together in specific locations.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Traditional

3. Much of the serpent handling tradition is passed down from generation to generation.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

4. **Few serpent handlers are members of powerful serpent handling families.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Episodic

5. Although there are specific beginning and ending points in a serpent handling service, the service itself may vary in length.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

6. **Serpent handlers rarely meet together to have services.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Repetitive

7. There appears to be a specific repeated pattern of behavior among serpent handlers.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

8. Style of dance and worship is different in every serpent handling services.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Symbolism

9. Singing and music in serpent handling services is not to entertain the members but rather to praise and worship God.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

10. I understand the meaning of religious practices in this video even if I do not understand their beliefs.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

11. Serpent handlers believe that the serpent represents Satan.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

12. **There is no religious symbolism in this video.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Empowerment

13. Serpent handlers feel moved to testify to the power of God in their lives.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

14. **During the serpent handling service, members dance, worship and sing only to entertain one another.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

15. Many serpent handlers feel empowered when they pray.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

16. Serpent handlers are not moved to read the Bible.

- Strongly Certain =9**
- Moderately Certain =7**
- Neutral =5**
- Moderately Not Certain =3**
- Strongly Not Certain =1**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Performance

17. Serpent handling churches often ask members to testify.

- Strongly Certain =9**
- Moderately Certain =7**
- Neutral =5**
- Moderately Not Certain =3**
- Strongly Not Certain =1**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

18. Most serpent handlers simply sit in the pews through the entire service.

- Strongly Certain =9**
- Moderately Certain =7**
- Neutral =5**
- Moderately Not Certain =3**
- Strongly Not Certain =1**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

Transcendence

19. Serpent handlers feel the presence of the Holy Ghost in their service.

- Strongly Certain =9**
- Moderately Certain =7**
- Neutral =5**
- Moderately Not Certain =3**
- Strongly Not Certain =1**

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

20. Practices of serpent handlers have little to do with spiritual experiences.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

21. Through participation, the serpent handling believers have transcendent experiences.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

22. The serpent handlers do not appear to be moved by the religious service.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

EMOTIONAL MEASURE –Qualitative response

Was there any aspect of this video that disturbed you, if any? If yes, please list. If no, write, "nothing bothered me."

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

Appendix H

Ritual Legitimacy inventory

Anything in **BOLD** is negatively worded. The questions were not bolded when given to the participants.

Ritual Legitimacy Inventory

Negative Items are in **BOLD>**

1. **I do not agree with all the religious actions in this video.**

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

2. I think that these religious practices are meaningful for the participant.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

3. I would tolerate the type of religious behavior shown in the video.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

4. We all have the right to our own religious beliefs.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

5. **I believe the state has the right to prohibit certain types of behavior shown in these videos.**

Strongly Agree =9
Moderately Agree =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Disagree =3
Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

6. **I believe that some types of behavior in the video are unacceptable no matter what.**

Strongly Agree =9
Moderately Agree =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Disagree =3
Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

7. **The people in this video should be able to continue their religious practices without fear of legal prohibitions.**

Strongly Agree =9
Moderately Agree =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Disagree =3
Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

8. **The people in this video should be able to continue their religious practices without fear of social prejudice.**

Strongly Agree =9
Moderately Agree =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Disagree =3
Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

9. I believe that some religious practices in the video should not be allowed to continue.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

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Appendix I

The Randomized Scales for Manasa with minor corrections for grammar.

Based on the video you just viewed, please rate how closely you would agree with the statement below.

Please mark the number line below that best represents your answer to the following questions.

1. I think that these religious practices are meaningful for the participant.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

2. **No religious practices are performed for Manasa or the community.**

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

3. The people in this video should be able to continue their religious practices without fear of legal prohibitions.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

4. **I understand the deeper religious meanings of the practices in this video even if I do not fully understand their beliefs.**

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

5. Much of the Manasa tradition is passed down from generation to generation.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

6. We all have the right to our own religious beliefs.

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

7. Devotees feel moved to sing and worship the Goddess in ways that please her.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

8. I believe that some religious practices in the video should not be allowed to continue.

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

9. There appear to be specific repeated patterns of behavior among Manasa devotees.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

10. Manasa devotees can gather together in a variety of locations such as shrines, trees, river sides or in private homes in order to hold services.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

11. **Manasa devotees are not moved by their religious ceremony.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

12. The Manasa devotees feel empowered when they worship the Goddess.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

13. During community services, the Manasa high priest will tell snake lore and stories about the power of the Goddess.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

14. **Manasa worship has not been passed down (taught) from teachers to the student.**

