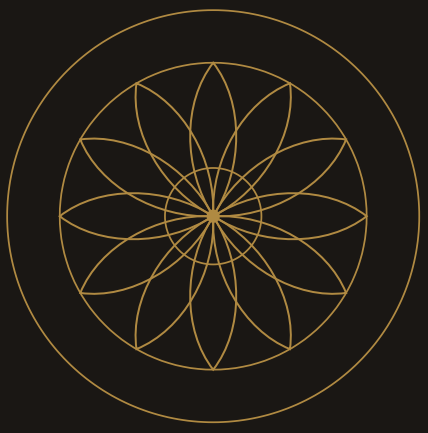


THE SACRED DIVIDE

THE FULL RECORD

Scientology

New movements & the spiritual marketplace family

HONOR THE FAITH · NAME THE MACHINERY

TEXT CHECKED 2026-10-03

NOBLEFATHERCREATIONS.COM/FAITH

Before you begin

This is the record of Scientology in *The Sacred Divide*. It has 27 sections, the same 27 used for every tradition, so that any section can be set beside the same section for another. Every fact is sourced.

Before each section, a short note says what the section is built to show, so you know what you are looking at before you read the detail.

After each section, a note headed *Why this matters to you* points at the part of the section most likely to touch an ordinary reader: a member, a donor, a parent, a voter, someone thinking about leaving, or someone outside forming an opinion. It usually ends with a question. The questions are not traps. They are the ones a careful reader would ask anyway.

The hard questions in section 23 are set out one at a time: the question, why it is asked, and an example already documented in this record.

Where a note states a fact, the fact comes from this record's own tables and cited sources or, in a few places, from a well-known research finding named in the text. Corrections are logged, with their dates, in the last section, *What changed on this page*.

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How to read this

Every religion in The Sacred Divide is laid out the same way, in the same 27 sections, so that any section can be compared across religions. This file examines institutions, offices, money and power. It does not judge anyone's faith or the truth of any belief.

EVIDENCE GRADES

Each of the 30 techniques carries a grade for how it is established in this tradition.

- **CODIFIED** Written policy, published rule, contractual requirement, or a procedure the institution has confirmed in its own documents. The strongest grade and the hardest to deny.
- **DOCUMENTED** Established by court judgment, government inquiry, regulatory action, or financial filing. Not the institution's own words, but a body with subpoena power.
- **TAUGHT** Repeated leadership instruction from platform, publication, or curriculum, without a formal rule. Deniable as emphasis rather than policy.
- **CULTURAL** Community enforcement the institution neither mandates nor prevents. Real in effect, unattributable by design — the highest-deniability grade. A volume graded mostly Cultural has not been cleared of anything: it means the page names no document that makes the institution responsible. Cultural does not mean minor, and it is not a finding of absence.

- CONTESTED Occurs in some parts of the tradition and is actively opposed in others. Generalizing this grade across a whole tradition is a misuse of it.
- REFORMED Documented historically and materially changed since — policy withdrawn, practice ended, or independent oversight accepted. Recorded because omitting it would be dishonest.
- UNGRADED Present in the source material without a grade assigned yet. Read as an unverified pattern claim, not as a finding.

RECEIPTS

Bracketed labels such as [OFFICIAL POLICY] name the kind of source a claim rests on.

- **Official policy.** The institution's own written rule: handbook, canon, policy letter, catechism, trust deed, temple recommend question. The strongest evidence available, because it cannot be attributed to a rogue individual.
- **Court record.** Judgments, convictions, filings, and testimony given under oath. Adversarially tested, which is more than most religious claims about themselves have been.
- **Government inquiry.** Royal commissions, grand juries, parliamentary and state investigations with subpoena power. Where these exist they are usually the best record of what an institution did rather than said.
- **Regulatory action.** Findings and penalties from bodies like the SEC or consumer-protection regulators. Narrow in scope, unusually precise in what they establish.
- **Financial record.** Filings, audited statements, tax returns, disclosed compensation, property transactions. Frequently the only place an institution tells the truth about its priorities.

- **Leadership statement.** Recorded sermons, conference addresses, published letters. The institution in its own voice, to its own people, on the record.
- **Independent investigation.** Reports commissioned by the institution but conducted externally. Weaker than a court and far stronger than a press release — and notable when the institution publishes them in full.
- **Academic source.** Peer-reviewed history, sociology, and demography. Best for context, structure, and scale; weaker for specific institutional conduct.
- **Former member testimony.** Firsthand accounts from people who were inside. Indispensable and interested at once — graded as testimony, never presented as documentary proof.
- **Pattern observed.** A recurring configuration with no single document behind it. Labeled as an observation rather than a finding, and the weakest claim type in this codex.

METHOD

- Separation of targets. This codex analyzes institutional control patterns, never the worth of believers or the truth of beliefs. Theology is out of scope; behavior, money, and power are in scope.
- Pattern over anecdote. A tactic is attributed to a tradition's high-control expressions only where the mechanism recurs — one bad congregation proves nothing; the same architecture in a hundred proves the architecture.
- Evidence weighting. Every factual claim carries a bracketed source-type label and should carry a grade (A–D). Claims marked SOURCE NEEDED or PATTERN OBSERVED are analysis, not established fact, and must not be published as fact.
- Steelman rule. Every tactic section presents the institution's strongest defense before countering it. If the defense cannot be stated in a form its adherents would recognize, the counter is not yet earned.

- Asymmetry honesty. Similar tactic does not mean identical severity. A shunning policy that costs your entire family is not the same as a community that cools toward doubters, and the codex must never flatten that difference.
- The mirror rule. Any framework this powerful can itself be misused — to smear traditions, flatter one's own, or manufacture grievance. The self-audit and language guardrails apply to this project as much as to any institution it examines.

CITATIONS

A small raised number in the text links to the matching item in this religion's Sources, near the end. Every source was checked, and the date of the last check is shown at the top.

01 At a glance

BEFORE YOU READ

The whole page on one screen: how big Scientology is, who sits at the top, how that person is chosen and whether anyone can remove them, where the money comes from, and what leaving costs. The disclosure scorecard underneath asks six yes-or-no questions any charity or public company would be expected to answer. Every later section expands one of these rows.

SIZE	The organization has claimed millions. No audited worldwide figure is cited on this page, and census counts record self-identification, not active membership. Census counts are small: 1,854 in England and Wales (2021), about 1,700 in Australia (2016) and 1,655 in 2021 [24], and 315 in New Zealand (2023). **GOVERNMENT REPORT** · national census data
WHO'S IN CHARGE	David Miscavige has been Chairman of the Board of the Religious Technology Center (RTC) since 1987. RTC holds the trademarks and 'the tech' (the church's term for Hubbard's methods) itself, which makes its chairman the apex regardless of church presidencies.
CHOSEN BY	He assumed control after L. Ron Hubbard's death.
REMOVABLE BY	No public record identifies any person or body with the power to remove him. In a corporate structure this thoroughly lawyered, that absence is itself the finding.

MONEY IN ONE LINE	Scientology is the most explicitly priced spiritual path in this codex. It sets fixed fees per level of auditing (the church's one-to-one counseling sessions), and former members estimate that the fees reach hundreds of thousands of dollars toward the upper levels. The International Association of Scientologists (IAS), the church's membership body, also raises funds beyond the price of services. FINANCIAL RECORD / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY
LEAVING IN ONE LINE	According to the founder's policy letters as quoted by former members and in reporting [10], the disconnection policy (cutting contact with a declared person) requires members to cut contact with family declared 'suppressive' (labeled an enemy of the church); the church says disconnection is voluntary [27]. Former Sea Org members (the church's full-time staff order) say they were billed 'freeloader debt' (an invoice for training received) on leaving [10]. Litigation against critics is a matter of court record; surveillance and harassment of critics are described by former members and in reporting. COURT RECORD / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY
THE UNANSWERED QUESTION	The church charges fixed prices for spiritual advancement and has had one chairman since 1987. Name the body and the procedure that could remove him.
EVIDENCE	None of the 30 techniques is sourced to a named document. The grades are Codified 20, Documented 1 and Contested 9.
FAMILY	New movements & the spiritual marketplace — scientology, new-age, unification-church
LAST CHECKED	2026-10-03

Disclosure scorecard

ACCOUNTS	PAY	SAFEGUARDING	EXTERNAL FIRST	REMOVAL	REPLY
NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

Y Yes — established from a public source · **P** Partial — true of some parts of the tradition, or true in some jurisdictions · **N** No — not established from any public source · **?** Not assessable — no institutional apex exists to assess

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

The glance table's answer to who chooses the top office is "He assumed control after L. Ron Hubbard's death", and to who can remove its holder, "No public record identifies any person or body with the power to remove him. In a corporate structure this thoroughly lawyered, that absence is itself the finding". Read that as though it described the board of a pension fund holding your savings. Would you accept the arrangement there? The scorecard finds no public evidence of accounts, leaders' pay, a public safeguarding policy, allegations going to police first, a written removal procedure or on-the-record replies. Each "No" is something the institution could publish tomorrow. Ask yourself why it hasn't.

02 A day inside

BEFORE YOU READ

One ordinary day, told from inside. The person is a composite built from documented patterns, not a real individual. The point is to make the structure visible at human scale: phrases like "removal mechanism" or "giving record" are easy to read past, but a Tuesday organized around them is not.

Danny · A Tuesday, week eleven · Clearwater, Florida

He attends muster (the staff assembly) at eight. He is a member of the Sea Org (the church's full-time staff order). He signed a billion-year contract at seventeen, in a room with three adults, and his mother waited outside because she had signed her own at nineteen.

He is twenty-six. He earns a weekly stipend that does not cover a phone plan. He is extremely good at his job, which is estates and logistics, and he knows the building systems here better than anyone.

At eleven a public (a Scientologist who is not on staff), a woman in her fifties, signs for the next level, and Danny hears the registrar (the staff member who sells courses and auditing) say the figure and hears the woman say she'll take it out of the house. He carries her boxes to the car. She thanks him and calls him a blessing.

At two he is asked to write a knowledge report (a written report on another member's conduct) on a colleague who said something out of line about the targets of the org (the local church organization). He sits with the form. He has written eleven of these. He fills it in. He is aware that six people have written them about him.

His father is out. His father left in 2016 and was declared (formally labeled a suppressive person), and Danny has not spoken to him since, and the last thing his father said was *I'll be here whenever*. Danny thinks about this in the ninety seconds between the end of one task and the start of the next, which is where he does all his thinking.

At 11:50 in the berthing (the staff dormitory) he does the arithmetic he does not let himself do: nine years, and if he walked out tomorrow he has no savings, no qualifications, no rental history, an invoice waiting for the training he received, and one phone number he is not allowed to call. And then he stops, because the arithmetic is out-ethics (a breach of the church's ethics code), and because the tech works, and because he has watched it work on people, and both of those are true, and he goes to sleep.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Did any moment in that day feel familiar: a cost nobody questions, a door nobody can see how to open? The section of this page that explains that moment is the one to read first. If nothing felt familiar, ask whether that's because it isn't your life, or because the patterns have become normal to you.

03 The forefront

BEFORE YOU READ

The page's thesis in one place. First, the single question the documented record could not answer. Then the widest gap between what the institution says and what the record shows, one cost of leaving set beside how it is officially denied, and the strongest objection to this whole page, answered rather than dismissed.

> You may have taken a course that genuinely helped you concentrate, or handle a crisis, or stop drinking. That can be true. What is also true is that most of what follows comes from court records, the organization's own written policies and published reporting; where a claim rests on former members' accounts, its receipt says so. Read it as documents, not as attack.

THE UNANSWERED QUESTION

The church charges fixed prices for spiritual advancement and has had one chairman since 1987. Name the body and the procedure that could remove him.

The widest gap between word and record

THEY SAY	THE RECORD SHOWS	RECEIPT
The church says disconnection is a personal choice about relationships [27].	According to the founder's policy letters as quoted by former members and in reporting [10], members are required to cut contact with those declared suppressive.	FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

One cost of leaving, beside its denial

COST	DOCUMENTED?	DETAIL	THE OFFICIAL DENIAL
Family (disconnection)	Reported by former members and in reporting	According to the founder's policy letters as quoted by former members and in reporting [10], members are required to cut contact with those declared suppressive, family included	The church says disconnection is a personal choice [27].

The strongest objection, answered

The objection. You are repeating decades of religious bigotry against a minority faith.

What is true in it. The organization did face genuine government hostility in its early decades, and members' beliefs are entitled to the same protection as anyone's.

The answer. Every central claim here is attributed, in its receipt, to a court record, a policy letter, a news report or former members' accounts. The practices at issue are fair game (Hubbard's term for a declared enemy of the church), suppressive person, disconnection and freeloader debt; the court record includes eleven federal convictions arising from the infiltration of government agencies [26]. The doctrine is not what is being examined. The procedure is.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Try answering the unanswered question yourself: *The church charges fixed prices for spiritual advancement and has had one chairman since 1987. Name the body and the procedure that could remove him.* If you can't, who could, and would asking them be welcome? How an institution reacts to a fair question often tells you more than the answer does.

04 What healthy looks like here

BEFORE YOU READ

What genuinely works in Scientology, stated first and separately from any critique. That is a standing rule of this book: no tradition is reduced to its worst documented moments. Anything criticized later is measured against the best of what is described here.

> Scientology was founded by L. Ron Hubbard from Dianetics (his 1950 self-help system). It offers a graded path of auditing and training ('The Bridge') sold through churches and missions (smaller outreach churches). Its membership figures are contested: the church has claimed millions, while census counts in the countries cited here run from the hundreds to the low thousands.

- Independent-field Scientologists (practitioners outside the church's corporate control) demonstrate that the technique can be separated from the institution. Whistleblowers, many of whom still value parts of their experience, model leaving with integrity.

Section 3 records that a course may have helped a member concentrate, handle a crisis or stop drinking, and that this can be true.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

A bias check before the critique. People tend to read criticism of their own group as an attack and criticism of other groups as simply true. Social psychologists call this in-group bias; it shows up even when the groups are assigned at random (Tajfel's "minimal group" experiments, 1971). If you belong here, did this section feel fair? If you don't, did anything in it surprise you? The surprise is a rough measure of what you had assumed.

