

‘Parallel glocalization: the New Age in Taiwan’

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper, based on fieldwork conducted in Taiwan between 2003 and 2004, is to enhance sociological understanding of both the New Age in Taiwan and the notion of social movements. It argues for the importance of considering the development of New Age spiritualities in Taiwan as a social movement with some distinctive characteristics. The paper is in three parts. First, it outlines the movement’s history, paying special attention to the confluence of different beliefs and practices – some old and some new. Second, the paper analyzes the social networks within which New Age teachers, centres and practitioners operate at the three interrelated levels of movement, movement organizations, and movement participants. The third section of the paper examines the process of ‘parallel glocalization’ whereby certain New Age groups are simultaneously engaged in assimilating ideas, materials and practices from other countries and ‘exporting’ them overseas.

Key words: New Age Movement, Social Movement, Parallel Glocalization

Introduction

This paper aims to enhance the sociological understanding of the New Age in Taiwan in terms of the concept of social movements within a global context. Historically, the idea of the New Age was introduced from the US to Taiwan in the early 1980s and has subsequently developed into a fluid spiritual social movement. Since then, the preference for a sacralized 'Self' and self-transformation by means of healing has been attracting a growing number of followers among the diverse religious and spiritual marketplace in Taiwan. In this paper we will show how the New Age in Taiwan was emerged and has developed into a social movement within about 20 years, and the structure of the NAM in terms of movements, organizations, and networks. Most importantly, we will argue that the globalization of the NAM in Taiwan is not merely regarded as a 'Westernisation' or 'Americanisation' but 'Parallel Glocalization'.

Data for this paper was based on fieldwork conducted between 2003 and 2004 in Taiwan, including collecting and analyzing relevant literature, participant observation as well as interviewing forty people who have strongly got involved in various workshops, practices and activities among New Age circles.

In the first section we will introduce the developing history of the New Age in Taiwan. Then, we will focus on the structure of the New Age in Taiwan. First, we will argue that the New Age in this country can be regarded as a social movement by comparing it to the characteristics of other social movements. Next, we will suggest a framework of analyzing the structure of the NAM, including forms of organizations and network; a diagrammatical figure of the network will be proposed in order to give a clear picture of the NAM in Taiwan. In the final section we will deal with the global dimension of the NAM in Taiwan by examining the globalization of three popular groups, in which we will argue that the globalization of the NAM in Taiwan

is better understood as a 'parallel glocalization'.

Emergence and Development of the New Age in Taiwan

The idea of the New Age was first introduced to Taiwan from the US in the late 1970s/early 1980s, and since then, various groups and practices have become increasingly active in New Age circles in Taiwan-- a country that preserves Chinese religious traditions such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and popular religions but have also developed unique religious phenomena through different stages of history¹.

The idea of the New Age appeared in Taiwan between the late 1970s and early 1980s when a few books were translated and published in the Chinese language, such as *The Psychology of Man's Possible Evolution* (人可能進化的心理學, 1979) and *The Fourth Way* (第四道, 1984) by Ouspensky, and *A Seth Book: the Seth Material*(靈界的訊息, 1982), *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul* (靈魂永生, 1984), and *The Nature of the Psyche, its Human Expression* (心靈的本質, 1987) by Jane Roberts, a channel of Seth. During the period between 1980 and 1985, there were no groups/organizations established, but a few intellectuals (who encountered the idea of New Age while staying in the US) endeavoured to translate their favourite books in order to introduce this new spirituality to Taiwan. This period can be regarded as a seeding stage of the New Age in Taiwan.

It is significant that the New Age began to develop in Taiwan after the lifting of Martial Law in 1987. There were two New Age groups which emerged between 1986 and 1990, *A Course in Light* and *A Course in Miracles*, although the numbers of participants were still a few. Both of them manifested as study/practice groups.

¹ See Chen 2006, p. 97-105 on the history of religions in Taiwan.

The first study/practice group for *A Course in Light* emerged when the translator of the Course introduced the material to a group of friends, about 5 – 10 persons around 1987, and it lasted for a few years until the Chinese version of the Course was published in 1993. On the other hand, the idea of *A Course in Miracles*² was first introduced to Taiwan by one of the profit-seeking organizations among the Human Potential Movement (HPM), the *Spiritual Ocean International Group* (心靈海國際教育集團).³ However, groups for *A Course in Miracles* were not formalised until the Chinese version was published in 1999. At the same time, another strand of the New Age was gradually developing; it developed around an intense correspondence between the translator of the works by Jane Roberts about Seth and a number of faithful readers. The translations by Chi-Ching Wang (王季慶) attracted those readers who were searching for life meanings and enjoyed topics on spirituality.⁴ Later, Mrs Wang and the readers formed a first study group for Seth in 1992, which was the precursor of the first New Age organization in Taiwan, the *Chinese New Age Society*. Many of the early participants in this stage later became agents of promoting the idea of the New Age in Taiwan.

On the other hand, movements related to the New Age such as the Rajneesh Movement (or Osho) and the HPM were also introduced to Taiwan during this period.⁵ For example, the first Taiwanese disciple of Osho, Kuo-Yang Lin (Sw.

² It is the *Spiritual Ocean* that first introduced the *Course* to Taiwan, and this attracted a number of people who were interested in the *Course* before the Chinese version was published. The Taiwanese centre for *A Course in Miracles* formed its network as well as the virtual organization in 1999, which is separated from the development of the *Spiritual Ocean*.

³ It was originally registered as a human resources consultancy company called 'Spiritual Ocean'; it expanded and established several different companies between 1989 and 2001.

⁴ 25 out of 40 interviewees in Chen's (2006) sample reported that their encounter with the New Age had started with reading her translations.

⁵ Most participants in the two movements are separated from the NAM, although a few participants participate in all three movements. For example, people who are deeply involved in the Rajneesh Movement are not interested in spiritualities or activities in the NAM, and those who participated in the HPM seldom devote themselves to the NAM. However, some people who support the NAM might also consume products (books, healing sessions/workshops) related to the two movements for their 'spiritual growth'.

Dhyan Chandana), has been translating publications about Rajneesh into Chinese since 1983, and established the Osho Publishing Co. (奧修出版社) in order to promote Osho's philosophy. His translations have been regarded as the main materials for the followers of Rajneesh in Taiwan.⁶ In addition, there are currently nine centres (including Osho Publishing Co.,) for the Rajneesh Movement in Taiwan, which are accredited to the the Osho International Meditation Resort (Puna, India) as meditation centres; four of them are located in Taipei, two of them are in Taichung; the others are in Hsinchu, Kaoshiung and Tainan. The first meditation centre was established in 1992 in Taipei, and later registered as a formal organization 'Osho Meditation Association R.O.C' (中華民國奧修靜心協會). With regard to the HPM, several profit-seeking organizations were established during this period, such as *Star's Edge International* (國際星邊公司, 1986), *Zhenshanmei Shengming Qianneng* (真善美生命潛能研修中心)(1986), *Spiritual Ocean Internal Group* (心靈海國際研修訓練機構, 1989) and *Enlightenment Center* (創見堂, 1989).