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

15. I would tolerate the type of religious behavior shown in the video.

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

16. **I do not agree with all the religious actions in this video.**

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

17. **Practices of Manasa devotees have little to do with spiritual experiences.**

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

18. Through participation, Manasa devotees experience transcendence during the religious practice in the video.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

19. **I believe that some types of behavior in the video are unacceptable no matter what.**

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

20. **During the Manasa service, members dance, worship and sing only to entertain one another.**

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

21. I believe the state has the right to prohibit certain types of behavior shown in these videos.

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

22. There appear to be specific repeated patterns of behavior among Manasa devotees.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

23. Style of dance and worship is different in every Manasa service.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

24. Manasa devotees seldom worship Manasa in specific locations.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

25. The Manasa shines represent different aspects of the Goddess.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

26. Style of worship is different in every Manasa service.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

27. The people in this video should be able to continue their religious practices without fear of social prejudice.

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

28. The devotees believe there is a presence of Manasa at every religious service.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

29. **Manasa devotees do not feel empowered when they bathe the goddess image.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

30. Singing and music in Manasa services is not simply to entertain the members but rather to praise and worship the Goddess.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

31. **The Manasa images and clay pots have no resemblance to anything religious.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

32. Was there any aspect of this video that disturbed you, if any? If yes, please list. If no, write, "nothing bothered me."

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

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Appendix J

The Randomized Scales KEY for Manasa.

Manasa Key

1. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Positive
2. Ritual Context – Negative
3. Ritual Symbolism – Positive
4. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Negative
5. Performance – Positive
6. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Positive
7. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Negative
8. Ritual Repetitive – Negative
9. Transcendent – Positive
10. Empowerment – positive
11. Episodic – Positive
12. Traditional – Negative
13. Context – Positive
14. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Negative
15. Traditional – Positive
16. Performance – Negative
17. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Positive
18. Symbolism – Negative
19. Transcendent – Negative
20. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Positive
21. Repetitive – Positive
22. Empowerment – Negative
23. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Positive
24. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Negative
25. Episodic - Negative

Appendix J

The Randomized Scales for SHS with minor corrections for grammar.

Based on the video you just viewed, please rate how closely you would agree with the statement below.

Please mark the number line below that best represents your answer to the following questions

1. **Serpent handlers seldom worship God together in specific locations.**

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

2. The people in this video should be able to continue their religious practices without fear of social prejudice.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

3. I think that these religious practices are meaningful for the participant.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

4. **During the serpent handling service, members dance, worship and sing only to entertain one another.**

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

5. Serpent handlers are not moved to read the Bible.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

6. I understand the meaning of religious practices in this video even if I do not understand their beliefs.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

7. I believe that some religious practices in the video should not be allowed to continue.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

8. Serpent handlers can gather together in a variety of locations such as churches, river sides, or private homes in order to hold services.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

9. I believe that some types of behavior in the video are unacceptable no matter what.

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

10. The serpent handlers do not appear to be moved by the religious service.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

11. Serpent handling churches often ask members to testify.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

12. Through participation, the serpent handling believers have transcendent experiences.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

13. Many serpent handlers feel empowered when they pray.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

14. Serpent handlers rarely meet together to have services.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

15. Much of the serpent handling tradition is passed down from generation to generation.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

16. I would tolerate the type of religious behavior shown in the video.

Strongly Agree =9
Moderately Agree =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Disagree =3
Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

17. Singing and music in serpent handling services is not to entertain the members but rather to praise and worship God.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

18. **Most serpent handlers simply sit in the pews through the entire service.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

19. The people in this video should be able to continue their religious practices without fear of legal prohibitions.

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

20. **Few serpent handlers are members of powerful serpent handling families.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

21. Serpent handlers believe that the serpent represents Satan.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

22. We all have the right to our own religious beliefs.

Strongly Agree =9
 Moderately Agree =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Disagree =3
 Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

23. Serpent handlers feel moved to testify to the power of God in their lives.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

24. There appears to be a specific repeated pattern of behavior among serpent handlers.

Strongly Certain =9
 Moderately Certain =7
 Neutral =5
 Moderately Not Certain =3
 Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

25. **There is no religious symbolism in this video.**

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

26. I do not agree with all the religious actions in this video.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

27. I believe the state has the right to prohibit certain types of behavior shown in these videos.

Strongly Agree =9

Moderately Agree =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Disagree =3

Strongly Disagree =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

28. Serpent handlers feel the presence of the Holy Ghost in their service.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

29. Style of dance and worship is different in every serpent handling services.

Strongly Certain =9

Moderately Certain =7

Neutral =5

Moderately Not Certain =3

Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

30. Although there are specific beginning and ending points in a serpent handling service, the service itself may vary in length.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

31. Practices of serpent handlers have little to do with spiritual experiences.

Strongly Certain =9
Moderately Certain =7
Neutral =5
Moderately Not Certain =3
Strongly Not Certain =1

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

32. Was there any aspect of this video that disturbed you, if any? If yes, please list. If no, write, "nothing bothered me."