05 History

BEFORE YOU READ

A dated timeline and a few moments where the direction changed. Dates matter because they show that most rules had a beginning. A rule that began in a particular year, for a particular reason, is a rule that can be examined, and sometimes retired.

Scientology began in the United States in the 1950s, out of Dianetics, Hubbard's 1950 self-help system; the first church was founded in 1954 [9]. Decades of conflict with governments followed. The 1993 IRS agreement granted full tax exemption after a campaign that included thousands of lawsuits against the agency. **INVESTIGATIVE REPORT** · reported settlement terms; GOVERNMENT REPORT context

Timeline

HISTORY AT A GLANCE



Numbered markers match the timeline below; spacing is proportional to the years.

1 **1950**

Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health published

A self-help system sold before any church existed; critics argue the business model preceded the religion.

2 **1952–1954**

Hubbard reframes the practice as Scientology; first Church founded 1954

The church was founded in 1954; its religious status carries the tax and legal protections that apply to churches [9].

3 **1960S**

Sea Org founded; policies on 'suppressive persons' and 'fair game' written

The founder established an internal security apparatus in writing; in October 1968 he issued a letter ending the practice of declaring people 'fair game', and the church and critics differ on whether the policies behind it ended [19]. **OFFICIAL POLICY** · Hubbard policy letters

4 1967

IRS revokes tax exemption

More than two decades of litigation follow.

5 1973–1979

Operation Snow White: infiltration of federal agencies; 11 senior Scientologists convicted including Hubbard's wife

Eleven senior members were convicted in 1979, and Hubbard was named an unindicted co-conspirator [26]. COURT RECORD

6 1986

Hubbard dies; David Miscavige consolidates control of the Religious Technology Center

Authority passes to trademark control — the 'tech' is intellectual property.

7 1993

IRS grants full tax exemption after a campaign including thousands of suits against the agency and its personnel

The exemption was granted in a 1993 closing agreement, after the church and its members had brought about 2,200 suits against the agency and its officials [2]. INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

8 1995–2000S

Lisa McPherson case (a church member who died in Clearwater, Florida, in 1995) and litigation; internet critics targeted

Former members and critics describe a 'fair game' pattern; the church says Hubbard cancelled the label in 1968 [19]. A Texas appeals court held in 2015 that officials had no free-speech right to stalk Monique Rathbun, who had never been a member [20]. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY / COURT RECORD

9 2007–2015

Mass defections of senior executives; investigative journalism and documentaries; Debbie Cook email

Former executives publicly documented the internal disciplinary apparatus (the Hole, an office building at the church's international base where former executives say they were confined; forced abortions alleged; disconnection). INVESTIGATIVE REPORT / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY

10 2010S–PRESENT

Membership decline widely reported while real-estate acquisition continues; 'Ideal Org' campaigns (drives to renovate and expand local churches)

The membership base is shrinking while the property portfolio expands. INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Decades of conflict with governments followed.

Moments in the room

1967–1993 — THE EXEMPTION, LOST AND REGAINED

The IRS revoked the church's tax exemption in 1967. What followed included years of litigation and, as the New York Times reported in 1997, private detectives investigating agency personnel [2]. In 1993 the exemption was restored in a closing agreement whose terms were not initially made public.

Why it matters. The exemption was restored in 1993, after the church and its members had brought about 2,200 suits against the agency and its officials [2]. The 1993 agreement is a closing agreement with the IRS, final unless fraud, malfeasance or misrepresentation of a material fact is shown [18], and the IRS is the party to it, which is why the list in section 8 of bodies that can compel an answer starts with the IRS.

1977–1979 — OPERATION SNOW WHITE

An FBI raid uncovered a large-scale infiltration of US government agencies; eleven senior officials, including the founder's wife, were convicted. The founder was named an unindicted co-conspirator.

Why it matters. The convictions are on the public record and are not testimony; they show what eleven senior officials did [26].

1987 — ONE MAN TAKES THE CHAIR

David Miscavige consolidated control of the Religious Technology Center following Hubbard's death. No public record since identifies any person or body with the power to remove him.

Why it matters. He has held the office for thirty-nine years with no published removal procedure. Every other apex in this codex at least names the body that theoretically could act.

Sources for this section: 1 2 9 10 18 19 20 26

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Pick one rule that shapes your week and look for it on the timeline. If it has a start date, it was decided by people at a particular moment, for reasons of that moment. Were you taught it as timeless? What would it mean for you if it turned out to be younger than your grandparents' grandparents?

06 Branches & variants

BEFORE YOU READ

Scientology is not one bloc. This section maps the main branches and variants, so that nothing documented about one community is read as true of all of them.

The branches are the corporate church under RTC; the 'independent field' or Free Zone, made up of practitioners operating outside corporate control; and Narconon (a drug-rehabilitation program), Applied Scholastics (an education program), Criminon (a criminal-rehabilitation program) and other front-facing programs.

BRANCH	WHERE	WHAT DIFFERS ON THIS PAGE'S QUESTIONS
The Church of Scientology (under the Religious Technology Center)	Worldwide	David Miscavige has chaired the RTC since 1987 [9], and the Sea Org, its clergy order, has existed since 1967 [9].
Independent field / "Free Zone"	Worldwide, but small	Its practitioners work outside the corporate church.
Associated programmes	Worldwide	These are drug-rehabilitation, education and anti-crime programmes linked to the church.

Census counts are small: 1,854 in England and Wales (2021), about 1,700 in Australia (2016) and 1,655 in 2021 [24] and 315 in New Zealand (2023) [7][8].

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

If you know one community of Scientology, you know one community. Most bad generalizations about a religion, and most unfair defenses of it, come from treating one branch as the whole. Which branch is the one you picture when you hear the name? Is that picture yours, or one you were given by news coverage or by the community itself?

07 Structure

BEFORE YOU READ

The organizational chart: how many people and institutions there are, where authority sits, who holds the top office, and who holds what beneath it. The question to keep in mind is simple: if the person at the top got something badly wrong, what written procedure exists to correct or remove them?

Size and shape

Adherents	The organization has claimed millions. No audited worldwide figure is cited on this page, and census counts record self-identification, not active membership. Census counts are small: 1,854 in England and Wales (2021), about 1,700 in Australia (2016) and 1,655 in 2021 [24], and 315 in New Zealand (2023). **GOVERNMENT REPORT** · national census data
Regions	The church is concentrated in the United States (Los Angeles and Clearwater, Florida), the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, South Africa, Taiwan, Israel, Hungary and Italy, and is small elsewhere.
Trend	Active membership has declined, which is well documented, while the church continues to accumulate assets; second-generation retention is poor. **INVESTIGATIVE REPORT**
Participation	Nearly all active participants are inside the fee structure; census figures also count lapsed members.

Authority

- Authority is absolutely centralized under the Religious Technology Center (David Miscavige). 'Standard tech' (Hubbard's methods, applied exactly as he wrote them) forbids interpretation. The Sea Org holds its members under billion-year contracts. An internal Ethics apparatus (the church's disciplinary system) has written policies on handling critics ('suppressive persons,' and 'fair game' historically).

  OFFICIAL POLICY · Hubbard policy letters; COURT RECORD

The top of the chain

> One man has held the chair since 1987, and no mechanism for removing him is visible. Every other apex in this codex at least names the body that could theoretically act.

OFFICE	WHO SITS IN IT NOW	CHOSEN BY	REMOVABLE BY
Chairman of the Board, Religious Technology Center	David Miscavige has held it since 1987. RTC holds the trademarks and 'the tech' itself, which makes its chairman the apex regardless of church presidencies.	He assumed control after L. Ron Hubbard's death.	No public record identifies any person or body with the power to remove him. In a corporate structure this thoroughly lawyered, that absence is itself the finding.
Church of Scientology International	A president fronts the church publicly; the organization chart above that office is not published.	Not recorded on this page.	Not recorded on this page.

THE TELL

Ask the accountability question here and the sentence has no object: removable by whom, under what procedure, recorded where? The silence is complete, and it is the exhibit.

Who holds what

ENTITY	TYPE	HOLDER	HOLDS	WHY IT MATTERS TO YOU	RECEIPT
Religious Technology Center	Trademark and doctrinal control	David Miscavige, Chairman of the Board, holds it.	It holds the trademarks, the technology, and total centralized authority.	Everything depends on it, by written policy.	FINANCIAL RECORD · corporate filings / COURT RECORD
Church of Spiritual Technology	Archival and asset entity	Organizational trustees hold it.	Named here as a church entity; this page cites no source for its holdings.	Not established on this page.	—
Author Services Inc.	Commercial	Organizational management holds it.	Named here as a church entity; this page cites no source for its holdings.	Not established on this page.	—
The Bridge to Total Freedom fee schedule	Fee structure the church calls fixed donations	Local orgs and advanced organizations administer it.	It sets fixed donations per level [25]; former members describe them escalating into six figures [10].	According to former members and reporting, it shows what spiritual advancement costs in dollars.	COURT RECORD / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY

Front organizations	Affiliated programmes	Programme directors who are organizational officers run them.	They run drug rehabilitation, education, and criminal-justice programmes that operate in schools, prisons, and public health settings.	Some programmes have been alleged to operate without naming their link to the church; this page names no report.	PATTERN OBSERVED
The Sea Org	Staff order	Organizational management runs it.	It holds billion-year contracts, nominal stipends, and freeloader debt invoiced on departure.	Former staff say it imposes an exit fee [10].	FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY / COURT RECORD
The 1993 IRS exemption	Tax status	The organization holds it.	It is a full tax exemption, granted in a closing agreement after the church and its members had brought about 2,200 suits against the agency and its officials [2].	Like any church's exemption, it is a public tax benefit; this page records no published accounts for the church.	INVESTIGATIVE REPORT
Operation Snow White convictions	Adjudicated conduct	Eleven senior members were convicted, including the founder's wife.	Eleven senior members were convicted in 1979 of crimes arising from the infiltration of U.S. federal agencies [26].	The convictions show what eleven senior officials did.	COURT RECORD

Sources for this section: 2 7 8 9 24 25 26

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

David Miscavige has chaired the Religious Technology Center since 1987. The RTC holds the trademarks and "the tech" itself, which puts its chairman at the top regardless of who holds church presidencies. The glance table says no public record identifies anyone who could remove him, and in a structure this thoroughly lawyered, that absence is itself the finding. If you are a Scientologist, who would you go to if you believed the chairman was wrong?

08 Law & state here

BEFORE YOU READ

What states actually do. That includes how they fund, protect, regulate or enforce the tradition, and which outside body, if any, can compel an answer from it. For most readers, this is where the institution meets their own passport.

COUNTRY (continued)	WHAT THE LAW DOES	WHAT HAPPENED
United States — tax	The IRS revoked exemption in 1967 and granted it in 1993 [9]	The church paid $12.5 million under the closing agreement, after it and its members had brought about 2,200 suits against the agency [2]
United States — arbitration	Membership contracts include religious arbitration [3] [4]	A federal appeals court enforced it against former members (2021) [4]; California's courts refused to for claims arising after members left (2022) [3]
United States — criminal	Ordinary criminal law applies.	Eleven church officials were convicted over Operation Snow White (1979) [1] [26]. Actor Danny Masterson was sentenced in 2023 for raping two women, both former members, and his appeal was set for oral argument in June 2026 [21].
France	Fraud law applies [11] [12].	The Paris Celebrity Centre and bookshop were convicted of "organised fraud" in 2009 and fined €600,000; the highest court upheld it in 2013 [11] [12]
Germany	In labour law the Federal Labour Court (1995) treated Scientology organisations as commercial [6].	The federal constitutional-protection office ended its separate nationwide observation of Scientology on 15 May 2026; Bavaria continues to monitor it [22] [23].

Who can compel an answer

The IRS is the first body that can ask: it is the party to the 1993 closing agreement, which is final unless fraud, malfeasance or misrepresentation of a material fact is shown [18]. So can consumer-protection authorities, the courts, and the foreign regulators and tribunals that have already ruled on status and conduct in their own jurisdictions.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

If you sign a membership agreement, you may be signing away your right to sue. A federal appeals court enforced the church's religious arbitration against former members in 2021, while California's courts refused to do so for claims arising after members had left. In France, the Paris Celebrity Centre and its bookshop were convicted of organized fraud and fined €600,000 in total. Before signing anything, would you read the arbitration clause, and would you know what it meant?

09 Money

BEFORE YOU READ

Where the money comes from, how each flow is justified, how it can be used to control, and who benefits. Read it the way you would read any organization you give to: what is disclosed, what is not, and who decides.

Where it comes from

- Scientology is the most explicitly priced spiritual path in this codex. It sets fixed fees per auditing level, and former members estimate that the fees reach hundreds of thousands of dollars toward the upper levels. The IAS also raises funds beyond the price of services. FINANCIAL RECORD / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY
- Real-estate 'Ideal Org' campaigns extract further capital from membership. INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Follow the money

FLOW	STATED PURPOSE	HOW IT CONTROLS	WHO BENEFITS
Auditing and course fees by level	The stated purpose is spiritual advancement up the Bridge.	It is the most explicitly priced salvation in this codex, with fixed donations set out in schedules [25] that former members describe escalating to six figures for upper levels [10].	The corporate church benefits. FINANCIAL RECORD / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY
International Association of Scientologists donations	The stated purpose is to defend and expand the religion.	Giving is status-tiered (patron levels), with heavy event pressure well beyond service costs.	IAS funds and the central organization benefit.

'Ideal Org' building campaigns	The stated purpose is model churches worldwide.	Members are pressured into loans and second mortgages for buildings that remain organizational property.	The organization's real-estate portfolio benefits. **INVESTIGATIVE REPORT**
Sea Org labor	The stated purpose is dedicated religious service.	The labor is full-time, at nominal weekly stipends, under billion-year contracts.	The organization benefits exclusively.
Freeloader debt	The stated purpose is to recover training costs from those who leave.	Departing staff are billed for training received, which is an explicit exit fee.	The organization benefits. **FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY**

WHERE THE MONEY GOES, AND WHAT IT HOLDS

Auditing and course fees by level

STATED PURPOSE
The stated purpose is spiritual advancement up the Bridge.