More and more study groups, healing activities, courses, workshops and publications have appeared since 1995, which can be regarded as a rapid growth stage for the New Age in Taiwan. Books that are popular in study groups are those especially focused on channelling messages, such as *Seth* (by Jane Roberts), *Orin & Daben* (by Sanaya Roman and Duane Packer), and in recent years the *Conversations with God* (by Neale D. Walsh).⁷ In the beginning, these groups were hosted and organized by volunteers, and later many of them also registered as a part of the network of the *Chinese New Age Society*. In addition to Taipei City, the most important city for the development of the New Age in Taiwan, these study groups

⁶ He had translated 43 volumes of the works of Osho into Chinese by 2002. In addition, about 13,000 copies of the works of Osho are sold per year, according to the translator's estimation (Wenting Tsai, 2002, p.70).

⁷ Most of the study groups were faithful readers of a book series entitled the 'New Age' published by Fine Press, a series mapped out by the founder of the Chinese New Age Society.

have also spread into other cities such as Hsinchu, Taichung, Kaoshiung and Tainan. In addition, the idea of healing was important to the development of the New Age in Taiwan, has been regarded as an important issue for personal development and spiritual growth; therefore, various publications, bodywork, healing workshops, therapies and meditations have been introduced to Taiwan. In one sense, the phenomena outlined above are consistent with observations of the New Age in the West in the late 20th century; in another sense, they represent the movement's leaders'⁸ preference for the topic of healing (Shu-Chuan Chen, 2004a, b).

Many of the early participants in the movement became individual practitioners after 2000. Some of them established centres or organizations, including websites; some others cooperated with centres in organising workshops or healing sessions. The *Chinese New Age Society*, as the first formal organization for the New Age, can be regarded as the most important organization in promoting the idea of the New Age in Taiwan. Other active centres/organizations for the New Age include *Buddhist Life*, *A Course in Light*, *A Course in Miracles*, *Garden of Light Carrier*, *Himalaya Living Space*, *TOPTEC*. The representative organizations of the New Age in Taiwan will be presented later in this paper, but it is clear that the movement reached its current stage of development in Taiwan after 20 years of activity.

The Structure of the NAM in Taiwan

The New Age in Taiwan as a Social Movement

Most research on the New Age in the West focus on the debates over the appropriate of the term 'New Age' or 'New Age Movement' (Shu-Chuan Chen, 2006: 25-49). However, participants in Taiwan accept the term 'New Age' without negative implications, which is different from the case of the New Age in the West.

⁸ Such as the *Chinese New Age Society*, *A Course in Light* and *A Course in Miracles*.

This is not only seen from the fact that the first New Age organization in Taiwan adopted the term and registered as ‘Chinese New Age Society’, but from another fact that most interviewees accepted the term ‘New Age’. In addition, empirical data shows that the New Age in Taiwan can be regarded as a kind of social movement. We will prove this point by clarifying the meaning of the term ‘movements’, and by making a comparison between the NAM in Taiwan and other social movements.

From a sociological point of view, social movements vary in such aspects as their components, structures, processes and goals (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Gusfield, 1981). For example, Gusfield (1981) describes and analyses two perspectives on social movements — the linear and the fluid — each of them focusing on different dimensions or features. The former approach pays attention to a discrete association of people whose activity makes instrumental use of certain means to achieve an identifiable end. It focuses on the public arena of collective action and phenomena such as dissidence, protest, rebellion or deviance. In addition, the object of the analysis is organizations and associations; therefore, there are sociological studies of movements which focus on specific organizations of a population, such as Hare Krishna, the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, or the Students for a Democratic Society. In this regard, social movements are almost synonymous with their social movement organizations (SMOs): as Zald and Ash point out, ‘social movements manifest themselves, in part, through a wide range of organizations’ (Zald and Ash, 1996, cited in Gusfield, 1981, p.320).

On the other hand, a fluid perspective on social movements does not content itself with an analysis of SMOs or the extent to which they achieve their formal goals (i.e. ‘linearity’). Instead, the focus is on all the ramifications of social movement activity, including the subtle changes of sensibility to the source of grievances. The fluid perspective takes discourse and language-use seriously. It also examines the

‘emotion culture’ in some movements – as well as the selection of symbols that convey a movement’s identity. In short, this approach focuses on the cultural side of movements, the transformations of meaning, or the less formally organized aspects of movements. The fluid perspective is especially suitable for analysing relatively diffuse contemporary movements such as feminism, environmentalism or human rights as well as understanding both social and cultural changes, compared with the linear perspective on SMOs (Gusfield, 1981, p.323). Therefore, as Beckford (2000) puts it, ‘the fluid perspective on social movements...helps to trace their subtle influences on social relations and culture’ (p. 170).

From the perspective of sociology, the NAM displays several characteristics which are common to other contemporary social movements. Firstly, there are people who participate in the NAM in order to explore alternatives to aspects of their life or their society with which they are not satisfied. Unlike the Hippy movement and the counter-culture movement in the 1960s, however, the NAM is not only a protest against some aspects of ‘conventional’ life but also an expression of a new, experimental life-style. New Agers may wish to protest against grievances, of course, but this aspect of the NAM is much weaker than the concern to cultivate tranquillity, balance, healing and harmony in their everyday life. Secondly, movements cultivate new sensibilities in their participants that often involve the expression of typical emotions, as with the case of anti-war movements, or various alternative healing groups in the New Age. Thirdly, movements encourage participants (and potential participants) to experiment with new ways of living, as in the case of the Gay Rights movement (Gusfield, 1981, p.321) or Rajneesh Movement. Fourthly, movements try to re-define situations in new terms, which involves making claims about what is wrong with people themselves or the world and claims about how to solve these problems. Social movements such as vegetarianism,

environmentalism and anti-war movements are relevant examples. In respect to the NAM, people who are involved in groups such as *A Course in Light* (ACIL), *A Course in Miracles* (ACIM), and the study group for Seth have learned new ways of redefining their self-identity and rebuilding their life by acknowledging ‘you are responsible for yourself, you create your own reality’.