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

STOP DO NOT GO ON UNTIL INSTRUCTED TO

Appendix K
The Randomized Scales KEY for SHS.

SHS Key

1. Performance – Positive
2. Transcendence – Negative
3. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Positive
4. Traditional – Negative
5. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Negative
6. Episodic – Negative
7. Symbolism – Positive
8. Episodic – Positive
9. Empowerment – Negative
10. Ritual Legitimacy – Positive
11. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Negative
12. Contextual – Negative
13. Ritual Legitimacy inventory – Positive
14. Repetitive – Negative
15. Trancendent – Positive
16. Ritual Legitimacy inventory – negative
17. Traditional – positive
18. Performance – negative
19. Ritual Legitimacy inventory – positive
20. Ritual Legitimacy inventory – positive
21. Symbolic – Negative
22. Empowerment – Positive
23. Ritual Legitimacy Inventory – Negative
24. Contextual – Positive
25. Repetitive – Positive

Appendix L

The revised script for the religious ritual training video.

(BEGINNING)

(TEXT ONLY) The characteristics of religious ritual

(Text and speech) This film is going to teach you to identify the major characteristics of religious ritual. Please pay attention to all the characteristics of ritual, you will be asked to recall them later.

Please pay close attention to the three primary characteristics of Religious Ritual.

Three primary characteristics of religious ritual are

First, Religious Ritual elicits a sense of the transcendent. This may include a sense of the presence of God or gods or of a dimension of reality felt to be ultimate or absolute. The experience of transcendence includes an assurance that what is experienced is objectively real, and not simply the product of imagination or wishful thinking.

Second, Religious Ritual empowers the participants within the context of the beliefs of the tradition. Ritual participants are empowered to act through a sense of the transcendent. This action can be manifest in a variety of ways as defined by the tradition.

Third, Religious Ritual employs symbols. These symbols represent the transcendent. They can have a deeper auspicious meaning that is realized only to the believing participants. Transcendence is experienced in and through these symbols, which point to or suggest this reality without exhausting it.

Thus, through religious rituals, participants engage in meaningful symbolic acts that empower them through a sense of transcendence that is both defined and sustained by their religious tradition.

Other characteristics include,

Ritual is contextual for which ritual behavior is appropriate only within a specific setting. Ritual is traditional for which it has established patterns of shared meaning within a group that persists over time. Ritual is episodic. It varies in length but begins and ends at specific times. Ritual is repetitive. It has a routinized pattern that can be identified with minor variation. Ritual is a performance. A participant or participants enact the action for an individual, audience or deity.

(Begin Footage) Indonesian Funeral

In Bali Indonesia, death is seen as transition between worldly and heavenly life. The funeral celebrations require lot of preparation, not to mention expense. The Indonesians have two funerals for each death; the first one is a private affair, which is right after death. The body is preserved in the house where it died until the necessary cash has been

saved for the second and much bigger public funeral. Because the second funeral is effectively a huge festival and can be held at any time, it tends to be organized between July and October, when the relatives can come to visit more easily. This leads to the concept of the Funeral Season. The **context** for the funeral is in the open air in a communal place within the village.

It takes an average of two years to plan an Indonesian funeral and the ceremony **episode** lasts five days. Historically this religious rite **traditionally** has continued in much the same fashion for over hundreds of years. The ceremony **empowers** those who attend by assisting the dead to the after life. In Tana Toraja they wear black, which is **symbolic** of mourning the dead. The funeral is a celebration of the person's life and **symbolic** of him or her making the step into the next world, where those left on earth make sure they send all the help they can to the person's spirit through animal sacrifices.