HOW IT CONTROLS
It is the most explicitly priced salvation in this codex, with fixed donations set out in schedules 25 that former members describe escalating to six figures for upper levels 10 .

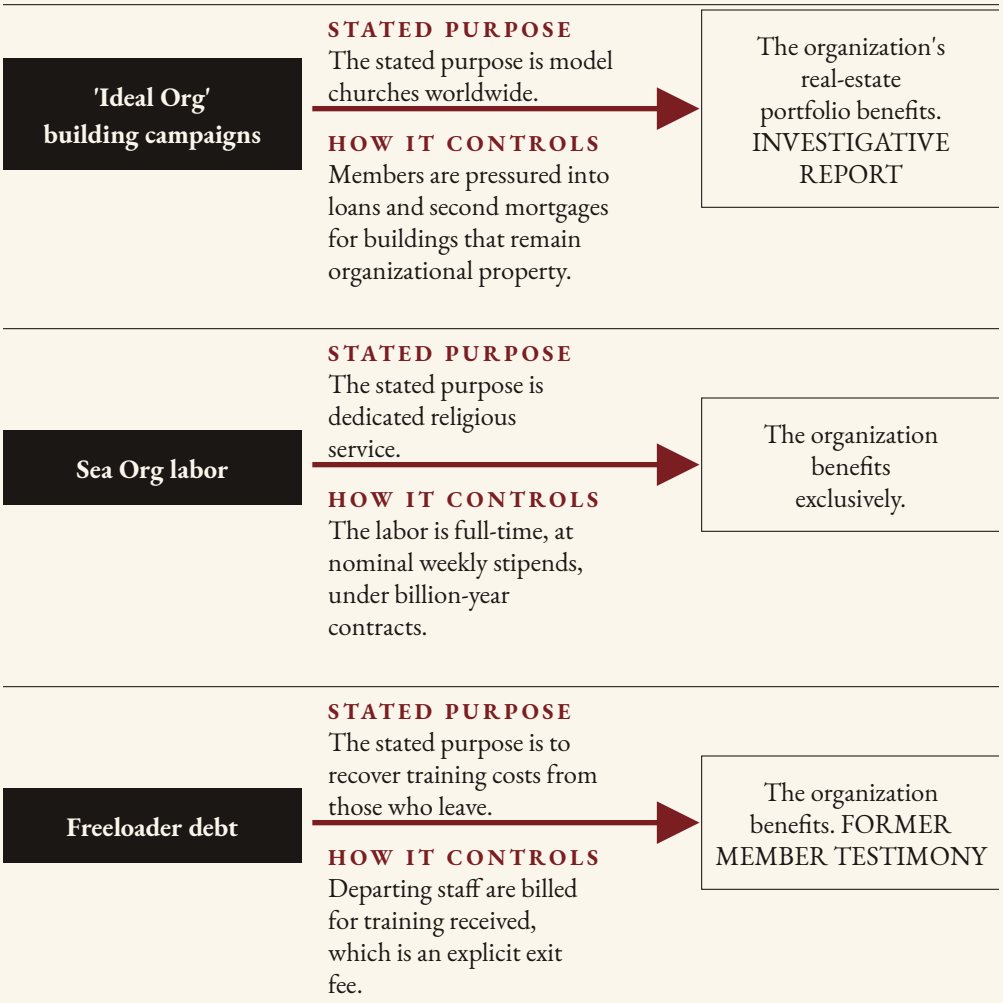
→ The corporate church benefits. / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY

International Association of Scientologists donations

STATED PURPOSE
The stated purpose is to defend and expand the religion.

HOW IT CONTROLS
Giving is status-tiered (patron levels), with heavy event pressure well beyond service costs.

→ IAS funds and the central organization benefit.



Not to scale. The table gives one figure, the German church tax of €6.75bn in 2025; the other flows are shown without amounts.

Pipelines this tradition shares

UNPAID LABOR TO TITLED PROPERTY

Source. The source is members' donations and loans for building campaigns.

Path. Local members fund 'Ideal Org' buildings → Buildings remain organizational property

Disclosed. This page records no proceeds.

Hidden. This page records no sale of Ideal Org property.

GRADED SPIRITUAL SERVICES

Source. The source is the member paying for each level of advancement.

Path. Local org → Central organization → Real-estate and reserve entities

Disclosed. The donation levels are set out in schedules [25]; this page does not show them published.

Hidden. This page records no accounts for what happens downstream.

FRONT ORGANIZATION

Source. The source is public institutions and programme participants.

Path. Programme → Parent religious organization → Recruitment and legitimacy

Disclosed. Programme materials are disclosed.

Hidden. Whether the affiliation is named in each setting is not recorded on this page.

PUBLISHING AND MEDIA ARM

Source. The source is members buying required or recommended material.

Path. Institutional publisher → Entities holding the founder's literary interests

Disclosed. Retail prices are disclosed.

Hidden. This page records no royalty flows.

LEGAL DEFENSE AND SETTLEMENT

Source. The source is general funds, that is, member giving.

Path. Institutional counsel → Settlements → Reputational continuity

Disclosed. Settlement totals are occasionally disclosed under court order.

Hidden. Whether donations funded the defense is not recorded on this page.

Sources for this section: [10] [25]

Money in numbers

- **IRS settlement (1993):** The church paid $12.5 million [2].
- **France:** The Celebrity Centre and its bookshop were fined €600,000 for "preying financially on followers" in the 1990s [12].
- **Auditing and donations:** Fees are fixed per level and fundraising campaigns run alongside them (see Money above), and former members describe "freeloader" debts for Sea Org members who leave [10].
- **No public accounts on this page:** Sources [2] and [9] do not address whether the church files a public return, and this page cites no published accounts.

Scientology is the most explicitly priced spiritual path in this codex.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

The glance table calls this the most explicitly priced spiritual path in the book: fixed fees for each auditing level, which former members estimate rise to hundreds of thousands of dollars at the upper levels, plus IAS fundraising on top. The questions section asks the obvious thing. If the tech works, why does the price rise as you become more competent rather than fall? If you have paid for a level, what did the next one cost, and who set that price?

10 Genealogy

BEFORE YOU READ

Rules with a history. Each card asks the same three questions: what was this rule originally for, has that reason expired, and who benefits from the rule continuing anyway?

FIXED-PRICE SPIRITUAL ADVANCEMENT

Origin. Dianetics was published in 1950 and the first church was founded in 1954 [9]. Critics argue that the fee structure preceded the religion.

What it was for. There is no earlier tradition to appeal to; critics argue it was designed as a fee structure from the first year.

Why that reason expired. Critics argue it was never a spiritual rationale. Every other tradition in this codex can at least point to an origin — a temple to build, a mendicant to feed. Critics argue that here the fee structure is the founding document; former members describe it escalating to six figures for upper levels [10].

Who benefits now. The corporate church benefits. It holds a monopoly on a product it defines, prices, and certifies, with full tax exemption. FINANCIAL RECORD

DISCONNECTION

Origin. The Suppressive Person doctrine and related policy letters were written by the founder. OFFICIAL POLICY

What it was for. It was presented as protecting a member's spiritual progress from hostile influences.

Why that reason expired. Former members and reporting say it requires severing contact with parents, spouses and children who are deemed suppressive, including for the act of asking questions [10]. The church says disconnection is voluntary [27]. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Who benefits now. The organization benefits. It removes every relationship capable of offering a member an outside perspective.

FAIR GAME AND LITIGATION AGAINST CRITICS

Origin. The origin is written policy on handling suppressive persons. Operation Snow White (1970s) produced eleven federal convictions for infiltrating U.S. government agencies. COURT RECORD

What it was for. It was framed as defending the religion from persecution, and there was genuine early government hostility.

Why that reason expired. Whatever the original grievance, the record includes the Snow White convictions, and former members and reporters describe private investigators deployed against critics and journalists and litigation as attrition [10]. The 1993 tax exemption followed a campaign including thousands of suits against the IRS and its personnel. INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Who benefits now. The organization benefits through immunity from scrutiny, funded by revenue the exemption protects.

SEA ORG BILLION-YEAR CONTRACTS

Origin. The Sea Org was established in the 1960s for the organization's dedicated staff. OFFICIAL POLICY

What it was for. It was a committed religious order, comparable in framing to monastic vows.

Why that reason expired. Former staff describe recruitment as minors, decades of labor at nominal stipends and 'freeloader debt' invoiced on exit [10]. This page cites no response from the church to that description. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY

Who benefits now. The organization benefits through its operating costs, which are staffed by a workforce that cannot afford to leave.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

The expired-reason test works on any rule. Take one you follow or enforce, name what it was originally for, and ask whether that reason still exists. If it doesn't, and the rule survives anyway, the section's last question is the one that matters to you: who benefits from it continuing?

11 Reach

BEFORE YOU READ

How far the institution's authority extends into three private areas: what members may read and hear, how children are raised and schooled, and decisions about their own bodies.

Information

- 'Entheta' (the church's term for critical or negative material) and 'suppressive' classifications formally prohibit engaging with critical material, and internet filtering has been distributed to members. OFFICIAL POLICY / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT
- Knowledge reports require members to report each other's doubts and deviations in writing — peer surveillance as written procedure. OFFICIAL POLICY
- Confessional (auditing) folders contain members' most sensitive disclosures; former members allege their use for pressure. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY
- Litigation against critics is a matter of court record; former members and reporters describe private investigators and harassment of critics and journalists across decades, and a Texas appeals court held in 2015 that officials had no free-speech right to stalk a critic's wife who had never been a member [20]. COURT RECORD / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Children

- Cadet Org (the Sea Org's program for children) and Sea Org recruitment of minors, with billion-year contracts signed by teenagers, are described by former members and in reporting [10]; child labor

allegations have been raised, and this page records no finding on them. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

- Second-generation members raised inside report limited outside education and social contact. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY
- Former members report that disconnection has been applied to minors' relationships with parents deemed suppressive. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY

Bodies

- Former Sea Org members have alleged pressure to abort pregnancies to maintain service availability — allegations reported by multiple independent former members and denied by the organization. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT
- Multiple former members say that reporting sexual assault to police rather than internal Ethics was discouraged, and the same is alleged in the civil suit *Bixler et al.*; these are allegations, and this page records no finding. FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY

Sources for this section: 5 10 20

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

If you are a parent, this is the section about your children: what they may read, what they are taught about their bodies, and who else has a say in their schooling. Ask what your child would need to do at sixteen to hear the strongest case against what they were taught. Would they be allowed? Would they know it existed?

Knowledge reports require members to report each other's doubts and deviations in writing — peer surveillance as written procedure.



12

The 30 techniques

How the thirty techniques are established here

20	1	9
CODIFIED	DOCUMENTED	CONTESTED

STAGE 1 Idealize	1 Love Bombing **CODIFIED**	2 Weaponized Generosity **CODIFIED**		
STAGE 2 Hook	3 Future Faking **CODIFIED**	4 Hoovering **CONTESTED**		
STAGE 3 Devalue	5 Devaluation **CODIFIED**	6 Gaslighting **CODIFIED**	7 Double Bind **CODIFIED**	
STAGE 4 Confuse	8 Intermittent Reinforcement **CONTESTED**	9 Moving the Goalposts **CODIFIED**	10 Strategic Ambiguity **CODIFIED**	11 Projection **CODIFIED**
	12 DARVO **CONTESTED**	13 Normalization / Desensitization **CODIFIED**		
STAGE 5 Isolate	14 Isolation **CODIFIED**	15 Triangulation **CODIFIED**		

STAGE 6 Extract	16 Flying Monkeys — CODIFIED	17 Smear Campaign — DOCUMENTED	18 Silent Treatment / Stonewalling — CONTESTED	19 Manufactured Consent — CODIFIED
	20 Trauma Bonding — CONTESTED	21 Learned Helplessness — CODIFIED	22 Benevolent Control — CONTESTED	23 Infantilization — CODIFIED
	24 Identity Erosion — CODIFIED	25 Spiritual Bypassing — CODIFIED	26 Financial Control — CONTESTED	
STAGE 7 Discard	27 Manufactured Crisis — CONTESTED	28 Discard — CODIFIED		
STAGE 8 Replace	29 Replacement — CONTESTED	30 Plausible Deniability — CODIFIED		

Thirty named techniques from domestic-abuse and social-psychology research, applied to institutions, in the eight stages of the cycle.

BEFORE YOU READ

A fixed checklist of thirty influence and control patterns from research on coercive control and social psychology, applied here to institutions rather than to individual people. Every entry carries an evidence grade. The grade matters more than the name of the technique: Codified or Documented means there is a paper trail; Contested means the claim is disputed.

Thirty named techniques from domestic-abuse and social-psychology research, applied to institutions, in the eight stages of the cycle. Each carries an evidence grade for this tradition.

Stage 1 · Idealize

You arrive with a need and are met with more warmth than you have had in years.

You are offered a free personality test that finds your ruin (the area of life the test identifies as your biggest problem), then an introductory course that addresses it. You are given attention, certainty, vocabulary, measurable steps and a promise of ability.

What it asks of you: They located your worst problem and then sold you the solution. That is not diagnosis; it is targeting.

1 · Love Bombing

Overwhelming affection on arrival to create emotional dependency before terms are revealed.

How it shows here

- The hook often begins with a free personality test, stress test, introductory course, or friendly claim: “We can help you handle ruin, anxiety, relationships, career, trauma.”
- The newcomer receives attention, certainty, vocabulary, measurable steps, and the promise of spiritual advancement through “technology.”
- The early warmth hides the escalating costs: auditing, courses, ethics handling (the church's disciplinary procedure), disconnection, knowledge reports, and status levels that keep moving upward.

The strongest defense. People choose services voluntarily because they find them useful.

The counter. A choice made after targeted vulnerability mapping is not clean. When the system identifies your “ruin,” offers itself as the solution, then charges escalating fees while discouraging outside criticism, the sales funnel is wearing a clerical collar.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED The personality test, introductory course, and identification of the prospect's ruin are standard written procedure.

