# Secret Cult Activities in Institutions of Higher Learning: Lessons from the Nigerian Situations

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ABSTRACT The economic and racial backgrounds of cult members have changed: most situations involved middle-class to wealthy young people. Cult recruiters often targeted to obtain their affluent parents' money. However, we now witness a gradual transition to the recruitment of the less affluent and less educated. Recruitment of members of minority groups has increased. Members now come from every ethnic and religious background and include adults, middle-aged, elderly, and children. Entire families join or develop within a group, and children are born into and raised within them. The problems of cultism in Nigerian tertiary institutions are legion. It is difficult to focus attention on all the facets of the plague. Thus, the focus of this article is five-fold; namely to: Highlight the emergence of cults in Nigerian tertiary institutions; Discuss how members are recruited into the cults; Describe the initiation ceremonies; Assess the problems created by the cults; and Examine their counselling implications, ways and means of preventing students from joining the cults.

#### INTRODUCTION

Cults were thought of primarily as only a problem in the United States. Literatures have shown that they are a problem throughout the world, including Eastern Europe and Africa. Not only have Western cults gone to the East to recruit, but indigenous groups have also sprung up there as well, some of them coming to the West (Langone 1993). Historically, cult refers to a system of worship and more specifically to an innovative religious system, as opposed to a sect. which is a breakaway group from an established religion. This is no longer true: many cultic groups today are not religious or spiritual in nature. During the past few decades, however, cult has taken on a pejorative connotation arising from disasters such as Jonestown and Waco (Hall 1981), killing of university students and hundreds of media reports of individuals and families devastated by involvement in cults (Bodunrin 2002). A survey of primary care physicians in Pennsylvania (Lottick 1993), found that 2.2 percent reported they or a member of their family had been involved in a cult. Hartley (1995) also indicated that at least one percent of the population has had a cult involvement. There has been much confusion about cults and how to identify them. In Nigeria, the falling standard of education has been blamed on cult activities (Oti 2002).

Cults are not a new phenomenon: they may be as old as man. Cults may form around an individual, an object, an animal, or a concept. A group is called a cult because of its behaviour. Some cults have behavioural patterns that are abusive and controlling in nature. The core concept in cultism is a follower ship dependent upon someone or something outside itself to assist it in coping with a threatening external environment. The more inadequate and inferior the follower feels himself/herself to be, the more magical and mystical the omnipotence projected onto the leader (Whitsett 1992). Cults centre on the interpretations of the leadership and submissive and unquestioning acceptance of these is essential to be a member of the cult. Cults offer the allure of an ordered world that is easily understood. Clear rules of behaviour are enforced and the leader dispels nagging questions about meaning and purpose. They define members' lives in service to the cult's interest (Zimbardo and Anderson 1993). Cults are groups that often exploit members psychologically and/ or financially, typically by making members comply with leadership's demands through certain types of psychological manipulation, popularly called 'mind control' (Bird and Reimer 1982), and through the inculcation of deep-seated anxious dependency on the group and its leaders (Langone 1993). According to this perspective (and that of this author) cults can be distinguished

from other groups in that high levels of exploitation, compliance, mind control and anxious dependency do not characterize the latter. Of course, a spectrum of groups exists along each of these dimensions in the university environment.

The university is a community of peace, which emphasises the supremacy of the intellect. It is therefore an adult world with many decisions, anxieties and pressures. There are times when students may be homesick, feel unloved or overwhelmed, or believe that their lives will never be straightened out. Learning to cope with such feelings and keeping them in proper perspective is an opportunity the university environment provides. Yet, it is at these times that cult groups, be they religious, political or social, tend to seek unwary students out and begin recruiting. It's a good feeling to be wanted and it's flattering to be asked to join a group. At any given point in time on the campus there are several organized and informal social, religious, or political groups that are recruiting students. Some are well organized, and some are very informal. Choosing to belong to various groups is an important decision in a student's life on campus. How to differentiate a psychologically manipulative group from a group that is not harmful is also an important decision students must make.