When an Indonesian dies, the spirit journeys to a **transcendent** netherworld. Here the ancestor spirits judges it. One of the ways the deceased is judged is on how successful he or she was in their previous life. An indication of this success is by the number of animal sacrifices that occur on the person's behalf. A wealthy family can afford large numbers of animals to be sacrificed while the poor save money for many years to pay for an elaborate funeral. The larger the number of animal sacrifices, the better the spirit's chance of getting to heaven. The best animal to get sent along for the spirits journey to the **transcendent** netherworld is the water buffalo, the most expensive animal in Indonesia. A funeral can literally bankrupt a family. Once the ceremony begins wooden **symbolic** images are carved of the deceased. Indonesians also believe that other spirits exist throughout the world. The spirits just like the living can be harmed. After warning the spirits to stand aside, a high priest **performs** the killing of a water buffalo so that the soul's has safe journey into heaven. The dead buffalo join the deceased and provide protection as they cross into heaven. This process can continue **repetitively** with other animals. Even the attendants and observers of the funeral are **empowered** to assist in the funeral process by collecting the blood of the buffalo, assisting the high priest or by observation.

(In Summary)

By killing of the buffalo, the high priest and funeral participants are **empowered** by the ritual to assure the safe journey to the **transcendent** netherworld. Through wooden **symbolic** images, the deceased is honored.

(BREAK)

(REMINDER WITH TEXT AND VOICE)

Remember the three primary characteristics of religious ritual are
 First, Religious Ritual elicits a sense of the transcendent. This may include a sense of the presence of God or gods or of a dimension of reality felt to be ultimate or absolute. The experience of transcendence includes an assurance that what is experienced is objectively real, and not simply the product of imagination or wishful thinking.

Second, Religious Ritual empowers the participants within the context of the beliefs of the tradition. Ritual participants are empowered to act through a sense of the transcendent. This action can be manifest in a variety of ways as defined by the tradition.

Third, Religious Ritual employs symbols. These symbols represent the transcendent. They can have a deeper auspicious meaning that is realized only to the believing participants. Transcendence is experienced in and through these symbols, which point to or suggest this reality without exhausting it.

(BREAK)

(CATHOLIC MASS)

The Catholic Mass

The **Context** of Mass typically is within cathedral or church with Catholics and a priest present. Mass is a religious service which reenacts the sacred mysteries of Christ's life. The **tradition** of mass has continued in much the same way for over a thousand years. Mass is performed daily in almost every Catholic Church although most practicing Catholics attend mass only on Sundays vigils.

For the religious service to be a Mass, it must have three elements:

1. The offertory
2. The consecration
3. Eucharist, which is the reenactment of the last supper.

These come after the liturgy of the word, which are readings or teaching from the Bible.

We will examine the process of a typical Sunday Mass.

When a catholic first arrives should engage in a moment of prayer or reflection. The service begins with the entrance song. Catholics stand during the song, which is a sign of **empowerment**. The act of standing is a sign of respect for the celebrant and the ministers in the entrance procession, as well as a posture of one who is active and attentive.

The priest makes a statement of faith to invoke the name of the Trinity and to place the Cross of Christ on their bodies. The priest then welcomes the congregation to the Mass.

The Opening Prayer or "Collect" - When the celebrant says, "Let us pray". This is the time when Catholics will focus their thoughts on the Mass. The prayer of the celebrant "collects" all the prayers of the assembly and offers them to the Father.

(Liturgy of the word)

The "liturgy of the word" for many Catholic practitioners is essential to the mass proper. It serves the function of helping the people to celebrate more effectively the liturgy of the Eucharist. The Liturgy of the word engages the celebrant and the people in

1. An act of penitence
2. An expression or act of glorifying God

3. An expression or act of hearing readings from the New Testament

The reading of the New Testament is followed with a reading of the homily by the priest and by an expression of faith like the Nicene Creed.

The First Reading is usually from the Old Testament. The appropriate response is, "Thanks be to God!" The Responsorial Psalm is a further response to the first reading, hence the name. It also usually has a similar theme to the gospel.

The Second Reading, is from the New Testament and reveals how the early Church understood the gospel message.

The Gospel contains the words of Christ, and so the Catholics stand if able. As the Gospel of the day is introduced, Catholics also may make a small sign of the cross on their forehead, then on their lips and finally on their heart to indicate openness to the words of Jesus. This gesture accompanies the prayer.

The Homily explains the readings of the day and applies them to everyday life, or it may explain a certain part of doctrine of liturgical practice.

The expression of Faith, usually the Catholic will recite the Nicene Creed. This creed outlines Catholic beliefs in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the Church, which carries on God's saving work. The Creed is **symbolic** as a degree of faith.

The general intercessions bring to a close the Liturgy of the Word. Then it is time to prepare the gifts and to give thanks in the Liturgy of the Eucharist.

(MASS PROPER)

The structure of the Liturgy of the Eucharist helps Catholics to see how Christ offers himself, and how they are in turn to offer themselves to him. The Mass is a true sacrifice and is a **symbolic** of a shared meal, where what is offered is transformed into the body and blood of Jesus Christ, through the process of transubstantiation.