We can see from the above comparison between the NAM and other social movements that, as a global spiritual social movement, the NAM is similar to other social movements when viewed in terms of Gusfield’s (1981) fluid perspective. However, the NAM also differs from certain other social movements in several ways, as follows. Firstly, many SMOs mobilise people’s resources such as money, time, labour and skills, and organise these resources in order to achieve their goals. Some New Age groups or associations such as the *Chinese New Age Society* (CNAS) do indeed mobilise participants’ resources, but this is a relatively insignificant aspect of their activities. Secondly, social movements usually try to cultivate a new sense of collective identity among their participants. The NAM also helps participants to cultivate a new sense of themselves, but seldom seeks to cultivate an explicit collective identity.⁹ Thirdly, some social movements try to motivate participants to change and to persuade outsiders to share their point of view. But participants in the NAM in Taiwan are not very missionary, although some of them are enthusiastic about what they do. Fourthly, social movements permit people to participate in many different ways, such as as devotees, clients, members, beginners, leaders or patrons. The forms of participation in the NAM are, however, less varied than in other social movements, because it is less organization-orientated and not at all bureaucracy-orientated. For example, people who participate in the NAM as

⁹ Data collected from the fieldwork reveal that participants are encouraged to know themselves and to cultivate or to reconstruct their self-identity in the process of participation. Collective identity, for example the label ‘New Age’, is acknowledged by most participants but not aggressively promoted.

authorities, such as teachers, healers and spokespersons, do not necessarily possess more resources than other members and clients in terms of the ultimate goal of this movement - spiritual growth and personal transformation. Instead, they are regarded as a 'channel' that helps participants to cultivate a sense of their own authority. The connections among participants are created and sustained in self-study and self-healing groups, workshops, and other forms of communication. Fifthly, social movements are general expressions of a preference for change in society but they also contain particular 'movement organizations' that try to control resources, activities and power. Movement organizations in the New Age in Taiwan, however, are not very powerful or numerous. New Age Movement Organizations (NAMOs) such as the CNAS and the *Taiwan Reiki Cultural Research Association* (TRCRA) lack much formality or capacity to control what happens in the name of the New Age.

The components of the NAM at three levels

The above comparison between the NAM and other social movements clearly shows that the New Age can be regarded as a social movement. In addition, as a social movement, it emphasises a general preference for change and a relatively informal mobilisation of people and other resources within loosely articulated and imbricated networks.

All these features of the NAM can be pulled together in an analytical framework that is selectively based on McCarthy and Zald's (1977) 'partial theory'. It can be understood in terms of a three-level abstraction. At the highest levels of abstraction are two concepts that have so little bearing on this paper that we shall simply name them as the 'social movement sector' (SMS) (the area of society where social movement activities take place) and 'social movement industries' (SMI) (fields of grievance pursuit within the SMS, for example, peace, labour, human rights or

feminisms). Our framework in this paper begins with the next lower level of McCarthy and Zald's abstractions: 'social movements' (SM). An SM can be defined as 'a set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for changing some elements of the social structure or reward distribution, or both, of a society' (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p.20). In the case of the NAM, this change also includes the self and the social aspects of the life of a participant.

The second level of our framework is composed of Social Movement Organizations (SMOs). They are formal organizations that aim to achieve goals congruent with the changes sought by social movements. SMOs mobilise the resources (human, intellectual and material) that are required for the achievement of their goals. New Age movement organizations (NAMOs) such as the CNAS and the TRCRA have a set of goals and share the broadest preferences of the NAM.

The third level of our framework consists of individual participants, whom we shall call New Age Movements Participants (NAMPs). This is a general category that includes a range of forms of participation. It ranges from high profile leaders of NAMOs, at one extreme, to the casual shopper for New Age products at the other. The relationships among the three levels of the framework for the NAM in Taiwan represent a fluid and loose structure that is best captured in the notion of a network.

In fact, the idea of network has already appeared in publications about the NAM¹⁰, but the usage of this idea in this paper is original in so far as it presents the NAM in Taiwan as a network at three different analytical levels as shown above. John Barnes (1954) was the first scholar to propose the idea of a 'net' when examining informal social relationships. He suggested that a net was constituted of lines and nodes: the former refers to individual relationships while the latter

¹⁰ For example, the works of York 1995 and Corrywright 2003; see Chen (2006) for their respective arguments.

represents the points where the lines intersect (the individuals involved) (Hirst, 2003). Therefore, for enhancing the idea of network, the components of the NAM in Taiwan include nodes and lines. A line represents communication between centres and groups. A node is the point where the participants congregate for activities, or consume spiritual products; it may be a centre, a group, a site, a shop, or an organization. A node may or may not be physical, therefore various virtual points such as websites, blogs, user groups, mailing lists that feature electronic communication all fall into this category. In addition, 'primary nodes' are points where only participants congregate while 'secondary nodes' such as bookstores and virtual centres are not limited to participants and may attract outsiders and potential participants. These 'secondary nodes' cross the boundaries between the spiritual marketplace and the network of the NAM. The above description is only a sketch; it is necessary to look at various kinds of organizations in the NAM in Taiwan before we present an elaborate diagrammatical figure of the network.

The Types of Organizations and Representative Groups

There are different types of organizations in the New Age in Taiwan, including formal/informal organizations, centres and groups. For formal organizations, there are basically two types. One type entails being registered as a non-governmental organization (NGO): the representative groups are the first formal organization of the NAM in Taiwan, *Chinese New Age Society* (CNAS), and the newly established *Taiwan Reiki Culture Research Association* (TRCRA). Usually the role of the non-profit organizations involves acting as information centres to promote the idea of the NAM, providing sites for relevant events/activities, and improving communications among members. For example, the first formal organization of the NAM in Taiwan is the Chinese New Age Society (CNAS). Its goal is to 'affirm life, cherish environment and promote the society toward a new age, that is, open to spirituality,

and to lifting the level of life.’¹¹ The CNAS consists of four physical centres, which is located at different cities. The main activities in the centres include study/healing groups, various courses, and counselling/therapeutic session. There are fewer than 100 people who were formally registered as members of the CNAS until 2003. However, activities held in the centres of CNAS are not limited to members, and in fact have attracted many more non-members. The fact that the CNAS attracts many non-members confirms the value of Gusfield’s (1981) advocacy of a ‘fluid’ perspective on social movements. This perspective ‘is less confined to the boundaries of organizations and more alive to the larger contexts of change at the same time as it is open to awareness of how the movement has consequences and impacts among nonpartisans and nonmembers as well as participants and devotees’ (Gusfield, 1981, p.323).

Another type of formal organization includes the Human Resources (HR) consultancy corporations, such as *Himalaya Living Space (HLS)* or *TOPTEC*, which are funded by private capital. Take the example of the HLS, it was established in 2001 by one of the first generation of teachers in the ACIL. It functions as a medium-sized centre for the New Age, which provides a variety of courses such as ACIL, Reiki, bodywork such as Tai-chi, spiritual dances, counselling, healing, and readings such as tarot and Aura Soma.