Nigeria as a nation has expressed genuine concerns about the spate of cult killings in her institutions of higher learning. The government has initiated laws and strategies aimed at reaching a final solution to the problem of cultism. In the pursuit of cultists from tertiary institutions, the president of Nigeria Olusegun Obasanjo ordered that all tertiary institutions in Nigeria must eradicate cultists or risk being closed down. School authorities have therefore been organising "lectures, seminars, drama, religious services and rallies all aimed at sensitising the university community to the evils associated with cult practices and its unacceptability by the university". Parents themselves have been most alarmed. Some fast, pray and keep night vigils in churches and mosques on behalf of their wards. Within the period that the child is in school, the average Nigerian parent is apprehensive. She never ceases asking God to direct the child, especially the male child, away from the temptation of joining secret cults. Non-governmental groups have been most relentless in their campaigns against the evils of cultism. Authorities at the various institutions

now devote greater time to the issue of cultism than any other issue in the day to day running of the schools (Bodunrin 2002).

#### **Purpose**

The economic and racial backgrounds of cult members have changed: most situations involved middle-class to wealthy young people cult recruiters often targeted to obtain their affluent parents' money. However, we now witness a gradual transition to the recruitment of the less affluent and less educated. Recruitment of members of minority groups has increased. Members now come from every ethnic and religious background and include adults, middleaged, elderly, and children. Entire families join or develop within a group, and children are born into and raised within them (Oti 2002).

The problems of cultism in Nigerian tertiary institutions are legion. It is difficult to focus attention on all the facets of the plague. Thus, the purpose of this article is five-fold; namely to:

- 1. Highlight the emergence of cults in Nigerian tertiary institutions.
- Discuss how members are recruited into the cults.
- 3. Describe the initiation ceremonies.
- Assess the problems created by the cults; and
- 5. Implications for counselling psychotherapy.

# THE EMERGENCE OF CULTS IN NIGERIAN TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

The history of cultism in Nigerian tertiary institutions is the history of factionalism and of how evil overcomes good intentions. It is the history of how discontented, often unscrupulous, self-interested groups, endeavoured to control others.

#### **Ibadan Experiment**

In 1952, a group of seven undergraduates of the University of Ibadan, under the leadership of Wole Soyinka founded the *Seadogs confraternity* otherwise known as the Pirates. The objectives of the confraternity were good and noble. They include the fighting of colonialism, the elevation of the dignity of Nigerians, and the eradication of elitism, tribalism and nepotism from the society. The members engaged in charity work. They

donated blood to the hospital to save lives. They also presented gifts in cash and kind to orphanages.

#### The Buccaneers

According to The Anchor (1999), a pamphlet on secret cults, there existed a great deal of rivalry among members of the Pirate Confraternity. This rivalry led to the formation of another group known as the Buccaneers or Sea Lords.

The Great Split of the 1980's

The 1980's witnessed the formation of more groups from the parent cults that had existed before this time. Some of these groups included:

- ★ Black Axe
- ⋆ Black Cats
- **★** Maphites
- ⋆ Vikings etc

#### The Black Movements of the 1990's

Some of these cults, which describe themselves as "Black this" or "Black that", are characterized by militancy and daredevil objectives. With the liberalization of admission to institutions of higher learning, the adoption of the "carry over system", the entrenchment of military rule and easy access to weapons of violence, the campus cults in the 1990's became very dangerous movements. The Black berets and Black T-shirts are insignia of the Black movements. There were, of course, bloody clashes among the rival cults. The notoriety of a cult became higher as its members engaged in activities that are more violent

# RECRUITMENT INTO THE CULTS

The existence of cults in institutions of higher learning in the country is no longer a hidden fact. No one knows exactly why students join cults. Cultism is a social evil; it also has its psychological ramifications. It has therefore been suggested that the reasons why students join the campus cults may be associated with the society and the individual. Others have argued that the decay in the university system occasioned by incessant disruptions of the academic calendar encourages students to look elsewhere outside academics for practices that are engaging. In their search to get busy, the devil steps in to provide jobs for them. And so instead of reading, researching and writing term papers, they are killing and maiming

their fellow students in the new found past time of cultism (Oti 2002). It is also common knowledge that these cults hold their meetings in the night, and in secret. Thus, they are often referred to as nocturnal groups or secret cults. Senate President, of Nigeria Anyim Pius Anyim has charged the students in post-primary and tertiary institutions to shun cultism, saying "it is evil, it is barbaric and it runs counter to democratic principles". He explained that "when we engage in cultism, we invite violence. And when violence erupts, it is everybody that suffer it," adding "blood is spilled, lives are cut short, limbs are maimed and our graduation years are prolonged." (Bodunrin 2002). So why do young men and women in our institutions of higher learning become members of these secret organisations? This section of the paper discusses how prospective cult members are recruited.