Then begins the essential mass or what is called the liturgy of the Eucharist.

1. Offering of Gifts (bread and water or wine as symbols of ourselves and of Christ)
2. The consecration of those gifts.
3. The consumption of those gifts.

The priest offers the gifts by holding the gifts above the altar and presents them to God the Father. He then prepares himself and asks the people to pray that the sacrifice of bread and wine, the sacrifice of their treasure and the sacrifice of their selves may be acceptable to God.

The consecration begins when the priest prays the Words of Institution, those very words that Christ used at the Last Supper. The Prayer over the gifts takes the prayer of the people and offers it to God. The Breaking of the Bread is a very important part of the rite.

The catholic remembers "As Christ's body was broken for us, so now the Body of Christ in the Eucharist is broken so that it might be shared."

The Eucharistic Prayer, Begins with the Introductory Dialogue between the priest and the people. They lift up their hearts and give thanks that they are called into the **transcendent** mystery of salvation.

The priest prays the Eucharistic Prayer on behalf of the Sacred Assembly. The Catholics present **empower** the priest to pray on their beliefs. The first part proclaims the greatness of God and the appropriateness of the gathering. Then as the priest lays his hands over the gifts and makes the sign of the cross he calls down the power of the Holy Spirit upon the gifts.

Then he shows the Bread, which is the Body of Christ to the people. He does the same with the wine, which becomes the Blood of Christ. Such a miracle demands a response and the Memorial Acclamation provides the opportunity. The second half of the Eucharistic Prayer has two parts, remembering and asking. The remembering is more than just a calling to mind. It is an authentic participation in the passion, death and resurrection of Christ. More than a memory, it is a living reality. As such, the catholic will ask from God what they need to thrive as a church. God in their lives, for unity within the Church, for a share of heaven, for the mission of the Church in the salvation of the world, and for their beloved dead. The Eucharist Prayer ends with the Doxology (Through him, with him, in him...) and the Assembly shouts or sings the Great "AMEN!" Thus they put their stamp of approval on all that the priest has offered in their name. The gifts, which are offered have been given to God and thus transformed; not just gifts of bread and wine, but themselves.

The Rite of Communion begins with the Lord's Prayer.

The priest is the first to receive communion and the blessings. Then the acolytes and the Eucharistic ministers receive communion and the blessings. Once the priests and his assistants have received, communion is then offered to the laity.

Communion is the coming together of Catholics and God. Communion allows Catholics to relive the last supper before Jesus was crucified. It also **empowers** them to receive the blessings of Jesus.

After all have received, a sacred silence is observed to give each the opportunity for private thanksgiving. These prayers are gathered together in the Prayer After the consumption of the gifts, there is another short liturgy of the word: giving thanks and the priests blessing followed by his words of dismissal.

This ends the mass.

The priests will then leave the sanctuary followed by other priest and alter boys. The service has ended and the congregation will leave the church.

(BREAK)

(CONCLUSION)

Remember that some of the characteristics of ritual are that; Ritual is contextual for which ritual behavior is appropriate only within a specific setting. Ritual is traditional for which it has established patterns of shared meaning within a group that persists over time. Ritual is episodic. It varies in length but begins and ends at specific times. Ritual is repetitive. It has a routinized pattern that can be identified with minor variation. Ritual is a performance. A participant or participants enact the action for an individual, audience or deity.

REMEMBER you will be asked to recall the following characteristics of Religious Ritual. Those characteristics are...

Three primary characteristics of religious ritual are

First, Religious Ritual elicits a sense of the transcendent. This may include a sense of the presence of God or gods or of a dimension of reality felt to be ultimate or absolute. The experience of transcendence includes an assurance that what is experienced is objectively real, and not simply the product of imagination or wishful thinking.

Second, Religious Ritual empowers the participants within the context of the beliefs of the tradition. Ritual participants are empowered to act through a sense of the presence of the transcendent. This action can be manifest in a variety of ways as defined by the tradition.

Third, Religious Ritual employs symbols. These symbols represent the transcendent. They can have a deeper auspicious meaning that is realized only to the believing participants. Transcendence is experienced in and through these symbols, which point to or suggest this reality without exhausting it.