2 · Weaponized Generosity

Giving help that installs unspoken obligation.

How it shows here

- Scientology often begins with free or low-cost entry points: personality tests, stress tests, introductory lectures, basic courses, or promises to help with anxiety, relationships, work, or trauma.
- The early generosity creates the feeling of discovery: "Finally, someone understands my problem. Finally, there is a technology that can fix it."
- Once invested, the person faces escalating payments for auditing, courses, materials, ethics handling, Bridge progress, and status.
- Help is targeted to the person's "ruin," meaning the gift is not random kindness. It is aimed at the wound most likely to produce dependence.

The strongest defense. Scientology services are voluntary. People pay because they receive benefits.

The counter. Voluntary payment is compromised when the institution first maps your vulnerability, offers the only solution, discourages outside criticism, and escalates costs after emotional investment. The first test is cheap because the real product is dependence.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED The free and low-cost entry offers and the sequence of paid services that follows are the organization's own course structure; the prices are reported by former members and in reporting [10].

Stage 2 · Hook

You are given a future that cannot be verified, and a rope for whenever you drift toward the door.

You are offered Going Clear (reaching the state of Clear, which the church defines as freedom from the reactive mind), then Operating Thetan levels (the advanced levels beyond Clear), then more: always one more level, each with a price, none with a demonstrable holder you have met. Retrieval requires paying the freeloader debt and doing the amends, after which your family may speak to you again.

What it asks of you: A path with no top that costs more at every step is not a path. It is a subscription with cosmology attached.

3 · Future Faking

Promising a future that keeps you invested but never has to arrive.

How it shows here

- Scientology future-fakes through "Clear," Operating Thetan levels, total freedom, spiritual power, heightened ability, removal of engrams (painful memories that Scientology says the reactive mind stores), and escape from the reactive mind (the part of the mind Scientology says drives irrational behavior).

- The promise is staged like a commercial ladder: one course leads to another, one auditing package to another, one level to another.
- The person is told their current limitations come from hidden mental or spiritual material that only the technology can address.
- Each breakthrough becomes proof that the next level is worth buying. Each failure means more auditing is needed.
- The future is monetized with unusual precision. Freedom has invoices, routing forms, registrars, ethics cycles, and fixed donation schedules [25].

The strongest defense. People continue Scientology services because they experience wins and want more progress.

The counter. A "win" is the perfect hook because it proves just enough to keep the person buying. If total freedom is always ahead, never externally verifiable, and always requires the next paid step, then the Bridge is not a bridge. It is a conveyor belt.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED The Bridge to Total Freedom is the organization's own sequence of levels; the prices are reported by former members and in reporting [10], and the church calls the charges fixed donations [25].

4 · Hoovering

Pulling someone back after they've started to leave, through guilt, love, or fear.

How it shows here

- A person pulling away from Scientology may receive calls, letters, visits, recovery efforts, ethics handling, or pressure from registrars and staff.

- The approach may begin as concern: "You had wins," "You know the tech works," "Something is suppressing you," "Let us help you handle this."
- Doubt may be interpreted as influence from suppressive persons, missed withholds (harmful acts the person has not disclosed), out-ethics (conduct against the ethics code), misunderstood words (the church's stated cause of confusion in study), or failure to apply the technology correctly.
- The person may be offered another course, another auditing session, another ethics cycle, another chance to "handle" the reason they are leaving.
- If they criticize publicly, the tone may shift from recovery to attack: they are declared, smeared, disconnected from, or treated as an enemy.

The strongest defense. Scientology is trying to help people continue a path they previously found beneficial.

The counter. Help is not help when the system defines leaving as evidence of spiritual defect or enemy influence. If every exit must be audited, handled, corrected, or punished, then the person was never free. They were managed.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED The handling of doubt and the declaration of a leaver as a suppressive person are described as written policy [10]; the calls, visits and offers of further courses described above are reported by former members, and this page cites no church response.

Stage 3 · Devalue

You are taught that you are broken, that your perception is unreliable, and that both exits from the trap lead back inside.

You are told your case (your burden of unresolved mental material) is not flat, your ethics are out (you are in breach of the ethics code), and your conditions (the church's graded ethics states) need handling. There is always another level and always something wrong that the next payment addresses.

What it asks of you: The Bridge has no top you have ever met anyone standing on.

5 · Devaluation

Reducing your sense of worth so you become dependent on the institution for identity.

How it shows here

- Scientology devalues through its diagnosis of the reactive mind, engrams, aberration (departure from rational behavior), out-ethics, suppressive influence, and spiritual incompetence without the tech.
- The framing can be blunt: "You are a reactive mind. Your engrams control you. Without auditing, you are broken."

- A person's distress becomes evidence that they need more auditing. Their resistance becomes evidence of hidden crimes, missed withholds, misunderstood words, or suppressive connections.
- The status ladder also devalues: preclear (a person receiving auditing who has not yet reached Clear), Clear, OT (Operating Thetan) levels, ethics conditions (graded ethics states). You are always measured by where you are not yet.
- Even disagreement can be pathologized as case, out-ethics, or suppression.

The strongest defense. Scientology gives people tools to improve themselves and overcome mental barriers.

The counter. Self-improvement becomes devaluation when the institution first convinces you that your mind is untrustworthy and then sells itself as the only repair system. If every objection proves you need more processing, the diagnosis is unfalsifiable — and profitable.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> **CODIFIED** The reactive mind and pre-clear status are the organization's own categories, and they define the member by what has not yet been purchased.

6 · Gaslighting

Making you doubt your own experience so you trust the institution's interpretation instead.

How it shows here

- A person says auditing harmed them, and the answer is, "You have missed withholds," "You are out-ethics," or "You are connected to suppressive persons."
- Doubt is interpreted as a symptom to be handled, not a conclusion to be respected.
- If someone wants to leave, the system searches for their "ruin," crimes, misunderstandings, or suppressive connections.
- Criticism of Scientology becomes proof that the critic is degraded, criminal, suppressive, or insane.
- The person's own mind is discredited as reactive unless corrected by the tech.

The strongest defense. Scientology offers methods to locate barriers to personal progress.

The counter. A method becomes gaslighting when it never allows the method itself to be the problem. If every objection proves the objector needs more handling, then the system has built a perfect mirror that only reflects guilt back at the victim.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED The founder's texts define the member's mind as reactive until corrected by the tech, and the Stage 4 summary records that doubt is treated as the member's own case.

7 · Double Bind

A trap where both options lead to compliance. No exit serves you.

How it shows here

- Scientologists are taught 'what is true for you is what you have observed yourself' — inside a system where observing the wrong thing (critical media, ex-member accounts) is a suppressive act.
- Members with doubts must report to Ethics; doubt is a condition with assigned formulas whose completion requires renewed commitment. The exit ramp loops back to the entrance.
- Auditing requires total honesty; disclosures are recorded in preclear folders (the records of each member's auditing sessions) that former members allege resurface when they turn critical. Honesty is the deposit; leverage is the interest.

The strongest defense. The tech works when applied standardly; ethics conditions are self-administered and voluntary.

The counter. Self-administered formulas graded by the institution are self-service only in the sense that you carry your own chains to the desk. When both doubt and its expression are policy-defined offenses, 'observe for yourself' is a slogan with a security escort.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> **CODIFIED** Written policy classes doubt as a condition with an assigned formula and critical material as a suppressive act, so that both exits lead back to the organization.

Stage 4 · Confuse

The rewards become unpredictable, the standard keeps moving, the answers stop meaning anything, and the accusation gets turned around.

Doubt is your own case. Criticism means you have overts (harmful acts you have committed). Complainants are declared suppressive and the investigation becomes about them.

What it asks of you: A system where noticing a problem is itself the problem cannot ever be wrong. Notice that this is a design feature.

8 · Intermittent Reinforcement

Unpredictable reward that creates addictive emotional dependency.

How it shows here

- The Bridge to Total Freedom is a purchase-metered reinforcement ladder: auditing wins are euphoric, real, and temporary; the next release is always one level and one invoice away.
- Status within the org rises and falls on stats (weekly statistics of a person's or unit's output) measured Thursday at 2pm — a formal weekly schedule of reward and correction that makes members' standing genuinely, institutionally intermittent.

- E-meter (the electronic device used in auditing) phenomena and 'floating needles' (a needle movement taken as a sign of case gain) deliver variable confirmation inside sessions; wins are documented and celebrated, while plateaus indicate misapplied tech, withholds, or your out-ethics — never the tech.

The strongest defense. Case gain is real and documented in members' own success stories; standard tech works when standardly applied.

The counter. The success stories are the payout schedule's receipts. A ladder where relief is real, temporary, priced, and always one rung short of done is not a bridge; it is a toll road shaped like one.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED The ladder of levels and the weekly statistics schedule are the organization's own structure; the euphoric wins, the variable confirmation inside sessions and the pricing of each rung are reported by members, and this page cites no church response.

9 · Moving the Goalposts

The standard of success keeps shifting so you can never arrive.

How it shows here

- A person begins with a personality test or introductory course. Then they need auditing, more courses, ethics handling, Clear, OT levels, more auditing, more money, more compliance.
- A member achieves one level but is told the next level contains the real breakthrough.
- If auditing fails, the goalpost moves: hidden crimes, misunderstood words, suppressive persons, out-ethics, or insufficient processing.

The strongest defense. Scientology offers progressive spiritual technology; higher levels require preparation.

The counter. Progression becomes moving the goalposts when freedom is always one paid level away. If failure always means buying more of the cure, the bridge is a conveyor belt.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED The sequence of courses, auditing and Operating Thetan levels is the organization's own structure, which makes the next level always the next step.

10 · Strategic Ambiguity

Language that sounds profound but means nothing specific — functioning as a shutdown to real questions.

How it shows here

- Scientology presents itself as religion, self-help, applied philosophy, spiritual technology, or persecuted minority depending on context.
- Auditing is therapy-like when marketed, religious when legally protected, and technical when criticized.
- Disconnection is described as voluntary personal choice, yet members know the institutional consequences of refusing.

The strongest defense. Scientology contains religious, philosophical, and practical elements.

The counter. Multipurpose identity becomes strategic ambiguity when the organization changes categories to gain protection and avoid accountability. If it sells therapy, claims religion, enforces discipline, and denies coercion, the ambiguity is not richness. It is armor.

EVIDENCE GRADE

CODIFIED The organization's own materials present it as religion, self-help and applied philosophy; the church says disconnection is voluntary [27], while the policy letters as quoted by former members and in reporting require it [10].

11 · Projection

Accusing the outside world of the exact thing the institution practices.

How it shows here

- Scientology may accuse critics of being suppressive, criminal, degraded, or insane while using pressure, disconnection, intimidation, and attack tactics.
- A person harmed by auditing may be told they have hidden crimes or missed withholds, projecting institutional failure onto the harmed person.
- Scientology attacks psychiatry as abusive while using confession files, ethics handling, and psychological control.
- Someone who leaves may be accused of being controlled by suppressive persons while Scientology controls who members can trust, read, speak to, or love.

The strongest defense. Scientology identifies suppressive influences that prevent spiritual progress.

The counter. That is projection in its purest form. If everyone who threatens the organization's control is labeled suppressive, the label does not reveal danger. It conceals it.

EVIDENCE GRADE

CODIFIED The labeling of critics as suppressive persons is described as set out in the founder's policy letters [10]. The Operation Snow White convictions show infiltration, not the accusation of critics for the organization's own conduct, and are not the basis of this grade.

12 · DARVO

Deny the wrongdoing. Attack the person who raised it. Reverse victim and offender.

How it shows here

- A person reports harm from auditing, financial pressure, disconnection, ethics handling, or institutional intimidation. Scientology denies abuse and says the person had hidden crimes, missed withholds, or suppressive connections.
- Then the critic is attacked as suppressive, criminal, degraded, insane, bitter, or connected to enemies.
- Scientology presents itself as the victim of religious persecution while aggressively targeting those who expose it.
- The harmed person becomes the attacker; the organization with power becomes the persecuted minority.
- Leaving is treated as evidence of defect rather than evidence that the system may be harmful.

The strongest defense. Scientology is often misrepresented and has the right to defend itself against attacks.

The counter. Defense is not the same as retaliation. When criticism is answered by character assassination, disconnection, intimidation, or accusations of hidden crimes, the organization is not defending truth. It is reversing the crime scene.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED The labeling of critics as suppressive persons and the handling of complaints through Ethics are described as written policy [10]; the denial and reversal of blame in individual cases rests on member accounts.

13 · Normalization / Desensitization

Practices that would seem extreme to an outsider feel normal to insiders because they were installed before critical evaluation developed.

How it shows here

- Scientology normalizes increasingly invasive auditing, ethics handling, confessional files, knowledge reports, disconnection, escalating payments, and internal discipline.
- The person becomes used to interpreting problems through Scientology categories: reactive mind, engrams, overts, withholds, PTSness (being a potential trouble source, connected to a suppressive person), suppressive persons.
- What first feels bizarre — routing forms, ethics conditions, expensive levels, loyalty checks — becomes ordinary inside the closed vocabulary.
- Members become desensitized to financial pressure because advancement is always the next necessary step.
- The system trains people to see outside concern as ignorance or attack.

The strongest defense. Scientology procedures are structured tools for spiritual improvement.

The counter. Structure becomes desensitization when invasive practices are repeated until they feel normal. If a person gets used to confession files, disconnection threats, and endless payments as spiritual progress, control has become routine.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED Entheta classification and knowledge reports are described as written procedure requiring members to report one another [10].

Stage 5 · Isolate

Your world narrows until every voice you hear is inside the system, and everything you came for now runs through a middleman.

Your world consists of courses, Ethics, knowledge reports, and a vocabulary no outsider understands. Critical material is entheta. Former Sea Org members describe having no outside income, credentials or contacts [10].

What it asks of you: You cannot discuss your doubts with anyone who is not required to report them.

14 · Isolation

Shrinking your world until the only voices you hear are inside the system.