Informal organizations in the NAM include virtual centres and physical centres. The virtual centres take the form of websites and information centres, such as ACIL and ACIM. For instance, the website belonging to A Course in Light Information Centre (ACILIC) was launched in 2003 as a virtual centre to serve as a vehicle for communication among teachers and adherents. Also, no membership system or

¹¹ From the official website of the CNAS:
<http://www.cnas.org.tw/index.asp?module=OrgIntro&op=Memo2>

physical centres/organizations have been established for ACIL in Taiwan apart from the virtual centre. In addition, no formal programme has been instituted in Taiwan for people to train as teachers of ACIL.

The physical centres are spaces, such as the *Buddhist Life* (BL) and the *Garden of Light Carrier* (GLC), which are open for New Age groups to meet and organise activities. For example, a physical centre such as BL is located on the 6th floor of a commercial building in a cultural and educational area in Taipei: it has two meeting rooms for group activities and one distribution centre for spiritual products. Although it is not a centre only for the NAM, it hosted the first public lecture addressing the New Age in 1990 in Taiwan. In addition, it is reported that the number of New Age activities in the centre has been growing since 2001, while Buddhist activities have decreased.¹² Currently, New Age activities in the centre include study groups, courses about healing, hypnosis, Yoga, tarot/astrology and Aura Soma reading.

Finally, and in contrast to the formal organizations described above, there are many study groups which are organized by volunteers who are interested in a specific topic or activity in the NAM. In addition to groups such as ACIL, ACIM and Seth, which are operated by specific organizations, there are some other groups that are more independent but maintain loose connections with centres such as the CNAS. They spread over different cities of Taiwan, such as the study groups for the *New Age*, the popular groups in the NAM '*Study Groups for the Conversations with God*', study groups for *Orin & Daben*, each of which focuses on specific ideas, practices or books. The group meeting is usually held at places provided by group members.

Networking in a Spiritual Marketplace

It can be seen from the previous section that the organizations of the NAM in

¹² Interview with the site owner.

Taiwan are relatively loose in terms of structures and systems. Moreover, there are various connections between groups and organizations in the Movement, which is, however, dynamic and fluid. In addition, as we have mentioned, a more useful concept for analysing the connections between groups in the NAM is 'network'. The way in which participants, groups and associations connect to each other is the key to the type of networks at work in the NAM. In fact, these organizations and groups are not independent of each other in terms of marketing but are interwoven into an invisible but dynamic web.

The network of the NAM is the flexible structure that holds all the elements of the three levels together. The point where NAMPs meet, congregate, interact and consume products is a Node, including primary nodes and secondary nodes, as we have explained in pervious section. Lines connecting nodes represent communications between centres and groups in the network of the NAM. Connections among centres and groups in terms of communication can be divided into three degrees: strong, weak and fluid connection. In addition, personal networks and Internet interactions are also part of the dynamic of the network of the NAM in the religious and spiritual marketplace in Taiwan. They contribute heavily towards the expansion of the NAM to overseas.

Primary nodes are important to NAMOs and NAMPs because they are points where many participants congregate and attend workshops and activities about the New Age. Formal organizations such as CNAS and HLS, fall into this category. Some NAMOs without physical centres, such as ACIL, ACIM, CWG, sometimes use other primary nodes for group meetings, workshops or cross-group activities. Primary nodes are more difficult than secondary nodes for non-participants to gain access to, unless they have connections with NAMPs.

Secondary nodes are points where people congregate or consume spiritual

products. They are open not only to participants of the NAM but also to potential participants. Some physical centres such as the *Buddhist Life* (BL) have the characteristics of secondary nodes because they also function as distribution centres for spiritual products, including books. Secondary nodes can be bookstores, shops for organic/vegetarian products, or various New Age shops. There are a few New Age shops in Taiwan. In addition to New Age shops where all products are related to the movement, people might occasionally encounter the New Age at general bookstores and then become involved in the movement.

Although it is difficult to estimate the numbers of people who have been attracted to the NAM via a secondary node, some of the interviewees encountered the New Age while shopping for books. Some of them, for example, were introduced to reading books about the New Age at BL by the storeowner. In addition, people could also encounter the New Age at shops for organic/vegetarian products because they might pick up brochures or messages about the New Age there and then become interested. In this regard, one informant did mention that he had encountered the New Age (ACIL) while having lunch at a shop for vegetarians. He reported that he read an advertisement for ACIL in a free booklet in the shop and was attracted to the message. He then contacted the translator of ACIL and started to practise it.

It is also common for people to get information about other religions/spiritualities at secondary nodes such as BL or shops for organic/vegetarian products because there is no obvious segregation between New Age, Buddhism, and popular religion in terms of spiritual/religious marketplace in Taiwan.

Although each centre or group has its network for the NAMPs, they are connected with each other to different degrees in terms of communication. Some are strong connections: for example, CWG is registered as a part of CNAS, and therefore information exchanges between them are more frequent than with other groups. A

weak connection refers to when communication takes place between centres and groups as cross-boundary activities. For example, CNAS would support groups such as ACIL or ACIM when they wanted to use its centre for cross-group activities.

Communication between CNAS, ACIL and ACIM can be regarded as a weak connection because it only happens when there are cross-group activities. A fluid connection refers to when there is communication at a personal level between centres and groups. For example, there are no formal communications between ACIL and ACIM, but the leaders of the two groups are friends; therefore, communication between the two groups is mediated by friendship on the personal level.

Although there are connections between centres and groups in the network of the NAM in Taiwan, most connections are based on personal relationships between group leaders/teachers. This kind of network that links some New Agers together is loose, informal, and sometimes personal, which in a way is different from the 'seekership' in the 'cultic milieu' identified by Colin Campbell (1972). Campbell argues that the cultic milieu, as a deviant and counter-culture, is outside the 'orthodox' (Christian) culture, and that seekership is the common characteristic among cultic organizations (1972, pp.122-124). However, when the NAM as a part of the 'cultic milieu' of the West was introduced to Taiwan, it developed different styles and features. The characteristics of counter-culture are not evident in the case of the NAM in Taiwan; it is regarded as a part of the plural spiritual/religious market, where the distinction in Campbell's analysis between deviant and orthodox is absent. Neither the NAM nor Christianity is mainstream in Taiwan; both are 'deviant' in this market, compared to the high percentage of believers in Buddhism and folk religion.

Some people encountered the idea of the New Age through personal

relationships with friends, classmates, or family.¹³ In addition, another kind of personal relationship, such as with individual practitioners and group leaders, can also function as the agent between Nodes, especially in the case of secondary nodes. These people sometimes contact each other in order to organise a larger activity or workshop that is not limited to group members. Moreover, it is in such cross-group activities that NAMPs would be likely to introduce potential participants to the NAM. This kind of connection is based on a personal network because the resources mobilised for activities are not organized at the level of NAMOs but by NAMPs. In short, the NAM in Taiwan is a decentralised, networked movement in which personal, voluntary mobilisations are more important than organizational mobilisations.