(END OF TAPE)

Appendix M

Serpent Handling Video Scripts

NARRATIVE FOR ALL SERPENT HANDLING VIDEO CONDITIONS**(BEGIN AFTER TITLES)**

A religious phenomenon specific to the Southern Appalachian region of the United States is serpent handling. Serpent handling sects have been around for over 100 years. Within American Protestantism, there are three streams of religious thought that contribute to the tradition of Serpent handling: Holiness, Fundamentalism and Pentecostalism. Serpent handlers typically identify themselves as Holiness people. Historically, Holiness is a philosophy focused upon the outward manifestation in dress and behavior of deep inner holiness. Fundamentalism emerged in the second decade of this century as all embracing and literal in its biblical interpretation. The fundamentalist unconditionally accepts the Bible as the word of God, including such controversial mandates as the taking up serpents. While serpent handlers do not identify themselves as fundamentalist, they share with fundamentalists the acceptance of the Bible as the authoritative word of God. The Bible notes in Acts 2, that during the day of Pentecost the apostles and others were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke in new tongues. The literal interpretation and practice of this and other scriptures are the link that the serpent handlers share with mainstream Pentecostalism. However, serpent handlers accept all the signs of Mark 16 including handling of serpents, casting out of demons and conditionally the drinking of poison, while mainstream Pentecostals typically accept the less controversial signs of speaking in tongues and laying of hands. Mark 16 states,

(SHORT PAUSE)

"And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover. So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following." (Mark 16: 16-18, KJV)

(BREAK)

Members handle serpents by faith alone or by the experience of anointing. The interpretation of the scripture and the experience of anointing empower the participant to continue the practice of serpent handling. Through the experience of the anointing or the textual interpretation of the scriptures, based solely on faith, the practice has meaning for the participant. No one is forced to participate; in many cases a member or leader of the church will warn participants at the church that "there is death in these boxes"

(BREAK)

Many outside observers misunderstand the behavior of the serpent handler because they do not understand the meaning of the practice. Serpent handlers are independent of any parent or umbrella religious organization. Their churches are scattered primarily throughout Southern Appalachia. Serpent handlers have experienced fierce opposition, including laws against the practice. Serpent handlers are typically described in the media as people mired in poverty and provincialism, lacking the common sense not to participate in this dangerous practice. The media fails to examine serpent handlers in an

unbiased manner. For the serpent handler the Biblical text states that these signs shall follow those that believe. The text itself is sufficient justification for the practice, and a testament to the belief that the Holy Spirit is present in the world.

(BEGIN BAPTISM)

"I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance. but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire" Mathew 3 verse 11

All serpent handling sects baptize, the practice continues in many congregations. Different types of congregations baptize in different ways. Some may baptize in the name of Jesus Christ while others baptize in the name of the father, son, and holy ghost. The practice of Baptism is the cleansing of sin for the participant. Like many of the other religious practices seen in this video, Baptism has a religiously textual justification and is a religious practice that is meaningful for the participant.

(CONCLUSION)

It is believed by Christians that Jesus Christ gave this teaching to his disciples before he ascended into heaven. For the serpent handler Mark 16 is a literal passage that denotes what action a true believer will participate in. No one is expected or forced to participate in the signs however many do. The tradition has continued through families who have practiced the signs for many generations. Many of these families have kept the churches alive. The stories of grandmothers and grandfathers are much the same as their adult grandchildren. Their stories of feeling anointing through Gods presence are the same. Serpent handlers become anointed by the Holy Spirit and are empowered to handle. The interpretation of the scripture and the experience of anointing empower the participant to continue the practice of serpent handling. (ALL CONDITIONS)

(ALL CONDITIONS WILL HAVE ACTION WITHOUT NARRATIVE IN THE MID SECTION OF THE VIDEO EXCEPT FOR THE DEATH CONDITION)

Condition 4 handling with injury and death (PRINCE MIDDLE OF VIDEO)

Charles Prince grew up in Tennessee and was the son of a charismatic serpent-handling preacher. He was one of the more popular serpent handlers of the eighties. He like his father was a charismatic serpent handler. Prince was devoted to his faith. He would often take out a serpent and within the same breath take a sip of a poisonous solution, practicing the signs of Mark 16. Many of his observers noted the level of devotion and excitement during his service. One night during a typical serpent handling service, Charles Prince reached into the serpent box to extract a serpent, the serpent immediately stuck his hand and Prince continued to handle. The serpent then stuck under his thumb. Prince rarely acknowledged when he was bitten. Despite being bitten and feeling the effects of the venom, he continued to preach. He took a drink of strychnine and danced around the front of the church. He eventually took another drink of strychnine and finally rested in a pew. Later he had to be carried out of the church by the members because he was too weak to walk.