How it shows here

- Scientology isolates through disconnection, suppressive person labels, ethics handling, auditing, knowledge reports, internal jargon, course schedules, and suspicion of psychiatry, critics, journalists, ex-members, and "entheta."
- Members may be pressured to disconnect from family or friends labeled suppressive.
- Criticism is not treated as information; it is treated as contamination from enemies.
- The person's problems are interpreted through Scientology terms: reactive mind, engrams, overts, withholds, missed words, PTSness, suppressive influence.
- Because the system supplies its own language, therapy, ethics, diagnosis, enemies, and salvation ladder, the member's reality becomes internally sealed.

The strongest defense. Scientology protects members from destructive influences that interfere with spiritual progress.

The counter. That is the logic of isolation. If anyone who threatens the organization's control can be labeled suppressive, then disconnection is not protection. It is a mechanism for cutting the member off from rescue.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED Disconnection and Suppressive Person handling are described as set out in the founder's policy letters, which remain the organization's scripture [10].

15 · Triangulation

Inserting intermediaries between you and the thing you came for, so the institution is always in the middle.

How it shows here

- Scientology triangulates through auditors, ethics officers, registrars, course supervisors, knowledge reports, disconnection policies, and suppressive person labels.
- A member's doubts are not handled directly as valid concerns. They are routed through ethics, auditing, word clearing (a procedure for finding misunderstood words), or investigation of suppressive influence.
- Other members may file knowledge reports, turning the community into a surveillance network.
- Family and friends can be weaponized through disconnection: if someone is labeled suppressive, the member is pressured to cut ties.
- The person is triangulated against their own mind: the reactive mind, engrams, overts, withholds, misunderstood words, and suppressive influences all become third parties blamed for dissent.
- Progress levels create comparison: Clears and OTs become examples of what you could be if you stopped resisting.
- Registrars may triangulate through your stated "ruin": they remind you of the suffering Scientology promised to solve.

The strongest defense. Scientology ethics and auditing are meant to identify barriers to spiritual progress.

The counter. A barrier-identification system becomes triangulation when every doubt is assigned to a third cause the organization controls. If your concern is never allowed to be about Scientology itself, but always about your engrams, crimes, words, or connections, the system has made reality inaccessible except through itself.

EVIDENCE GRADE

CODIFIED Disconnection is described as set out in policy letters [10]; the church says it is voluntary [27].

Stage 6 · Extract

Now the harvest: your labor, your money, your identity, your silence, your children's schooling, your capacity to trust yourself.

Former members describe fixed charges escalating into six figures [10]. Donations are status-tiered beyond the cost of services. Members are pressed into loans and mortgages for buildings that stay organizational property. Sea Org labor is paid at nominal stipends under billion-year contracts. Your spouse writes knowledge reports about you. Auditing folders contain your most sensitive disclosures.

What it asks of you: Former staff say they were charged a fee to leave [10].

16 · Flying Monkeys

The community enforces the institution's norms without being asked — mobilized by culture, not memos.

How it shows here

- Scientology can use auditors, ethics officers, registrars, course supervisors, fellow members, family, knowledge reports, and disconnection pressure.
- If someone doubts, others may report them, pressure them into ethics handling, or identify suppressive influences.
- Friends and relatives inside the organization may be used to pull the person back into auditing, courses, or disconnection from critics.
- Former confidences can become leverage through auditing files or ethics narratives.

The strongest defense. Scientology uses ethics and reports to help people stay on course spiritually.

The counter. Ethics becomes FLYING MONKEY behavior when members monitor and report one another for the organization's benefit. If your social world becomes a surveillance network, help has become policing.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED Knowledge reports, in which members report one another, and the disconnection of those declared suppressive are set out in written policy.

17 · Smear Campaign

Rewriting your character after departure to protect the institution from the implications of your leaving.

How it shows here

- Critics may be labeled suppressive persons, criminals, degraded beings, liars, insane, bitter, or connected to enemies.
- Harm from auditing, disconnection, or financial pressure may be reframed as the critic's hidden crimes or out-ethics.
- Scientology may present itself as persecuted while attacking the credibility of former members.
- Confidential information can be weaponized to discredit dissenters.

The strongest defense. Scientology has the right to defend itself from hostile attacks.

The counter. Defense becomes smear when the organization attacks the person instead of the evidence. If every critic is suppressive, the label is not a warning. It is a reputation weapon.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> **DOCUMENTED** A Texas appeals court held in 2015 that officials had no free-speech right to stalk Monique Rathbun, who had never been a member [20]; the wider pattern of attacking critics rests on former members' accounts and reporting [10], and the church says Hubbard cancelled the label 'fair game' in 1968 [19].

18 · Silent Treatment / Stonewalling

Refusing to engage with legitimate questions in order to maintain control.

How it shows here

- A member raises concerns and is routed into ethics, auditing, word clearing, or investigation of suppressive influence instead of receiving an answer.
- Complaints are treated as evidence of hidden crimes, misunderstood words, or out-ethics.
- Leadership may refuse direct engagement with critics while attacking their character.
- The system answers every objection with more system.

The strongest defense. Scientology has procedures to locate the source of a person's upset.

The counter. Procedure becomes stonewalling when it never allows Scientology itself to be the source. If every complaint is converted into a defect in the complainer, the institution has built a wall out of therapy-like process.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED Former members and critics describe sustained non-response to questions and litigation against those who ask; no court record is named here, and this page cites no church response.

19 · Manufactured Consent

Creating the appearance of choice when the conditions of choice were shaped before you could evaluate them.

How it shows here

- A person "chooses" courses after a personality test identifies their ruin and Scientology presents itself as the solution.
- Payment appears voluntary, but progress, status, and spiritual freedom are always tied to the next level.
- Members consent to auditing without understanding how confessional material may become leverage.
- Disconnection is described as personal choice, but institutional pressure shapes the decision.

The strongest defense. People voluntarily purchase services because they find them useful.

The counter. A sale is not clean consent when vulnerability is mapped, criticism is discouraged, costs escalate, and exit threatens relationships. If the system creates the problem, sells the cure, and controls the exit, consent is manufactured.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED The personality test that identifies the prospect's ruin is described as a written entry procedure.

20 · Trauma Bonding

The wound and the bandage come from the same hand.

How it shows here

- Scientology identifies a person's "ruin," intensifies focus on it, then offers auditing, courses, ethics handling, and higher levels as relief.
- A member feels defective because of engrams, overts, withholds, PTSness, or suppressive influence; relief comes through more Scientology.
- Ethics pressure destabilizes; wins and auditing highs reattach.
- The Bridge becomes the cycle: distress, payment, temporary relief, new problem, next level.

The strongest defense. Scientology services help people improve and overcome barriers.

The counter. Improvement becomes TRAUMA BONDING when the organization repeatedly creates or amplifies distress that only its paid system can relieve. If freedom always requires the next level, the relief is part of the trap.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED The Bridge's levels are the organization's structure; the sequence of distress, payment and relief, and the prices, are reported by members, and this page cites no church response.

21 · Learned Helplessness

Teaching you that your own judgment is unreliable until you stop trusting it entirely.

How it shows here

- A member objects and is routed into ethics, auditing, word clearing, or investigation of suppressive influence.
- Every problem becomes evidence that they need more Scientology.
- If they cannot progress, the reason is hidden crimes, misunderstood words, PTSness, or lack of application.
- Eventually they stop considering that the system might be wrong.

The strongest defense. Scientology procedures identify barriers to progress.

The counter. Procedures create LEARNED HELPLESSNESS when they never allow the procedure itself to be questioned. If every failed cure means more cure, the person is trapped inside a diagnostic loop.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED Standard tech is described as forbidding interpretation, locating assessment of the member's own mind in the organization.

22 · Benevolent Control

Control wrapped in the language of care, so that resisting the control feels like rejecting the love.

How it shows here

- Auditing, ethics handling, disconnection, knowledge reports, and expensive courses are framed as tools for spiritual freedom.
- The person's "ruin" is identified, then Scientology offers itself as the caring solution.
- Disconnection is framed as protection from suppressive influence.
- Escalating payments are framed as investment in liberation.

The strongest defense. Scientology services help people overcome barriers and improve their lives.

The counter. Improvement becomes BENEVOLENT CONTROL when the system defines the problem, sells the cure, and controls the exit. If "help" requires money, secrecy, loyalty, and disconnection, it is not freedom. It is managed dependence.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED Fee schedules, IAS status tiers and Ideal Org campaigns are described by former members and in reporting [10], and the disconnection policy through which exclusion is framed as protection is described in the policy letters as quoted there; whether they are framed as the entry says is read differently by members and critics.

23 · Infantilization

Positioning the adult believer as permanently childlike and dependent on institutional authority.

How it shows here

- Members are told their reactive mind, engrams, withholds, and suppressive influences make them unreliable without the tech.
- Auditors, ethics officers, and course supervisors interpret the person's problems for them.
- Objections are treated as symptoms requiring handling.
- Advancement depends on institutional grading, levels, and approval.

The strongest defense. Scientology helps people overcome mental and spiritual barriers.

The counter. Help becomes INFANTILIZATION when the person's own mind is treated as untrustworthy until processed by the organization. If every objection proves you need more handling, adulthood has been replaced by case management.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED Advancement by institutional grading and approval is the organization's written structure, and standard tech forbids the member's own interpretation.

24 · Identity Erosion

Gradually replacing your identity with a role the institution provides, until you can't separate who you are from where you belong.

How it shows here

- Scientology redefines the person through reactive mind, engrams, overts, withholds, conditions, auditing levels, Clear, OT, suppressive persons, and the Bridge.
- The person's problems become technical defects only Scientology can interpret.
- Personal history is mined through auditing and reprocessed through institutional vocabulary.
- Old identity becomes "case."
- The ideal self is always farther up the Bridge.

The strongest defense. Scientology gives people tools to discover their true spiritual nature.

The counter. Discovery becomes IDENTITY EROSION when the institution owns the language of the self. If your memories, motives, flaws, relationships, and progress are all processed through Scientology categories, identity has been captured by the tech.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED Identity denominated in OT level and organizational rank, by written procedure.

25 · Spiritual Bypassing

Using spiritual language to avoid engaging with real pain, real questions, and real accountability.

How it shows here

- Distress is bypassed as reactive mind, engrams, overts, withholds, PTSness, or suppressive influence.
- Harm from the organization is bypassed as the member's case.
- Criticism is bypassed by labeling the critic suppressive.
- Financial pressure is bypassed as investment in freedom.
- Every objection becomes material for more handling.

The strongest defense. Scientology identifies barriers so people can progress.

The counter. Progress becomes SPIRITUAL BYPASSING when the system can never be the problem. If every wound points back to the wounded person's case, the tech has bypassed accountability completely.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED Reactive mind, engrams, overts and withholds are the organization's own defined categories.

26 · Financial Control

Extracting money through spiritual obligation while offering no transparency about where it goes.

How it shows here

- Scientology may charge escalating fees for auditing, courses, materials, advancement, ethics handling, and Bridge progress.
- Members may go into debt or drain savings because spiritual freedom is always tied to the next paid level.
- The organization identifies a person's ruin, then sells the solution in stages.
- Disconnection and social pressure can make leaving financially and relationally costly.

The strongest defense. Scientology services are voluntary and people pay because they experience benefits.

The counter. Payment becomes FINANCIAL CONTROL when benefits are always incomplete and the next step always costs more. If total freedom is sold in installments, the Bridge is a billing structure with spiritual language.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED The church calls its charges fixed donations set out in schedules [25]; the escalating totals and the freeloader debt invoiced to departing staff are described by former staff and in reporting [10], and this page cites no church response.

Stage 7 · Discard

You become expensive — too many questions, too much independence — and the urgency ramps up until you are removed.

You are declared suppressive and, former members say, disconnected from family and billed freeloader debt; litigation against critics is a matter of court record [10].

What it asks of you: Former staff say they are charged money for leaving.

27 · Manufactured Crisis

Creating urgency to suppress critical thinking and generate loyalty.

How it shows here

- Scientology may manufacture crisis by identifying a person's "ruin" and presenting it as urgent.
- Doubt becomes evidence of suppressive influence, hidden crimes, or out-ethics requiring immediate handling.
- Leaving is framed as spiritual collapse or influence by suppressive persons.
- The next course or auditing session becomes the emergency solution.

The strongest defense. Scientology helps people handle serious barriers to progress.

The counter. Handling becomes MANUFACTURED CRISIS when the organization defines every problem as requiring more organization. If the same system diagnoses the emergency and sells the cure, urgency is a sales technique.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED The declaration of a suppressive person is described as a defined procedure with defined consequences; the claimed conduct, urgency in the sales approach and doubt treated as suppressive influence, rests on member accounts, and this page cites no church response.

28 · Discard

Removing members who become too costly — too many questions, too much independence, too visible a contradiction.

How it shows here

- A member who leaves or criticizes may be labeled suppressive.
- Friends and family may be pressured to disconnect.
- The person's criticisms are dismissed as crimes, insanity, bitterness, or enemy influence.
- Former investment, labor, donations, and loyalty are erased.
- The organization moves from selling freedom to treating the leaver as contamination.

The strongest defense. Scientology protects members from suppressive influences.

The counter. Protection becomes DISCARD when every critic becomes suppressive. If the organization must exile dissent to preserve itself, the label is not a safety tool. It is a disposal mechanism.

EVIDENCE GRADE

CODIFIED Declaration of Suppressive Person is described as a defined procedure with defined consequences [10].

Stage 8 · Replace

Your seat is filled before the door shuts, and nobody is responsible for any of it because the authority was attributed to Hubbard's writings.

And the authority is Hubbard's technology, applied standardly, which cannot be interpreted, questioned, or amended by anyone alive.

What it asks of you: A dead man's policy letters cannot be cross-examined. That is not a limitation of the system; it is the reason it works.

29 · Replacement

Your seat is filled before the door closes behind you.

How it shows here

- A member who leaves is labeled suppressive and replaced by newer recruits, paying students, or loyal staff.
- A critic's history is rewritten while fresh "wins" are promoted.
- The organization's course rooms, auditing rooms, and registrars move on to the next person's ruin.
- Disconnected family may be encouraged to build relationships with loyal members instead.