For example, Mrs Wu, the spokesperson of the *Chinese Branch of A Course in Miracles* (CBACIM), started a schedule of annual study meetings in 2003, which aims to help participants understand the theory and practice of ACIM. As there is no physical organization but only a virtual centre, Miracle Information Centre, and volunteers for the CBACIM, all the preparation and administrative work for the 2003 annual study meeting was supported by volunteers. Volunteers were sought on the basis of the personal network of the secretary. She mobilised volunteers from study groups for ACIM to organise the two-day annual study meeting.

Online communication is an important and economic medium through which New Age groups try to spread information, to expand and to promote the Movement. Internet communication includes personal email exchanges, user groups, mailing lists, personal websites, and public websites such as virtual centres, and the official websites of physical organizations/centres. In this regard, York (1995, pp.88-9) and other scholars note the importance of the 'worldwide communications network' in their analysis of the NAM without exploring the issue in depth. York merely made a

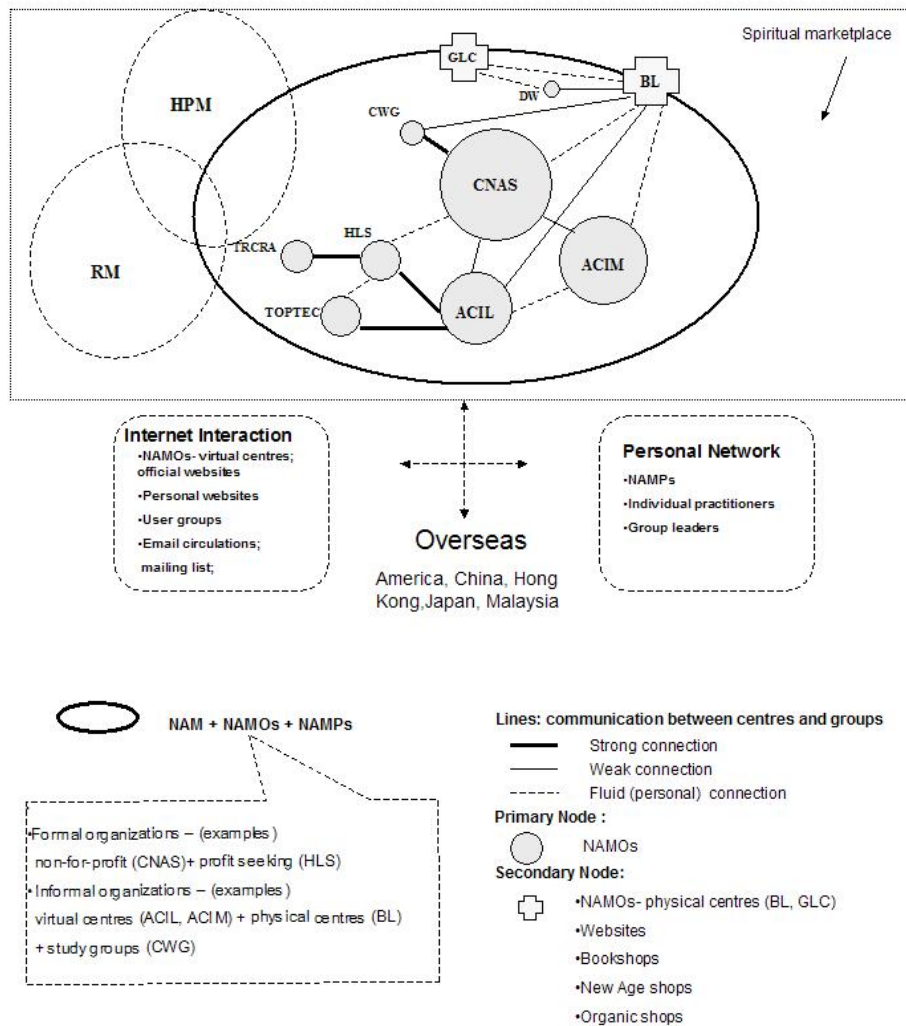
¹³ See Chen 2006: 170-206

brief observation that, 'with the world network growing at an unprecedented rate, a technical basis alone is being established for the expected and extreme shift in consciousness that comprises the New Age with its millennial overtones' (p.89).

The importance of the internet in the network of the NAM in Taiwan is felt not only by virtual centres such as ACIL and ACIM but also by other New Age groups. Most groups have their own official website; some groups such as CWG and ACIM have also established virtual study groups by creating a message board for discussions on their official website. In addition, the internet also helps the NAM in Taiwan to contribute establishing towards world-wide communication. In the next section we will show that these connections, especially through personal networks and the Internet, can also enable the movement to develop a process of 'parallel globalization'.

In sum, from the above argument it is seen that the NAM in Taiwan is a particular kind of network that involves a web-like structure of relations and communications at three analytically different levels: participants, organizations and the overall set of values, beliefs and practices that express a preference for change. In addition, secondary nodes, personal networks, and Internet interactions are three important opportunities for the NAMPs to contact each other and to expand the Movement in the religious/spiritual marketplaces in Taiwan. A diagrammatical figure is shown as follows:

Figure: The Network of the NAM in Taiwan



Globalization: Parallel ‘Glocalization’

Just as the development of high tech knowledge and skills in the field of communication has transformed the world into a ‘global village,’ the NAM in Taiwan is also inseparable from global forces. As can be seen from its history, a few people who had encountered the New Age in the US introduced the idea to this country in the early 1980s. The fact that the NAM did not originate in Taiwan but was imported from the US is not sufficient by itself to prove the influence of globalization. But some further features of the NAM’s pattern of development in Taiwan support the

general idea that globalization is an important part of the context in which it has come to operate. Scholars in the field of New Age study who have discussed the issue of globalization (Inoue, 1996; Frisk, 2001; Hanegraaff, 2001; Introvigne, 2001) have tended to focus their discussions on the extent to which globalization implies cultural homogenization or cultural heterogenization, and on the role of Western culture in the process.

For example, Frisk (2001) viewed globalization as a phenomenon that was strongly connected to increasingly worldwide communication. One of the results of globalization is therefore the growth of cultures that he calls 'transnational cultures or deterritorialized cultures'. The New Age, according to Frisk, can be seen as a 'large-scale, decentralized religious subculture' (pp.31-32). He regards it as one of the transnational cultures that relates to accelerated eclecticism; and the emphasis is on an inner experience of the unity of multicultural elements (p.33). However, he indicates that globalization in some respects (including the New Age) still means 'Westernisation'. In his opinion, although there are increasing mixtures of cultures in all parts of the world, the directions of this mixture are unequal because the West is more in control in the process of globalization, and is in a more privileged position. The New Age as a contemporary transnational culture, therefore, represents Westernisation in his view (Frisk, 2001).