#### **Target Group**

It is believed that the recruitment drive into the cults is undertaken during the first semester of the academic session. The target group consists of well-dressed young men and women who have just been admitted. Individuals from high socio-economic homes are intimidated, tricked or coaxed into joining the cults. Those from rich families are likely to make generous donations. Their parents are also likely to help when the group falls into trouble, either with the police or school authority.

# Intimidation

When an individual has been identified, he or she is intimidated into joining the fold. This objective is easily achieved when the student lives in the hostel. He or she is unjustly oppressed. In one of the Polytechnics in the eastern part of the country, refusal to join the fold may earn the individual student the status of labourer, servant or slave. Such a student is forced to fetch water for members of the cult who have been trying to initiate him or her. Intimidation may also take the form of the seizure of cherished possessions - radio and television sets, textbooks, shoes and clothes.

#### **Trick Method**

Cult members specialize in the use of lies to

win their cause. An invitation may be extended to the unsuspecting student to attend a party. The student is seized, attacked and forced to join the group during the so-called party. Furthermore, the name of a lecturer whose course seems difficult may be used to invite students to attend such parties.

#### By Chance

Everyone prays to be delivered from evil. No one seeks evil. However, students, especially party lovers, often walk into the den of cult members. Those who read late into the night, may walk into the nocturnal ceremonies of cult members. Female students may be raped, beaten and initiated. The campuses, until recently, were not safe for students who had the habit of staying out late.

# By Enticement

A student may be enticed into (joining) a cult through the offerings of material things – good T-Shirts and shoes. The giver of these things may be a very beautiful girl who has been sent by the group to accomplish their purpose. The attachment thus developed often leads to initiation.

# The Set-up Method

A student who has been identified as a prospective cult member may be set-up. Setting up of individuals is as old as the hills. Examples abound in history of individuals who were accused of offences they did not commit. Thus, cult members may cause a problem for an unsuspecting student. The anticipated help comes from the cult members who have caused the problem.

# **Willing Souls**

The mass media - newspapers, radio and television- have all glamorised the activities of the campus cults. Secondary school students who are curious join these cults willingly as soon as they gain admission into any of the tertiary institutions. Some parents have been cult members during their school days. Their children may tend to imitate them.

#### INITIATION CEREMONIES

The initiation ceremonies of the cults vary

from one to another. However, there are essential similarities. Some of these similarities are discussed below:

#### **Beating**

Beating, in fact, severe beating, characterizes the initiation ceremonies of all the campus cults. The candidate is blind folded and beaten with clubs and sticks. The candidate is kicked, flogged and clubbed to the point of death.

# Fate of the Dead and Injured

Candidates who are unable to survive the ordeal may die during the initiation ceremony. The corpses of dead candidates are buried secretly in shallow graves or thrown into the bush. In some cults, some vital organs of the deceased (such as private parts, breasts and tongue) may be removed for ritual purposes. This phenomenon may account for the disappearance of students. The rumour is usually circulated to the effect that such students have travelled and have failed to return.

Those seriously injured are rushed to a nearby clinic or hospital for treatment. It takes a long time for those seriously injured to recover. Some students have become blind or deaf as a result of the injuries they sustained during initiation ceremonies.

#### **Dancing and Drug Use**

Other major features of the initiation ceremonies of the cults are dancing, (*jiration*) and drug use. The drugs include cannabis, popularly referred to by the slang names of 'god's leaf', "New Nigeria Grass", "ebe", "grass", "shakpa" nad "stone", and alcohol. These drugs often precipitate irrational behaviour and violence.

#### Filling of Forms

When the initiation ceremony is completed, candidates are given forms to fill. It is then they can become full members of the cult. Students often use fake names. Passport photographs are no longer used. Members pay dues per semester. In 1995, this was about N250 in some cults. By 2000 it had risen to N15, 000 in over 12 different cults.