After being removed from church, he was taken to a member's house in nearby Limestone, Tennessee. The members cared and prayed for him. Prince had been bitten many times previously but he always refused medical attention because he believed this faith would save him and God would protect him. He made his wife promise no matter how serious his condition became, not to call an ambulance.

(BREAK)

The following day, Charles Prince passed way.

Appendix N

Disclaimer script read by researchers before the data was gathered! For each and every time any condition was shown, the UTC IRB required that the follow script be read.

(PLEASE READ THIS EXACTLY AND THANK YOU AGAIN FOR HELPING ME)

Hello and welcome

You are being asked to participate in a study investigating religious knowledge and tolerance. The results of this study will be made available to faculties of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga and a possible publication.

If you agree to participate, you will watch a series of religious service videos. In addition to viewing the videos you will fill out up to three surveys and possibly take a knowledge test. The videos should take no longer than an hour. The whole activity should take no longer than 2 hours. The questions are designed to give the researcher a profile of your attitudes toward religious services. You will put your name on the consent form with a corresponding number on the answer sheets. The consent forms will be kept separate from the answer sheet for your protection. Should the researcher like more insight into your thoughts and opinions on religious services; Christopher Silver may contact you for an interview. Should it be necessary, Christopher Silver will take the assigned subject number on your response sheet and matching it to the separated informed consent sheet. This will allow us to contact you for more information and again all responses you make will be kept in the strictest of confidence. If a professor is offering extra credit for this study and you should withdraw, you will still receive extra credit for appearing for this study. All responses will be kept confidential. Our testing elements used in this study are similar to that of normal test taking procedures that one would find in a classroom setting moreover you will not incur any cost for your participation.

You will view up to three films. After each video you will be prompted to fill out a survey. Fully fill out each section of the survey until prompted to stop at the bottom of the sheet. You will complete up to 3 surveys.

If you do not wish to participate you may leave now
(Wait 10 seconds)

OK, I assume you all want to participate.

You will receive two hours extra credit for this study however, this study does not typically take two hours. **Since this is the case we ask that you pay close attention to the videos you are about to see.**

IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT YOU PAY FULL ATTENTION TO EACH VIDEO.

Please give yourself a random set of numbers and letters to be your subject number. Write your subject number on both your informed consent and the packet. Once the study is completed, please do not share information about this study with others who have not participated.

In addition, please answer each survey completely and honestly. Should you have any questions please contact the main researcher Christopher Silver at (Please write email on the board) Christopher-Silver@utc.edu. Thank you again for your participation.

(AFTER ALL THE DATA HAS BEEN COLLECTED)

Again, please do not share information about this study with others who have not participated.

Appendix O

For instructional sheet for anyone helping with gathering
of data

This was required to assure that data collection methods were being followed appropriately. Three research assistants were in charge of collecting data; however, there were times were more data collection facilitators were required. Therefore, the following sheet helped to ensure that the collection methods were being followed as directed.

Before you collect data

The rooms, research assistants, and volunteers will be posted with the research assistants. Should any problems occur before, during or after data collection, the research assistants are responsible should a problem occur.

We will use 30 participants at a time for which you and a fellow researcher will randomly assign participants into two groups of 15. Some days we may run two groups of 30. We would then separate them into four groups, two groups for the first thirty and two groups for the second group of thirty.

The first group of 15 will view a training video.

The second group of 15 will view a control video about Italy.

Each video is numbered and has a specific order of flicks (including training or control) and risk conditions on each video.

15 minutes before data collection a **research assistant** will need to go to Grote Hall (The extra credit board on the first floor across from Grote 101) and remove the sign up sheet for that day.

For the death condition, there will not be a break down. The participants will stay within their group of thirty.

A research assistant will coordinate with you how to randomly assign participants and which videos to show and which surveys to give.

You will need to get videos from the cabinet in 349A (Ourth's Lab) and the TV/VCR's from the appropriate places listed on the wall in 349A. The wall also lists which rooms the students will appear. I would suggest having the TV ready in those rooms at specific time of collection with the appropriate surveys. Make sure to pay attention to the videos and the surveys they are coded as such.

Many of the tapes will have the following coding scheme

NRID-T-M-S

NRID-C-M-S

The surveys will have the following schemes

T-M-S, C-M-S, C-S,

Below are the coding schemes and their meaning.