In addition, Hanegraaff (2001) argues that the claim that the New Age represents an emerging global spirituality is in fact an ideology ('political in nature', in Hanegraaff's phrase, p.28). He suggests that American values of democracy and religious freedom are closely linked to the New Age phenomenon of a 'spiritual supermarket' in which people are 'free' to choose, within but not beyond the limitations and the rules of the system. Therefore, according to Hanegraaff, the New Age is more properly seen as an aspect of global Americanisation.

Introvigne (2001), on the other hand, pays attention to ‘glocalization’, through which the global becomes local, and the local becomes global. He argues that the old ‘New Age’ has experienced a crisis and that people in the movement have tried to redefine the term. As a result, for example, the term ‘Next Age’ has appeared in Italy to replace ‘New Age’. In addition, he notes that the process of glocalization can apply to areas such as Latin America or Japan, where national or regional forms of the New Age have in turn influenced the global phenomenon without disrupting it.

The term ‘glocalization’, which first appeared in the *Harvard Business Review*, was coined by Japanese economists, and has been discussed extensively in Robertson’s work on globalization (1992). Glocalization means ‘the simultaneity - the co-presence - of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies’ (Robertson, 1997, p.221). In other words, Robertson suggests that globalization is not only a process of ‘making things the same’ but also of making things different. The modern world is a place where there is a much greater interdependence at national and regional levels than in the pre-modern period. Therefore, the relationship between universality and particularity is so dynamic that universalisation and particularisation are both happening at the same time in the process of globalization.

In the following discussions we will argue that the NAM cannot be simply regarded as a product of Americanisation or Westernisation. Instead, it is more appropriately understood in terms of ‘glocalization’. And since the process of globalization is not necessarily happening in sequence from one place to another place, but in several places at the same time, we shall consider it as ‘parallel glocalization’. We devised this term to emphasise something that has been ignored in studies of the New Age, namely, the fact that the refraction of global forces proceeds simultaneously in different places where it may appear that the New Age is spreading as a homogeneous entity. In fact, when New Age ideas and practices are exported from

Taiwan to Hong Kong and Malaysia, for example, they are subject to local refraction in each case. ‘Glocalization’ therefore proceeds in parallel rather than in series.

We will use three cases as examples in the following discussions: *A Course in Light*, *A Course in Miracles* and the *Chinese New Age Society*.

A Course in Light

A Course in Light (ACIL) is a spiritual practice in which people meditate by means of twelve colours of light energy in order to achieve spiritual transformation. It consists of several levels, with a series of lessons. The materials is channelled by Antoinette Moltzan (Toni), an American from Texas, who has been receiving messages from ‘light beings’ since 1971, and who began to publicly introduce ACIL to people in the US in 1977.

A Taiwanese American, Vicki Yang, brought ACIL to Taiwan in the mid-1980s. Having met Toni in 1983, she began studying and practising ACIL the following year in Texas, a period when her life was described as ‘confused and frustrating’ (Moltzan, 2002, p.169). After learning levels 1 and 2 of light meditation, she returned to Taiwan in 1986 and spent one-and-a-half years completing the other levels of the course through self-learning. Later Vicki was asked to show the material to a few friends who were interested in ACIL, and this is regarded as the emergence of the ACIL group in Taiwan.

In 1993, Vicki began translating ACIL texts into Chinese, a project which lasted several years; in the meantime, she hosted a group of some 20 to 30 people who were studying the messages of ACIL, and who were practising light meditation following her oral translation of the material (Moltzan, 2002, pp.168-183). Several other groups were gradually organized and hosted by people who had learned AICL and had become teachers during the 1993 to 2000 period. The Chinese version of the first four levels of ACIL was published in 1996. Four years later, in 2000, a public

presentation of the revised Chinese version was held in Taipei. The author, the translator and also spokesperson of ACIL in Taiwan, and ten other Taiwanese teachers were introduced to participants; it was regarded as the first formal, public presentation of ACIL in Taiwan.

Until early 2004, there were 25 teachers in Taiwan who maintained contact with ACILIC and regularly hosted ACIL study/meditation groups. Of these teachers, 16 are in the north (Taipei), 6 in central Taiwan (Taichung), and 3 in the south (Kaoshiung). Most teachers work in business fields or are professionals. One is retired. Their ages range between 30 and 50 years; twenty-one out of the twenty-five are females. In addition, between 200 and 325 people are participants in group practices. As for the number of adherents of ACIL in Taiwan, i.e., those who have learned or are learning ACIL, this can be roughly estimated on the basis of the volume of sales of Chinese versions of the books. By the end of 2003, about 7,000 volumes of the book describing the first four levels of ACIL had been sold since it was first published in 1996, while 400 volumes of the Chinese version of the higher level of ACIL, the first three levels of *The Planetary Lessons*, have been sold since its publication in late 2003.

Although the author of the course is an American who has visited Taiwan every year since 1998, the case of ACIL cannot be simply termed ‘Americanisation’. There are several reasons for this. First, the author/channeller did not set out deliberately to promote ACIL in Taiwan: it was taken up there because it resonated with individuals who were already receptive to its ideas. In other words, there was an affinity between ACIL and its first practitioners. The messages of the Course were first spread among the personal network of the ‘mediator’, who had encountered ACIL in the US that had allegedly helped her ‘heal’ herself. Second, the materials of ACIL in Taiwan show that they have been adapted to local circumstances. Although

the Chinese version of ACIL is a version that conforms to the original text, the accompanying CD for guiding meditation is different from the original CDs in respect of their content as well as their number. For example, the basic level of ACIL in the US is a book together with 24 CDs. However, the Chinese version of ACIL is produced as one book with one CD. The translator produced the meditation CD in Chinese and revised its context in order to fit into the local culture:

Toni published a set (of the CDs)...one CD for one lesson, but the content of each CD is actually repeated. However, it would cost too much if we were to produce the same kind of CDs; this is the first point. Second, we Chinese would not really follow those kinds of steps, to listen to the CDs lesson by lesson...this is my opinion.... Therefore, later I got some idea, that is, only to teach about meditation procedure...when people are getting familiar with the order of meditation, they would know how to meditate themselves. The CD is not produced to require people to follow it if they are to meditate. It is just produced as an example, ...this is meditation procedure. When you get used to it, you can get rid of it...because meditation is very personalized. (13/10/03, P4)