The strongest defense. Organizations continue serving people who want help.

The counter. Service becomes REPLACEMENT when former members are demonized and new members are used as proof of health. If every critic is suppressive and every recruit is success, replacement is part of narrative control.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CONTESTED The declaration of a leaver as a suppressive person is described as a defined procedure with defined consequences; that newer recruits fill the seat is stated in this entry without a source.

30 · Plausible Deniability

The institution is never responsible, because the authority is attributed to Hubbard's writings, and their author is not available for cross-examination.

How it shows here

- Scientology can present itself as religion, self-help, applied philosophy, spiritual technology, or humanitarian work depending on context.
- Disconnection is described as personal choice, while members understand the consequences of not disconnecting from suppressive persons.
- Auditing is marketed as help, protected as religion, priced as service, and defended as voluntary.
- Critics are labeled suppressive, allowing the organization to deny fear of criticism while making criticism socially radioactive.
- Escalating payments are framed as personal advancement, not financial coercion.

The strongest defense. People voluntarily buy services. Disconnection is a personal decision. Scientology is misunderstood and attacked.

The counter. Voluntary payment is compromised when vulnerability is mapped and progress is paywalled. A personal decision is not personal when institutional consequences shape it. Being criticized does not justify labeling every critic suppressive.

> EVIDENCE GRADE
>
> CODIFIED Authority attributed to standard tech, which explicitly forbids interpretation by anyone living.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Count grades, not names. A long list of Contested entries says something very different from a short list of Codified ones. A bias to watch for in yourself: people rate the same pressure as "normal" when their own group applies it and as "manipulation" when another group does. Before you judge an entry, try imagining it applied by a group you distrust. Does it look different?

13

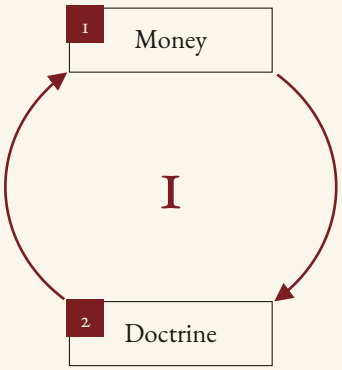
The loops

BEFORE YOU READ

How the techniques connect into cycles. A single practice can look harmless on its own. The loops show how one step feeds the next, so that, for example, a newcomer's welcome turns into an obligation.

> The seven loops below show how the practices connect, so that each step makes the next one easier and the last step feeds the first. The loops are analysis built from findings recorded elsewhere on this page PATTERN OBSERVED; each step names the section where its fact is recorded.

1 · Money to Doctrine to Money



Salvation is explicitly priced by the organization that defines the levels, and the price rises at every step.

How it runs.

1. The organization defines the levels of the Bridge, the graded path of auditing and training, and sets a fixed price for each (sections 7 and 9).
2. The member pays for each level, and the upper levels cost hundreds of thousands of dollars (sections 1 and 9).
3. Each level is followed by another, and the promised endpoint is never reached (section 12, techniques 3 and 9).

4. Status-tiered IAS giving and Ideal Org building campaigns draw further money beyond the price of services (section 9).

5. The money sustains the organization that defines the levels, and the next level carries the next price.

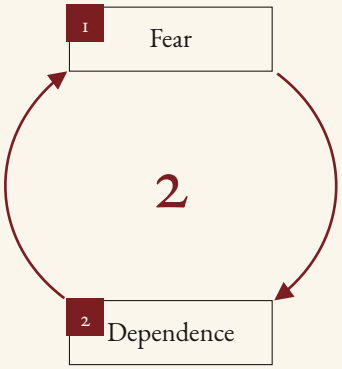
Techniques that feed it. 3 · Future Faking, 8 · Intermittent Reinforcement, 9 · Moving the Goalposts, 26 · Financial Control.

Why it closes. The organization defines, prices and certifies the product and receives the payment, and the scorecard in section 1 finds no public accounts. A member cannot test whether the next level delivers what the last did without paying for it.

Where it could be broken, and by whom. It weakens wherever the money becomes visible. Publication of the organization's accounts would show where the payments go, and that is in the organization's hands. A member can ask what the next level cost and who set that price, and can ask for audited statements (section 23). This paragraph is analysis, not a documented finding.

An example from this page. The Bridge to Total Freedom price schedule is recorded as fixed prices per level, escalating into six figures (section 7). In France, a court found the Celebrity Centre and bookshop guilty of organised fraud for preying financially on followers (section 19).

2 · Fear to Dependence to Fear



The reactive mind supplies the diagnosis, auditing supplies the relief, and relief is never complete.

How it runs.

1. The organization teaches that the member's problems come from the reactive mind, engrams, overts and withholds (section 12, techniques 5 and 24).
2. Auditing is offered as the remedy, and the member has real but temporary relief (section 12, technique 8).
3. Because relief is temporary, the next level or session is presented as necessary (section 12, techniques 9 and 20).
4. When the member doubts, the doubt is treated as the member's own case and not as a conclusion to be respected (section 12, stage 4 and technique 6).
5. The resulting distress sends the member back for more auditing, and the cycle repeats.

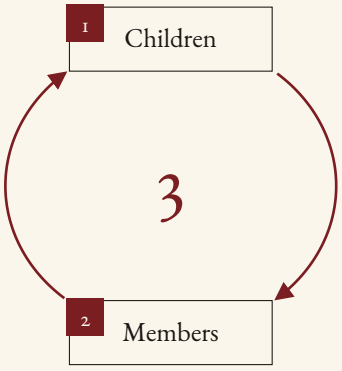
Techniques that feed it. 5 · Devaluation, 6 · Gaslighting, 8 · Intermittent Reinforcement, 20 · Trauma Bonding, 21 · Learned Helplessness.

Why it closes. The organization both names the problem and supplies the only remedy, so every setback confirms the diagnosis. Doubt and criticism are classed inside the system as the member's own case, so an objection leads back to more handling.

Where it could be broken, and by whom. It weakens wherever a member can hear a view that is not routed through the organization. Critical material is classed as entheta and disconnection removes outside relationships (sections 10 and 11), so the outside voices matter most: family, former members and independent-field practitioners (sections 20 and 25). This paragraph is analysis, not a documented finding.

An example from this page. Technique 3 records that each breakthrough becomes proof that the next level is worth buying, and each failure means more auditing is needed. The Stage 4 summary records that doubt is the member's own case and that criticism means the member has overts.

3 · Children to Members to Children



Cadet Org and second-generation upbringing limit outside education and contact; minors have signed billion-year contracts.

How it runs.

1. Children are raised inside the organization, and Cadet Org and Sea Org recruit minors (section 11).
2. Second-generation members report limited outside education and social contact (sections 11 and 17).
3. Teenagers have signed billion-year contracts (section 11).
4. As adults, former staff say, they have few outside credentials, contacts or savings, which makes leaving costly, and they say departing staff are billed freeloader debt (sections 9, 17 and 18).
5. They remain as staff or members, and their own children are raised inside.

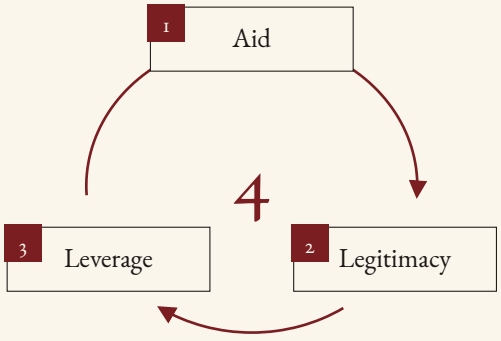
Techniques that feed it. 14 · Isolation, 19 · Manufactured Consent, 23 · Infantilization, 24 · Identity Erosion.

Why it closes. A child with limited outside education and contact becomes an adult with few outside credentials or contacts, and the cost of leaving rises with every year of service. The organization supplies the education, the work and the vocabulary.

Where it could be broken, and by whom. The loop leaks at its last step: section 7 records that second-generation retention is poor. It weakens further where a young person has outside education and contact, a way to leave without debt, and support from former members (section 25). Parents, and the staff who recruit, are the people who could change it. This paragraph is analysis, not a documented finding.

An example from this page. The day inside (section 2) is a composite built from documented patterns. It describes a man who signed at seventeen and whose mother had signed her own contract at nineteen.

4 · Aid to Legitimacy to Leverage to Aid



An exemption restored after a litigation campaign, and revenue that funds more litigation, which protects the exemption.

How it runs.

1. The IRS revoked the church's tax exemption in 1967, and the church and its members brought about 2,200 suits against the agency (sections 5 and 8).
2. In 1993 the exemption was restored in a closing agreement, and the church paid $12.5 million (sections 5 and 8).
3. Section 16 records the exemption as a public tax benefit held by an organization that charges fixed donations for its services.
4. The revenue funds counsel and the litigation against critics (sections 9 and 16).
5. Litigation and legal capacity protect the organization from scrutiny, and the exemption is retained.

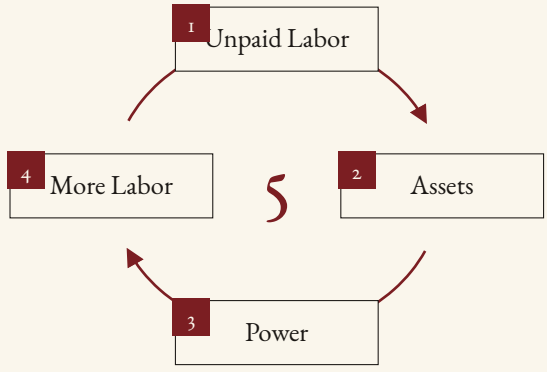
Techniques that feed it. 11 · Projection, 12 · DARVO, 17 · Smear Campaign, 18 · Silent Treatment / Stonewalling, 26 · Financial Control.

Why it closes. The exemption protects the revenue, the revenue funds the litigation, and the litigation defends the organization against the scrutiny that could revisit the exemption. Section 16 records the exemption alongside the absence of published accounts on this page.

Where it could be broken, and by whom. It weakens wherever the flow becomes visible. The scorecard in section 1 finds no public accounts, so publication of accounts is in the organization's hands. Section 8 lists the IRS and the courts as the bodies able to compel an answer. This paragraph is analysis, not a documented finding.

An example from this page. Section 5 records the 1997 New York Times report of private detectives investigating agency personnel alongside the litigation, and section 8 records the $12.5 million paid under the 1993 closing agreement.

5 · Unpaid Labor to Assets to Power to More Labor



Sea Org labor at nominal pay builds a real-estate portfolio the staff never own, and are billed on leaving.

How it runs.

1. Sea Org members sign billion-year contracts, some as minors (sections 10 and 11).
2. Former staff describe full-time work at nominal weekly stipends and having no outside income, credentials or contacts (section 9 and the Stage 5 summary in section 12).

3. Their labor staffs the organization, and Ideal Org campaigns add member loans and mortgages for buildings that remain organizational property (section 9).
4. The real-estate portfolio grows while membership declines (sections 5 and 7).
5. Former staff say a member who leaves is billed freeloader debt for training received (section 9).

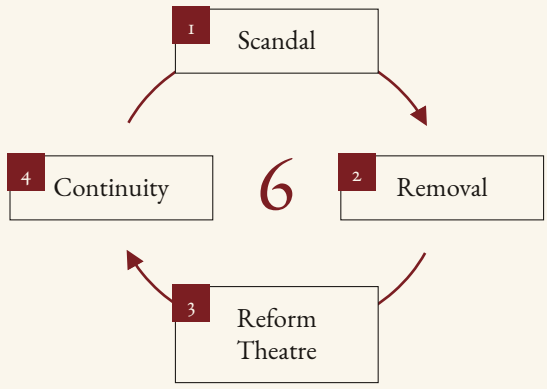
Techniques that feed it. 19 · Manufactured Consent, 26 · Financial Control, 28 · Discard, 29 · Replacement.

Why it closes. The people whose labor supports the organization own none of its assets, and they cannot afford to leave. The cost of exit is paid by the person who leaves, and the organization's operating costs stay low.

Where it could be broken, and by whom. It weakens if the departure bill is removed or if staff have savings, credentials and contacts of their own (section 17). Section 24 states that freeloader debt is not a court judgment. This paragraph is analysis, not a documented finding.

An example from this page. The middle-tiers table (section 18) records that Sea Org staff run the organization for nominal pay under a billion-year contract and could refuse very little safely.

6 · Scandal to Removal to Reform Theatre to Continuity



There is no removal, because authority is centralized and the founder is dead and unrevisable.

How it runs.

1. A scandal becomes public: the Operation Snow White convictions, and later the defections and testimony of senior executives (sections 5, 19 and 20).
2. The question of who answers for it is asked, and section 7 finds no public record of any person or body with the power to remove the chairman.
3. Authority is centralized under the Religious Technology Center, and standard tech forbids interpretation (section 7).
4. The founder is dead, and his policy letters cannot be interpreted, questioned or amended by anyone alive (section 12, stage 8).
5. The structure, the pricing and the policy letters continue unchanged (section 14).

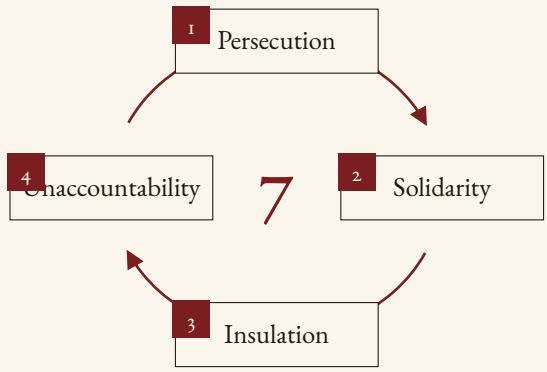
Techniques that feed it. 12 · DARVO, 17 · Smear Campaign, 18 · Silent Treatment / Stonewalling, 30 · Plausible Deniability.

Why it closes. Both the apex and the doctrine are out of reach. There is one chairman with no named removal body, and there is one body of texts that no living person may reinterpret, so a scandal has no office to reach and no text to revise.