NRID =NO RISK INJURY OR DEATH

RNID =RISK BUT NO INJURY OR DEATH

RIND = RISK AND INJURY BUT NO DEATH

RID = RISK, INJURY AND DEATH

T-M-S = TRAINING – MANASA (HINDU) – SERPENT HANDLERS (AMERICAN)

C-M-S =CONTROL VIDEO – MANASA – SERPENT HANDLERS

T-S-M =TRAINING – SERPENT HANDLERS - MANASA

C-S-M =CONTROL VIDEO –SERPENT HANDLERS – MANASA

T-S = TRAINING –SERPENT HANDLERS (DEATH CONDITION)

C-S = CONTROL VIDEO – SERPENT HANDLERS (DEATH CONDITION)

Make sure the VCR tapes have been rewound.

Check sound on the TV and make sure it is at a good level.

The research assistants may decide to merge groups should we be running two 30-member groups. If this is the case and you are a volunteer, you can leave, baring there is no reason for you to stay. Make sure that the forms are recollected and the correct forms have been given to the participants. You and the research assistants may want to assess the turn out of participants before giving out the surveys. This way, if the group merge then there is no hassle with re-collecting the surveys and redistributing the surveys.

During data collection

Read the IRB script (this script explains the study and gives the participant the chance to leave). PLEASE READ THE SCRIPT AS PRINTED. Do not Adlib unless there is a grammatical or spelling error on the script.

Have the participants complete the informed consent. Have the participants give themselves a random number. Have them put this number on both their informed consent and on their survey packet. Should a participant leave at any point, mark the survey ABSTAINED in big letters and set aside (DO NOT TURN IN WITH FULL SURVEYS).

Randomly assign the groups.

Move one group to the other room.

Pass around the extra credit sheet (this is so the participant can get credit for their class).

Have the participants fill out the demographics section.

Put the tape into the VCR (if you haven't already)

Play the video until the message on the tape comes up "Stop Tape or END TAPE".

Then prompt the participants to fill out the survey until the survey says stop at the bottom.

Then play the tape again until it says "stop tape or END TAPE".

Prompt the participants to go to the next section of the survey fill it out completely until it says stop at the bottom.

After everyone has finished section two.

Hit play on the VCR again until it says "stop tape or END TAPE".

Rewind the tape. Prompt the participants to finish the final part of the survey then turn it into you. Remind the participants to keep the study secret and not share information with others who have not participated.

You may then debrief the participants on the nature of the study. Information will be emailed to them about the study.

After data collection

(VERY IMPORTANT) Once everyone is finished, take the TV back to its original place. Before you drop the surveys off, please (on the outside of each packet) code which video the participant saw.

Example: NRID, RNID, RIND, RID as noted above. This is very important for later data analysis. The research assistants will help you.

Drop the videos and the surveys off in 349A in the brown cabinet.

The research assistants will then report to Chris via email Christopher-Silver@utc.edu or chris_silver@psychologyofreligion.org number of participants and any problems that may have arose during data collection.

If you are a volunteer, thank you again so much for your help. I will find some way to repay your kindness.

Appendix P

Video coding scheme

All videos had to be coded so that only the researchers would know what video was being used and in what order the footage would be shown. They were kept lock in a lab within the psychology department. The tapes were chosen based on the amount of participants needed to complete each condition each day.

Data Gathering Groups

<u>Video</u>	<u>Subject N</u>	<u>Condition</u>	<u>Order of Condition</u>
1.	15 – (Training)	No Risk Injury or Death	(MANASA THEN SHS)
2.	15 – (No Training)	No Risk Injury or Death	(MANASA THEN SHS)
3.	15 – (Training)	No Risk Injury or Death	(SHS THEN MANASA)
4.	15 – (No Training)	No Risk Injury or Death	(SHS THEN MANASA)
5.	15 – (Training)	Risk but No Injury or Death	(MANASA THEN SHS)
6.	15 – (No Training)	Risk but No Injury or Death	(MANASA THEN SHS)
7.	15 – (Training)	Risk but No Injury or Death	(SHS THEN MANASA)
8.	15 – (No Training)	Risk but No Injury or Death	(SHS THEN MANASA)
9.	15 – (Training)	Risk and Injury but No Death	(MANASA THEN SHS)
10.	15 – (No Training)	Risk and Injury but No Death	(MANASA THEN SHS)
11.	15 – (Training)	Risk and Injury but No Death	(SHS THEN MANASA)
12.	15 – (No Training)	Risk and Injury but No Death	(SHS THEN MANASA)
13.	30 – (Training)	Risk, Injury and Death	(SHS ONLY)
14.	30 – (No Training)	Risk, Injury and Death	(SHS ONLY)

Appendix Q

Thesis proposal approval and UTC IRB Approval

Attached to the following sheets!

IRB Approved on February 11th, 2003 #2803

Thesis Proposal accepted March 14th, 2003