In addition, even the original text of ACIL does not especially emphasise the ideology of Americanisation, such as the values of democracy and of religious freedom, as Hanegraaff outlined the term. As a channelled text, ACIL contains various spiritual and occult messages from belief areas such as Christianity, Hinduism, the Yoga system, and astrology. These messages are beyond the formal knowledge of the channeller.¹⁴

ACIL has also spread from Taiwan to other Chinese communities in other areas

¹⁴ Toni mentioned in her autobiography (1991) as well as in the public presentation of the Chinese version that she was a housewife who grew up in a traditional Christian family.

such as Hong Kong, China and Japan. Various ACIL teachers in Taiwan took it to these areas through their personal networks. It can be regarded as a parallel development in these areas. In Japan, it has been practised in one small Chinese group who follow a teacher from central Taiwan who has been periodically visiting Japan to host the Course since 2003. ACIL has the potential to spread into Japanese communities because of another 'light' teacher in Taiwan who volunteered to translate the text into Japanese. Mrs Mo, who belongs to the first generation of the light teachers in Taiwan as well as being the founder of two other New Age organizations, took ACIL to Hong Kong in June 2000. She was invited to Hong Kong to host a small group, and it lasted for one year. Later she encouraged the group members to organise their CIL groups in Hong Kong. ACIL was introduced to China in 2002 on the invitation of Naxin Ju, the website owner of *New Age Network China* (NANC, 中華新時代網),¹⁵ who has been endeavoring to promote the idea of the NAM in China. However, it was reported from a user group in Taiwan that the website had been forced to close by the Chinese government in Feb 2005. The website owner then recreated a new website and expanded the original website into a '*New Age Forum* (NAF).¹⁶ However, it is noticed that the new website has posted a statement with several regulations in one of its sub-pages.¹⁷ One of the points of the statement is that the website follows the relevant laws of the PRC. The development of the NAM in China at this stage might therefore be limited to some small groups and related activities which could operate in a more private way than through public promotion.

The Chinese Branch of ACIM

A Course in Miracles (ACIM) is a well-known spiritual work in the NAM,

¹⁵ The website, which is at <http://newage.net.cn>, was established in 2000.

¹⁶ <http://www.newage.net.cn/forum/ztsc.asp>

¹⁷ <http://www.newage.net.cn/forum/map.asp>

which is presented as three volumes with almost 1,200 pages in total. It contains three parts: the long *Text*, the *Workbook for Students* of 365 daily lessons, and the *Manual for Teachers*. ACIM emphasises that forgiveness is the primary healing source for the human mind; it reminds people that everything is illusion, but the Holy Spirit as a bridge helps them to recognise true reality. Helen Schucman, a research psychologist in the Department of Psychiatry at Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Centre, New York, received the text of ACIM by channelling during the period between 1965 and 1972. Bill Thetford, Schucman's academic supervisor, typed up the channelled text for her, together with her notes on the text. Kenneth Wapnick joined them to deal with the final editing of the text (Kemp, 2004, pp.14-15). The *Foundation for Inner Peace* (FIP) of Glen Ellen, California, a non-profit organization for ACIM, published the text in 1975. Another affiliated non-profit organization for ACIM is the *Foundation for A Course in Miracles* (FACIM) of Roscoe, New York, founded in 1983 by the leading exponent, Wapnick, and his wife Gloria (Weiss, 1994, p.200).

The FIP has published 13 different language editions of ACIM. The Chinese version of ACIM was published in 1999, along with the establishment of the *Chinese Branch for the Course in Miracles* (CBACIM). The CBACIM in Taiwan is one of the New Age groups that has been growing in recent years. Just as in the case of ACIL in Taiwan, ACIM has no formal organization or membership apart from the virtual centre, the *Miracle Information Centre* (MIC). In addition to the Chinese version of ACIM which conformed to the original text and was published under the arrangement of the FIP in the US, the website of the CBACIM is also funded by the FIP. However, it is relatively independent of the FIP in terms of development and operations.

Mrs Wu, the translator as well as the spokesperson of the CBACIM, plays a

very important part in teaching and spreading the message of ACIM across Taiwan and to other areas such as Hong Kong, China and Malaysia. She updates the website information of the CBACIM monthly, and organises several columns on the website alongside the contributions of other volunteers. In addition, she visits Taiwan at least once a year to host annual workshops.

Study groups are the major activity of ACIM. Currently, there are about 2000 groups around the world that are registered in the list of international study groups of the FIP. In Taiwan, there are 19 study groups that are registered with the MIC. Some of the groups also study books recommended by the spokesperson in addition to *A Course in Miracles*. In addition, there are four study groups in Malaysia which are registered on the website of the MIC as a part of the network and which have connections with the CBACIM. By the end of 2003, about 4000 volumes of the Chinese version of ACIM had been sold.

It is reported that there were once study groups of ACIM in Hong Kong in 2000, but that they did not last long. In China, it was actually some Taiwanese who took ACIM with them when they moved to China on business. These businessmen were not group members of ACIM when they were in Taiwan but heard about the book while participating in some activities of the HPM.¹⁸ However, ACIM is not only spreading among the Taiwanese in China but also among other Chinese who are interested in the NAM. Just as in the case of ACIL, ACIM was formally introduced to China in 2002 on the invitation of the website owner of the NANC. It was a meeting for New Age associates who had met each other via the NANC website in China. Some leading people of the NAM in Taiwan were invited to attend the meeting to give talks. In 2003, Mrs Wu held the first annual workshop in Shanghai,

¹⁸ The first section of our history of the New Age in Taiwan indicated that the ACIM had initially been introduced to Taiwan by the HPM.

China, following the workshops in Taiwan. There were about 20 participants in the workshop, some of whom had come from other areas such as Hangzhou in Zhejiang province, and Shenzhen in Guangdong.

Some Malaysian Chinese who had visited Taiwan in 2002 took ACIM back to Malaysia. They were social workers in Malaysia who had come to Taiwan to visit associated institutions in order to learn about Taiwanese experiences in relation to their work. At that time, they heard about ACIM by attending one of Mrs Wu's talks. Therefore, they invited Mrs Wu to give several talks in Kuala Lumpur after they had returned to Malaysia.

For areas such as China or Malaysia, according to Mrs Wu, the best way to spread the message and the teachings of ACIM is to provide information via the website of the CBACIM instead of through her personal teaching. On the one hand, it is difficult for Mrs Wu to make frequent visits to these areas as a voluntary spokesperson of the CBACIM, owing to financial constraints. On the other hand, the Internet breaks the limits of time and space, and enables people to obtain information no matter how far away their locations are.