Where it could be broken, and by whom. It would break if the Religious Technology Center's governance were published and named a body with real power over its chairman (section 20). Until then the only bodies listed as able to compel an answer are the IRS, consumer-protection authorities and the courts (section 8). This paragraph is analysis, not a documented finding.

An example from this page. Section 14 records that the last time senior executives defected and testified, the structure, the pricing and the policy letters were unchanged.

7 · Persecution to Solidarity to Insulation to Unaccountability



Early government hostility was genuine and is invoked to reframe every subsequent finding as religious bigotry.

How it runs.

1. The organization faced genuine government hostility in its early decades (section 3).
2. It presents itself as a persecuted minority (section 12, technique 12).
3. Members are taught that critics are suppressive, and critical material is entheta (sections 11 and 12, techniques 11 and 17).
4. A new finding, including a court record, is answered as religious bigotry (section 3).
5. Members are insulated from the finding, and the organization is not held to account for it.

Techniques that feed it. 10 · Strategic Ambiguity, 11 · Projection, 12 · DARVO, 14 · Isolation, 17 · Smear Campaign.

Why it closes. Each finding is reclassified in advance: the critic is suppressive, the material is entheta and the finding is bigotry. The genuine early hostility gives the reframing a factual anchor, which makes it harder to dismiss.

Where it could be broken, and by whom. It weakens where a finding comes from a source the organization cannot reframe, such as a court record, and where members can hear it from outside the organization (sections 3 and 25). The first of these is in the hands of courts and regulators, and the second in the hands of members and their families. This paragraph is analysis, not a documented finding.

An example from this page. Section 3 sets out the strongest objection, that the page repeats decades of religious bigotry, and answers it by pointing to court records. Technique 12 records the pattern of presenting the organization as a persecuted minority.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

The loops explain why good people stay in arrangements they would never sign up for from scratch. The more you have already put in, the harder it is to walk away. Researchers call this the sunk-cost effect (Arkes & Blumer, 1985), and it works on time, money and relationships alike. Ask yourself: if you were starting today, knowing what you know, would you join?

The seven loops below show how the practices connect, so that each step makes the next one easier and the last step feeds the first.

14 Say versus do

BEFORE YOU READ

Direct, checkable comparisons: a public statement on one side, the documented record on the other, and the receipt that links them. This is the most falsifiable section on the page, because each row either matches its source or it doesn't.

What they say, what the record shows

THEY SAY	THE RECORD SHOWS	RECEIPT
The church says disconnection is a personal choice about relationships [27].	According to the founder's policy letters as quoted by former members and in reporting [10], members are required to cut contact with those declared suppressive.	FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

The church describes itself as a religion, not a business.	The church charges fixed donations for auditing and training, set out in schedules, and in 1989 the US Supreme Court held that payments for them were not deductible charitable contributions [25]. Former staff say departing staff are invoiced for training received [10].	COURT RECORD / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY
The church says it only defends itself against attacks.	Eleven members were convicted in 1979 over the infiltration of federal agencies [26]; former members and reporters describe private investigators deployed against critics and journalists [10].	COURT RECORD / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY
The church says auditing is confidential.	Former members allege folder contents were used as leverage against them.	FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY

The first column paraphrases positions the church is reported to hold; apart from disconnection [27], this page cites no church statement for them.

Accountability or theatre?

Last time the chair ran. Senior executives defected and testified; the structure, the pricing, and the policy letters are unchanged.

Who holds the chair now. David Miscavige holds it, as Chairman of the Board of the Religious Technology Center.

Prediction. No removal is likely while the governance stays unpublished. Total centralization means the chair and the sitter are the same, which may be why nothing recorded on this page has changed since 1987.

Words used here

TERM	WHAT IT MEANS INSIDE	WHAT IT DOES	SAID PLAINLY
Suppressive person (SP)	A suppressive person is one declared an enemy of the organisation.	A formal declaration triggers disconnection. It converts a person into a status, and the status is administered rather than argued.	'You are now someone your family may not speak to.'
Potential trouble source (PTS)	A potential trouble source is one connected to a suppressive person.	It makes association itself a condition requiring remedy, which is how disconnection reaches people who did nothing.	'Your relationship with them is a problem you must fix.'
Disconnection	Disconnection means ending contact with a declared person.	Former members and reporting describe it as the practice, named in the founder's policy letters [10]; the church says it is voluntary [27].	'Stop speaking to your family.'
Knowledge report	A knowledge report is a written report on another member's conduct.	It institutionalises lateral surveillance and makes not reporting an offence in itself.	'Report your friends, and failing to is also an offence.'

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Test one row yourself. Pick a "they say" line you have actually heard said in person, then read the receipt. If the record matches the statement, this page is wrong about that row, and you should tell us. If it doesn't, what does it mean that you had never seen the receipt?

David Miscavige holds it, as Chairman of the Board of the Religious Technology Center.

15 Cost & cover

BEFORE YOU READ

What leaving actually costs here, in family, work, housing, money and legal status, and how each of those costs is officially denied. Where the cost is low, the page says so plainly.

What leaving costs

- According to the founder's policy letters as quoted by former members and in reporting [10], the disconnection policy requires members to cut contact with 'suppressive' family; the church says it is voluntary [27]. Former Sea Org members say they were billed 'freeloader debt' on leaving [10]. Litigation against critics is a matter of court record; surveillance and harassment are described by former members and in reporting. COURT RECORD / INVESTIGATIVE REPORT / FORMER MEMBER TESTIMONY

The ledger of exit

COST	DOCUMENTED?	DETAIL	THE OFFICIAL DENIAL
Family (disconnection)	Reported by former members and in reporting	According to the founder's policy letters as quoted by former members and in reporting [10], members are required to cut contact with those declared suppressive, family included	The church says disconnection is a personal choice [27].
Financial	Reported	Former staff say they are billed freeloader debt on leaving [10], and former members say they could not recover advance payments.	The church's position on these charges is not cited on this page.
Harassment and surveillance	Partly court-recorded	Former members and reporters describe private investigators, litigation and public smearing directed at critics [10]; a Texas appeals court held in 2015 that officials had no free-speech right to stalk a critic's wife who had never been a member [20].	The church's position is not cited on this page.
Confidential disclosures	Alleged	Auditing folder contents are alleged to have been used as leverage against former members.	The church's position is not cited on this page.

How the cost is denied

CHANNEL	LEVEL	NOTE
Explicit policy	Extremely low	Hubbard's policy letters are the organization's own scripture; reporting and former members cite them for fair game, suppressive person doctrine, disconnection and freeloader debt [10], and the church says Hubbard cancelled the label 'fair game' in 1968 [19].
Informal enforcement	Low	Enforcement is formal: Ethics officers, committees of evidence, and written procedure.
Leadership distance	Low	Total centralization under RTC makes 'a local leader went rogue' structurally unavailable.
Doctrinal ambiguity	Very low	'Standard tech' explicitly forbids interpretation — the doctrine's rigidity is itself the receipt.
Cultural outsourcing	Very low	There is no ethnic or cultural context to attribute anything to.
Volunteer enforcement	Medium	Members write knowledge reports on each other, and perform disconnection themselves.
Sacred secrecy	Low	Upper-level materials are secret and copyrighted, and have repeatedly entered court records.
Exit cost denial	High	The church says disconnection is voluntary [27]; former members and reporting say the policy letters require it [10]. This page treats the contradiction as reported, not adjudicated.

Sources for this section: [10] [19] [27]

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

According to the founder's policy letters as quoted by former members and in reporting, members are required to cut off anyone declared suppressive, including parents, spouses and children; the church says disconnection is voluntary. Former Sea Org members say they were billed "freeloader debt" for services received. If someone you love is a Scientologist and has stopped speaking to you, the page's say-do table sets the church's account beside the account of former members. Does knowing that change how you feel about the silence?

16 The ledger

BEFORE YOU READ

The balance sheet. It shows who benefits, who pays, and what leverage flows back to the institution in return for what it gives.

Who benefits

- The corporate center benefits through pricing power over salvation, tax exemption, an unpaid elite labor force, and a litigation machine

funded by the exempted revenue. FINANCIAL RECORD / COURT RECORD

Money out, leverage back

- The church's full tax exemption was granted in 1993, after the church and its members had brought about 2,200 suits against the IRS [2]. Like any church's exemption, it is a public tax benefit, and this page records no published accounts for the church. INVESTIGATIVE REPORT / FINANCIAL RECORD
- Programmes linked to the church (drug rehabilitation, education, criminal-justice programs) operate in schools, prisons, and public health settings; some have been alleged to do so without naming the link, though this page names no report. PATTERN OBSERVED
- 'Ideal Org' campaigns pressed members into loans and mortgages for buildings that remain organizational property. INVESTIGATIVE REPORT
- Eleven senior members were convicted in 1979 of crimes arising from the infiltration of U.S. federal agencies [26]. COURT RECORD

Who pays

- Sea Org members pay, including those recruited as minors, who work decades at nominal pay.

- Second-generation members pay, having been raised without outside education or contacts.
- Women who allege coerced abortions to maintain service eligibility pay.
- Disconnected families pay when, former members say, they are severed by policy.
- Members who mortgaged homes for building campaigns and course levels pay.
- Critics, journalists and defectors pay when they are subjected to documented harassment campaigns.
- U.S. taxpayers bear the cost of the exemption only in the narrow sense that applies to every exempt organization: the tax is not collected.

FINANCIAL RECORD

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Find yourself in this table. Are you among those who benefit, those who pay, or both? Most readers are both. The question is whether the exchange was ever explained to you in these terms, and whether you would agree to it if it had been.

17 Who gets hurt most

BEFORE YOU READ

Where the weight lands hardest, and what it compounds with: poverty, childhood, gender, a lack of civil alternatives. This is the human stakes stated plainly.

Where the weight lands

The costs recorded in sections 9, 11 and 15 do not fall evenly. They fall hardest on people who have the fewest credentials, contacts and savings outside the organization. The table names who carries the most, how, and what makes it worse.

WHO	HOW	WHAT IT COMPOUNDS WITH
Sea Org members, including those recruited as minors	They give decades of labor at nominal pay under a billion-year contract.	It compounds with the lack of outside credentials, contacts or savings.
Second-generation members	They are raised inside with limited outside education and contact.	It compounds with disconnection applied to their own parents.
Women alleging coerced abortion	Multiple former members allege pressure to remain available for service.	It compounds with life inside a total institution with no external route.

Disconnected families	Former members say contact is severed by policy.	It compounds where both a parent and a child are members and one is declared.
Members who mortgaged homes	Building campaigns and course levels are funded by personal debt.	It compounds with advance payments that former members say they could not recover, and with freeloader debt on exit as former staff describe it.
Critics and journalists	They face documented harassment, surveillance and litigation as attrition.	It compounds over decades, against individuals with no comparable resources.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Sea Org members come first, some recruited as minors, working for decades at nominal pay under a billion-year contract and, former staff say, leaving with no outside credentials, contacts or savings. The day inside describes a composite character, a man who signed at seventeen while his mother, who signed her own contract at nineteen, waited outside. If you know a teenager being recruited, what would you want them to know before they sign?

The costs recorded in sections 9, 11 and 15 do not fall evenly.

18 The middle tiers

BEFORE YOU READ

The people in the middle: local clergy, teachers, officials and volunteers who apply rules they did not write. The section exists so that an institution is not collapsed into a monolith, and so that people in the middle can see their own position in it.

The organization's rules are applied by people in the middle tiers, who see decisions without making them. Registrars, auditors, Ethics officers, Sea Org staff and front-group programme staff each carry part of the load, and each stands at a point where the next step could be declined. The table sets out what each role does, what it sees, what it is asked to do and where it could refuse.

ROLE	DOES	SEES	IS ASKED TO	COULD REFUSE
Registrars	Sell the next level	Which members are remortgaging	Close the sale	Sell a level to someone taking on debt for it
Auditors	Hold the most intimate disclosures any member makes	The folders	Maintain the tech	Let a folder leave the auditing room
Ethics officers	Administer the internal disciplinary apparatus	Who is declared and why	Handle the situation	Process a knowledge report about someone's doubts

Sea Org staff	Run the organization for nominal pay under a billion-year contract	Everything	Stay	Very little safely, and this codex should say so plainly
Front-group programme staff	Deliver rehabilitation and education programmes in public institutions	Whether the people served are told who runs the programme	Not recorded on this page	Not recorded on this page

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

If you are a local leader, a teacher or a volunteer, this section is about you. It is not an accusation: most of the people who carry out a rule did not write it. But the middle tier is also where a rule is most often quietly softened, or quietly enforced. Which do you do, and what would happen to you if you chose differently?

19 Documented cases

BEFORE YOU READ

Named, dated, sourced incidents: court records, government inquiries, regulators' findings and on-the-record reporting. Read the outcome lines in particular. They show what actually changed, if anything.

Operation Snow White

WHEN: 1977–1979

WHAT: Eleven senior members of the organization, including the founder's wife, were convicted of obstruction of justice, burglary of government offices and theft of documents and government property, in a campaign to infiltrate U.S. government agencies [26].

RECORD: U.S. federal court records

OUTCOME: Convictions and prison sentences.

TACTICS: 17 · Smear Campaign

GRADE: DOCUMENTED

Sources for this section: [1] [21] [26]

Convicted on former members' testimony (United States, 2023)

WHEN: 2023

WHAT: Actor Danny Masterson, a prominent Scientologist, was convicted of raping two women; both were former members [5].

RECORD: NPR, 7 September 2023 [5]

OUTCOME: He was sentenced to 30 years to life on 7 September 2023 [5]. His appeal was set for oral argument before the California Second District Court of Appeal on 25 June 2026; this page records no ruling on it [21]. What the accusers allege the church did afterwards is the subject of a separate civil suit, *Bixler et al.*, in which no finding has been made on that point; the criminal case was against one man.

TACTICS: —

GRADE: DOCUMENTED

"Organised fraud" (France, 2009–2013)

WHEN: 2009–2013

WHAT: The court found the Celebrity Centre and bookshop guilty of organised fraud for preying financially on followers in the 1990s, in a case that included complaints about large sums paid for personality tests, "purification" packs and other services [11][12].

RECORD: Paris criminal court (2009); Cour de cassation, 16 October 2013 [11][12]

OUTCOME: The Celebrity Centre and bookshop were fined €600,000; the church's religious-freedom appeal was rejected [11][12].

TACTICS: 26 · Financial Control, 1 · Love Bombing

GRADE: DOCUMENTED

Bound by the contract? (United States, 2021–2022)

WHEN: 2021–2022

WHAT: Former members who sued the church met arbitration clauses in the agreements they had signed as members [3][4].

RECORD: *Garcia v. Church of Scientology Flag Service Org.* (11th Cir. 2021) [4]; *Bixler v. Superior Court* (Cal. Ct. App. 2022) [3]

OUTCOME: One federal court enforced arbitration in *Garcia*; California's courts did not for claims arising after members left in *Bixler*, and the California Supreme Court

denied review in April 2022 [3][4].

TACTICS: 18 · Silent Treatment / Stonewalling

GRADE: DOCUMENTED

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

These are not hypotheticals. Four documented cases on this page rest on a named record. The most common reaction to documented cases is "that was them, not us." Before settling on that, read the outcome lines. Did anything change in the structure that allowed each case to happen, or did one person leave while the structure stayed?

20 Precedent

BEFORE YOU READ

What has already been broken once, somewhere, and what would count as real change here. It is a benchmark, not a prediction.

It has been broken before

WHAT	WHO	WHEN	WHAT IT COST
Mass defection of senior executives who then testified publicly	Former officials, including some who had run the apparatus	2007–present	They were disconnected from their own families.
Operation Snow White convictions	Federal prosecutors	1979	The convicted officials served prison sentences [26].
The independent field practicing outside corporate control	Former members who kept the technique and refused the structure	1980s–present	They were declared suppressive.
Sustained investigative journalism and documentary work	Reporters who were surveilled for it	1990s–present	They were met with private investigators and litigation.

What would change this page

Publication of the Religious Technology Center's governance — any named body with actual removal power over its chairman — would revise the accountability finding that currently has no object.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Some rows here record a change that has already happened somewhere; others name what would count as change here. When you are told something "can't change", it is fair to ask: can't, or won't? And who decided?

21 Voices from inside

BEFORE YOU READ

People from inside Scientology who raised the hard question publicly, often at real cost. They answer the objection that criticism only ever comes from outsiders.

- **Mike Rinder.** He was head of the church's Office of Special Affairs (its legal and public-affairs office) and its international spokesman. He left in 2007, co-hosted *Leah Remini: Scientology and the Aftermath*, and died in January 2025 [13].
- **Leah Remini.** She is an actor and former member whose series documented former members' accounts [13].
- **Debbie Cook.** She is a former senior Sea Org executive, and her 2012 email to members criticized the church's fundraising [10].
- **The women who testified against Danny Masterson.** They are former members whose testimony led to his conviction; his appeal was set for oral argument in June 2026 [21].

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Were these people traitors, or the most loyal members their tradition had? Most were treated as the first at the time, and some are honored as the second now. If someone in your community raised one of these questions tomorrow, how would they be treated, and by you?

22 Regional variants

BEFORE YOU READ

The same tradition under different governments. What a member can say, leave, marry or inherit depends heavily on the state, and these cards show how differently it plays out.

United States

APEX: RTC, chaired by David Miscavige.

LAW: The tax exemption was restored in 1993 by closing agreement. The church has an extensive litigation history; arbitration clauses in membership agreements have been enforced against former members in federal court (2021), while California's courts refused to enforce them for claims arising after members left (2022).

DOCUMENTED: The Operation Snow White convictions (1979), the 1993 closing agreement, and sustained investigative reporting and documentary work are documented.

EXIT: The cost of exit is very high: disconnection, plus in documented cases financial and legal pressure.

REGULATOR: The regulators are the IRS, which is the party to the 1993 closing agreement (final unless fraud, malfeasance or misrepresentation of a material fact is shown [18]), state consumer-protection authorities, and the courts.

TELL: The exemption rests on a closing agreement with the IRS [18], not on a constitutional rule.

Germany

APEX: The apex is the same, with no religious recognition.

LAW: In labour law the Federal Labour Court (1995) treated Scientology organisations as commercial [6]. The federal constitutional-protection office ended its separate nationwide observation of Scientology on 15 May 2026, and Bavaria continues to monitor it [22] [23]. Consumer-protection and commercial law apply fully.

DOCUMENTED: Monitoring by the federal office until May 2026, and by Bavaria since, is reported [22] [23]. This page cites no source for employment-law restrictions on members.

EXIT: The cost of exit is high socially, and the legal environment is materially more favourable to leavers than in the US.

REGULATOR: The regulators are consumer-protection authorities and the ordinary commercial courts.

TELL: It is the same organisation, exempt as a church in the United States and treated as commercial in German labour law. Which frame is applied determines every question a regulator may ask.

Sources for this section: [3] [4] [6] [22] [23]

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

This page covers the United States and Germany. Your country changes what this tradition can do to you, and what you can do about it. If you live somewhere not listed, ask which of these cards your country most resembles. If you are a voter, note that each of these arrangements was chosen by a government.

23 The questions

BEFORE YOU READ

The six questions the documented record could not resolve. Each is set out below: why it is being asked, and a concrete example already on this page that it points back to.

QUESTION 1 OF 6

The organization says disconnection is a personal choice. Ask it to publish the policy letters and let readers decide.

WHY THIS IS ASKED

The church says disconnection is voluntary, while former members and reporting say the founder's policy letters require it. The question asks the organization to publish the letters so readers can judge.

EXAMPLE ALREADY ON THIS PAGE

The say-do table sets the church's statement that disconnection is a personal choice beside what former members and reporting say the founder's policy letters require.

QUESTION 2 OF 6

If the tech works exactly as stated, ask why the price rises at every level rather than falling as competence increases.

WHY THIS IS ASKED

A method that works should get cheaper, or at least not dearer, as you master it. The question asks why the pricing runs the other way.

EXAMPLE ALREADY ON THIS PAGE

The glance table records fixed fees per auditing level, which former members estimate reach hundreds of thousands of dollars toward the upper levels.

QUESTION 3 OF 6

Ask why a religion needs private investigators, and name the spiritual purpose they serve.

WHY THIS IS ASKED

A religion employing private investigators against critics needs a spiritual justification. The question asks for it.

EXAMPLE ALREADY ON THIS PAGE

The glance table records that litigation against critics is a matter of court record, and that surveillance and harassment of critics are described by former members and in reporting.

QUESTION 4 OF 6

Ask what freeloader debt is called in any other religion on earth.

WHY THIS IS ASKED

Former staff say they are billed for services after they leave. The question asks readers to name the practice honestly.

EXAMPLE ALREADY ON THIS PAGE

The glance table records that former Sea Org members say they were billed "freeloader debt" on leaving.

QUESTION 5 OF 6

Eleven members were convicted of infiltrating federal agencies. Ask which doctrine required that.

WHY THIS IS ASKED

Infiltrating federal agencies is a criminal act, not a religious one. The question asks which doctrine could require it.

EXAMPLE ALREADY ON THIS PAGE

The law table records that eleven church officials were convicted over Operation Snow White (1979) [1]. The cases section records that they were convicted of obstruction of justice, burglary of government offices and theft of documents.

QUESTION 6 OF 6

Ask for audited financial statements. When the answer is that this is a religious matter, note that the fees were not.

WHY THIS IS ASKED

Calling the finances a religious matter doesn't change the fact that the fees were set like prices. The question asks for audited statements.

EXAMPLE ALREADY ON THIS PAGE

The cases section records the French conviction for "organised fraud," over large sums paid for personality tests, "purification" packs and other services [11] [12].

In closing

Independent-field practitioners (section 6) use the technique outside corporate control; this page cites no source on whether they practise disconnection, escalating prices or Ethics officers. Their existence answers the only question that matters: if the value is in the technique, it does not require the organization. If the organization insists it does, then what it is protecting is not your case.

You were told the outside world is aberrated and that critics have crimes. Consider instead the possibility that people who love you were declared suppressive because they asked you a question — and that your only barrier to answering it was a fee schedule and a policy letter.

Sources for this section: [2]

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Choose one question and ask it this month, out loud, to a real person who could answer it. Then write down what happened. Were you answered, redirected, or told that asking was the problem? Whichever it was, the response is information.

24 Leaving safely here

BEFORE YOU READ

Practical, non-theological guidance for someone who needs to step back or step away safely. It is a safety document, not an argument.

Practical guidance, not legal advice.

1. **Expect "disconnection":** members may be told to cut contact with you [10].

2. **Keep copies of anything you signed;** arbitration clauses may affect later claims, and courts have split [3] [4].
3. **Sea Org members** may be told they owe "freeloader" debt; it is not a court judgment [10].
4. **If you were assaulted,** go to the police; former members' testimony convicted a prominent member in 2023, whose appeal was set for oral argument in June 2026 [21].
5. **Find support** from the organizations listed in section 25 [14] [15] [16] [17].

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Even if this section is not for you, it may be for someone you know. Most people who leave a high-demand community say that the first person who listened without trying to argue them back mattered more than anything else. Could that person be you?

25 Where to get help

BEFORE YOU READ

Organizations that can help, each checked directly against its own site, with the date of the check. Nothing here is endorsed beyond that check.

Checked 2026-10-03.

ORGANIZATION	FOR	WHERE	CONTACT
ICSA	Former members of high-control groups; families	International	Contact is through its website [16]
Recovering from Religion	People questioning or leaving faith	US, Canada and online	**(844) 368-2848**; the service says it tries to offer a 24-hour chat and call service; UK +44 20 3807 4583, Australia +61 2 8203 7137 [14]
Faith to Faithless	People leaving high-control religion	UK	**0800 448 0748** (freephone; Monday 10:00–13:00, Wednesday 10:00–13:00, Thursday 16:00–19:00 UK time) [15]
RAINN	Sexual assault	US	**1-800-656-4673** (free, confidential, 24 hours a day) [17]

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Save one contact now, before anyone needs it: **ICSA**, which supports former members of high-control groups and their families and works internationally. People in crisis rarely have the energy to research options. Having a name ready is one of the most useful things you can do for someone else.



26

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BEFORE YOU READ

Every numbered citation on this page, with a named, checkable source. Spot-check a few before trusting the rest; that is the honest way to read any page in this book, including this one.

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22. Handelsblatt, "Verfassungsschutz beendet bundesweite Beobachtung von Scientology" (15 May 2026) — the federal office ended its nationwide observation of Scientology, saying the organization had lost relevance at federal level (read 2026-10-03). https://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/inlandsgeheimdienst-verfassungsschutz-beendet-bundesweite-beobachtung-von-scientology/100225282.html

23. evangelisch.de, "Bayerischer Verfassungsschutz behält Scientology weiter im Blick" (16 May 2026) — Bavaria continues observation (reached through the fact-check log; page not opened for this pass). https://www.evangelisch.de/inhalte/255535/16-05-2026/bayerischer-verfassungsschutz-behaelt-scientology-weiter-im-blick

24. Tony Ortega, "Australia gained 2 million people between 2016 and 2021 and lost 26 Scientologists" (1 July 2022) — 2021 census count of 1,655 (reached through the fact-check log; page not opened for this pass). https://tonyortega.org/2022/07/01/australia-gained-2-million-people-between-2016-and-2021-and-lost-26-scientologists/

25. *Hernandez v. Commissioner*, 490 U.S. 680 (1989) — the Church charges a "fixed donation," also known as a "price" or a "fixed contribution," for auditing and training, "set forth in schedules"; payments for them were held not deductible as charitable contributions (read 2026-10-03). https://caselaw.findlaw.com/us-supreme-court/490/680.html

26. Wikipedia, "Operation Snow White" — eleven senior members, including Mary Sue Hubbard, convicted in 1979 of obstruction of justice, burglary of government offices and theft of documents and government property; Hubbard named an unindicted co-conspirator (read 2026-10-03, convictions only; the page's descriptions of scale are not relied on). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Snow_White

27. Mike Rinder's blog, "Personal choice vs Scientology policy" — a critic's blog summarising the church's position that disconnection is a personal choice (reached through a search summary; page not opened for this pass; no church statement is cited). https://www.mikerindersblog.org/personal-choice-vs-scientology-policy/

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

Don't take this page's word for anything either. People tend to believe a claim more the more often they have heard it, whether or not it is true; this is the "illusory truth effect" (Hasher, Goldstein & Toppino, 1977). Spot-check three citations at random. If any fails, tell us, and it will be corrected and logged.

27 What changed on this page

BEFORE YOU READ

A dated log of what changed on this page: corrections, additions and new sources. Changes are logged in public rather than made quietly.

- **2026-10-03:** Corrected the size figures and the dates of several items; replaced claims the sources did not support with what they do say, and marked where the page relies on former members' accounts rather than court records. Removed the ranking of Operation Snow White and the claims about published prices, front programmes and the effect of the 1993 tax agreement. Added the court ruling on the harassment of a critic, the church's 1968 position on "fair game", the 1989 Supreme Court description of its fixed donations, the current German position, the status of the Masterson appeal and the Australian 2021 census count. Regraded nine techniques to Contested where the evidence was former members' reports rather than written policy or court records, moved one from Documented to Codified, and removed the "sourced" mark from all twelve techniques that carried it, since none names a document.
- **2026-09-27:** Added Branches, Law & state, Money in numbers, three more documented cases, Voices from inside, Leaving safely and Where to get help.

WHY THIS MATTERS TO YOU

This page keeps a public log of its own changes, mistakes included. Does the institution you belong to, give to, or were raised in keep one like it? If not, how would you know what it got wrong, and when?

Colophon

Set in EB Garamond (SIL Open Font License), regular, italic and bold, with true small capitals and old-style figures in text and lining tabular figures in tables. Laid out with Paged.js in Chromium from the same Markdown that feeds the website. US Letter, single-sided, tagged for accessibility and checked against PDF/UA-1 with veraPDF. Built 2026-10-27. Text checked 2026-10-03.

Palette: ink, oxblood, gold, cream, rule. Seven type sizes. Rules of 0.4 pt and 2 pt only.