Chinese New Age Society

The Chinese New Age Society (CNAS) is the first formal organization of the NAM that was established by Mrs Wang, the pioneer of the movement in Taiwan. It was originally registered as the *Study Group for the New Age* in 1999. Two years later, in 2001, it changed its name into the Chinese New Age Society and launched an official bimonthly magazine *Myths*. The CNAS advocates the idea of Seth because Mrs Wang regarded it as the most complete and undisputed wisdom in the NAM. The core formula of Seth is 'you create your own reality'. Seth is believed to be the 'energy essence personality' that was channelled by Jane Roberts (1929-1984), an American poet and science-fiction writer. Roberts started to receive messages from

Seth in 1963 and continued for about 10 years in the course of over 900 sessions (Chi-Ching Wang, 1999, p.14). Seth materials are regarded as ‘undisputed classics of modern channeling’ (Hanegraaff, 1998, p.37) and have been published in the US alongside Roberts’s own work on Seth. Mrs Wang has been introducing these books to Taiwan through translation and writing. She has also published an introductory book on Seth; her interpretation of Seth and her ideas for practice are called the ‘essence of Seth’. No materials or research reveal whether or not there is any organization or study group concerned with Seth in the US. Therefore, the CNAS in Taiwan can probably be regarded as the first New Age organization for Seth — although of course it is also a ‘product’ from America.

Mrs Wang did not actively expand the CNAS during her leadership between 1999 and 2004. The main network of CNAS was centred on study groups during this period. The current president, Doctor Hsu, was inspired by Mrs Wang’s translations of Seth in 1988, one year before he commenced his medical studies. He was elected as the second president at the general meeting of CNAS in late 2003, but his leadership is different from Mrs Wang’s in terms of the policy towards the operations of the organization:

In the past these centres were running like a department store, that is, they were regarded as physical spaces that are used by anyone who would like to develop their idea or activities...however, I hope that these centres will positively promote our ideas instead of embracing various activities in the NAM. My plan is to actively promote the idea of Seth and holistic health; I won't promote other courses but create opportunities for other course teachers to know about Seth. The role of active promotion is very important. And this is what the organization lacked in the past.

(15/01/04)

The current president Hsu has published over ten books as well as several CDs, which are about how to apply the philosophy of Seth in order to regain health in terms of physical diseases or emotional problems. He explained during interview that the connection between the ideas of Seth and his profession as a medical doctor:

Perhaps the most distinctive difference between the other medical doctors and me is that my core idea is based on Seth, and the medicine is second. Therefore, I am supposed to be a researcher in the field of the body, mind, and spirit. As for biomedicine, it is just a convenient practice. I help people by means of the idea of Seth when I am working as a medical doctor...it is much better than as a general medical doctor. (15/01/04)

Doctor Hsu's publications and public speaking (often in the name of his profession as a licensed doctor at a hospital in Taipei county) have attracted not only many people to the NAM but also the general public. It is through the personal network of Mrs Wang and Doctor Hsu that the CNAS has been able to spread the idea of Seth to other areas such as Hong Kong, China, the US and Canada. By 2005 there were 15 translations of Seth in Chinese, together with two introductory books on Seth by Mrs Wang and Doctor Hsu.

However, just as in the above-mentioned cases of ACIL and ACIM, Mr Ju also invited Mrs Wang as well as a few members of CNAS to the NANC meeting in China in 2002. It was the first time that Seth had been formally introduced to China. Later Mrs Wang referred invitations from overseas, such as the US, to Doctor Hsu, who visits the US and Canada once a year. For Canada, this originated from the invitation of one of his cancer patients, who organized a study group in 2002. At that time, he was invited to Vancouver to host a study group, and he held seven speaking sessions. It has since become a regular schedule. In the US, there are a few people in Los Angeles who would like to promote Seth and who wish to learn

from Doctor Hsu. Concerning Hong Kong, he has been a visitor there once a month since 2002. He hosts a study group in which the participants are interested in Seth, a healing workshop, and he also engages in personal counselling. He named all the groups for studying Seth as 'Seth School'.

As for China, Doctor Hsu was invited by one of his students who is a business employer, to give a public talk to over one thousand employees in his company in Zhuhai, Guangdong, under the heading of HR training. It is reported that these employees come from different provinces of China; and this experience strongly influenced his opinions about the relationship between China and Taiwan,

At that time I got an idea, that is, the way to actual resolution for a true peace relationship between China and Taiwan is to improve the quality of existence for human beings. OK, then I went and took very good ideas to there (China)...I feel that what I was doing is an effort for peace.

(15/01/04)

From the above discussions it is clear that there are similarities between the three cases in respect of their engagement in the process of globalization. First, the spiritualities or practices that they advocate are originally from the US, but have been subject to a few modifications/inventions in terms of forms/practices/interpretations designed to adapt them to local culture. Second, the personal networks of spokespersons have functioned as opportunities for the three cases to develop into other Chinese societies such as China, Hong Kong, or among overseas Chinese communities in Malaysia, Japan, the US, and Canada. Third, the developments of the three cases in terms of glocalization are parallel: that is, each case has had its own route towards connecting, developing, and expanding to other areas outside Taiwan; but their routes and timings are coincidentally similar to each other. Last but not

least, Internet communications enable the three cases to promote their ideas/practices to other regions of the world, especially to areas working with the Chinese language. In addition to New Age groups that rely on virtual centres instead of physical organizations such as ACIL and ACIM, formal physical organizations, such as the CNAS have also launched their official websites. Moreover, information on the websites of the CNAS is more influential and productive than its physical centres in terms of resources mobilised and network communication. The situation in which New Age groups rely heavily on virtual spaces on the Internet facilitates the globalization of spiritualities. It is especially notable that China first encountered the NAM in Taiwan by means of the Internet and that the physical connection was put in place later – just like the case of the NANC.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed New Age phenomena in Taiwan and argued that – from Gusfield’s (1981) fluid perspective – they can be considered as a social movement. After summarising the history of the Movement in Taiwan, we analysed the social network of the New Age in which teachers, centres and practitioners operate at the three interrelated levels of ‘movement’, ‘movement organizations’, and ‘movement participants’. We argued that various organizations of the NAM in Taiwan have become interwoven in a fluid and dynamic web of networks. Our diagram – in which the Internet plays an important part with regard to connecting groups, circulating information and expanding the Movement overseas – illustrated the interconnectedness of the NAM’s three levels. The final section examined the globalization of the Movement by means of case studies of three New Age groups (ACIL, ACIM, and the CNAS) that originated in the USA but was simultaneously adapted for development in Taiwan at the same time as being re-exported to – and

re-refracted in – other countries. The NAM in Taiwan cannot, therefore, be regarded as a pure case of ‘Westernisation’ or ‘Americanisation’, but is properly understood as a case of ‘parallel glocalization’. This means that the trajectory of globalization and ‘glocalization’ in the New Age is not necessarily linear (from one country to another in a sequence) but parallel (in the sense of simultaneous developments in more than one country at a time).

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