Preponderance of Secret Cults in the Society

There are many secret societies or cults in Nigeria. Apart from the community-based cults, there are over 80 secret cults with a sort of national character in the country. These cults are patronised by adult citizens. Students, imitating these adults, have formed their own cults at the level of tertiary institutions. Authorities at the various institutions now devote greater time to the issue of cultism than any other issue in the day to day running of the schools.

#### Mass Media Sensationalism

The mass media, - newspapers, radio and television - have all popularised the activities of the secret cults. This usually triggers off the fire of curiosity in the individual. When these individuals eventually become students, they join the cults as willing candidates.

#### Alienation

Fresh students admitted into tertiary institutions do not just make friends with one another. Relationships have to develop. Until this happens, such students feel alienated. They can easily become friends to anyone who offers a hand of comradeship to them. In this way, they can become friends to cult members, and may subsequently be initiated into the dangerous groups.

#### Peer Group Pressure

Young men and women want to belong; they want to be like other members of their group. Since belonging to secret cults is a popular thing among students in higher institutions in the country, those who become members through peer group pressure do not often have any pricking of conscience.

Other reasons why people join the campus cults include the availability of weapons of violence and poor academic performance, probably emanating from forged certificates, and the manifestation of sadistic impulses.

# ASSESSING THE PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE CULTS

While cult-education organizations have improved their services, there is still much to be done. The cult scene has grown far more complex. The government and individual responses to

destructive groups must also become more sophisticated and complex, if we are to help loved ones and families deal with their situations and help ex-members recover from their devastating experiences. The psychosocial picture of the student cultist is a poor one. He looks quite innocent like other students. However, he is always under pressure from other cult members. Thus, apprehension, high irritability, irresponsible behaviour, dishonesty, and insincerity of purpose including lies characterise him. Other problems are:

# 1. Drop-out

Cultists, as well as drug abusers, are not the best crops of students. Parents spend a lot of money on their children who are students in higher institutions. However, some of these students spend up to 8 years for courses that ordinarily would have lasted only 4 years. Even when some of the cult members have been asked to withdraw from the institution, they remain behind. Some of their parents are too busy to know what has happened. About 50% of cultists do not finish their courses at the proper time. Some even drop out of school.

# 2. Dangerous Campuses

The secret cults have made the campuses very dangerous environments. As a result of the disturbances generated by cult members, the academic calendars of must tertiary institutions have been disrupted. Since 1985, one of the tertiary institutions in the western part of the country has been closed down on more than twelve occasions, as a result of the activities of cultists.

Violent clashes between rival cult groups have also resulted in the maining and death of students. The recent killing of eight students of the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife drew the drastic attention of the Federal government to the issue of secret cults in tertiary institutions in the country (Oti 2000).

Innocent non-cult members are violently attacked and raped. Cultism goes hand-in-hand with drug use. They use drugs to attain the emotional state required to commit violent crimes such as stealing and armed robbery.

# 3. Involvement of Cults with the Occult and Magic

As indicated earlier on, some of the cultists

are involved in occult and magic. This is a dangerous dimension. Anti-machete and gunshot concoctions and protection against acid baths are prepared by native doctors and administered on cult members. These preparations have adverse psychic consequences. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the utilisation of incantations during cult activities may leave such spots psychically polluted, and render them unsafe for cult members and non-members alike. Guidance and Counselling in our higher institution may be relevant in assisting students to adjust in personal/social areas (such as cultism) that are likely to disturb their academic activities.

# Implications for Counselling Psychotherapy

Studies have shown that today's cults use a stronger form of control than those of 50 years ago (Lottick 1993; Chambers and Langone 1994). Cults use a sophisticated and perverted form of behaviour modification, which damages an individual's emotion. These activities indicate that counselling psychologists need to be aware of the problem of the psychological damage with which some members or ex-members of cults continue to present and of the techniques of control practised within the cult and the effect that these techniques have on members. These types of techniques and the resultant negative psychological consequences are the focus of this section of the article Steven Hassan (1990) in his book "Combating Cult Mind Control" gave an eight-point model of thought reform that is being used in a cultic organisation. These eight points are summarised below:

- 1. Environmental Control. Involves "control of human communication." The control of human communication is the most basic feature of the cult the environment. This is the control of what the individual sees, hears, reads, writes, experiences and expresses. It goes even further than that, and controls the individuals communication within himself/herself, that is, controls what you think about internally (i.e. rejection of doubts, inducing fear when thoughts of doing "wrong" occur).
- 2. Mystical Manipulation. The followers create a mystique around the group and its goals. The potential convert to the group becomes convinced of the higher purpose and the group and its goals are seen as more important than anything else. By becoming the instruments of

their own mystique, they create a mystical aura around the manipulating institution - the Party, the Government, the Organisation, Any thought or action which questions the higher purpose is considered to be stimulated by a lower purpose

- 3. Demand for Purity. Everything is black and white. Pure and impure is defined by the ideology of the organization. The goal of the group is to bring about some kind of change, whether it is on a global, social, or personal level. "Perfection is possible if one stays with the group and is committed." (For example, the Al Qaeda group)
- 4. Cult of Confession. Total confession is an act of self-surrender, the expression of the merging of the individual and environment. There is dissolution of self, talents and money. This is closely related to the demand for purity, which usually involves the practice of self-disclosure to members in the group. Often in the context of a public gathering in the group, admitting past sins and imperfections. Your mind becomes the property of the group. The cult of confession makes it virtually impossible to attain reasonable balance between worth and humility.
- 5. The Sacred Science. The assumption here is not so much that man can be God, but rather that man's IDEAS can be God. The group's perspective is absolutely true and completely adequate to explain everything. To doubt is to be crazy or unscientific. This gives sense of security to the member. They are confident they can get the answer to the most difficult problem or question. The doctrine is not subject to amendments or question. ABSOLUTE conformity to the doctrine is required.
- 6. Loaded Language. Everything is compressed into brief, highly reductive, definitive-sounding phrases, easily memorised and easily expressed. The most complex and far reaching problems are seen as nothing. New vocabulary emerges within the context of the group. Group members "think" within the very abstract and narrow parameters of the group's doctrine. The terminology sufficiently stops members from thinking critically by reinforcing a "black and white" mentality. Loaded terms and clichés prejudice thinking.
- 7. **Doctrine Over Person.** The ideological myth merges with their "truth" and the resulting deduction can be so overpowering and coercive that is simply replaces reality Pre-group experi-

ence and group experience are narrowly and decisively interpreted through the absolute doctrine, even when experience contradicts the doctrine

8. Dispensing of Existence. Salvation is possible only in the group. Those who leave the group are doomed. They have the right to decide who is worthy of life and who is not. They also decide which history books are accurate and which are not. Those in the organisation are worthy of life; those outside worthy of death.

# **Equipping the Counselling Psychologists**

One of the purposes of this article is to educate counselling psychologists and the general public on the techniques used within cults which effect social control. It is the intention of this section to equip counselling psychologists to work with a group of client(s) that they will meet on an increasing basis. Because cults tend to be elitist and distrustful of the outside world, members will rarely consult a psychotherapist, so these suggestions are based more on the review of related literature and reasoning than experience.

# **Counselling implications for Current Cult Members**

If a cult member consults a therapist at the urging of family members concerned about a possible cult involvement, then the therapist can explore the cult issue in depth and, if indicated, bring in the family. If, however, the cult member comes in voluntarily, the therapist should be even more sensitive to the ethical implications of their actions. Even if the destructiveness of the group involvement is obvious to the therapist, the cult member may not be willing even to consider this issue. Does the therapist force the issue? Keep a hidden agenda? Do what is possible within the boundaries established by the client? Or does he/she refer the client elsewhere? The answer to these questions will depend upon the client's situation. Ankerberg and Weldon (1999) have suggested that therapists should address the cult issue when working with a cult member. They opined that therapists might find it helpful to take a careful chronological history in order to try to help the client see how his or her behaviour and psychological state may have been influenced by the group's practices.

#### **Counselling Former Cult members**

Former cult members who seek treatment tend to blame themselves inappropriately for distress resulting from the psychological assault of the cult. They describe their cult experience as abusive or traumatic (Chambers and Langone 1994). As with many other victims of abuse, it is usually advisable that therapists take an active stance with ex-cult members and not rely too much on reflection and paraphrase; otherwise, patients may project their failure onto the therapist's "blank screen" and leave treatment prematurely.

Therapists should make a cult-sensitive assessment. They should not rush to a diagnosis, because much of the emotional turmoil of former cult members is a direct result of psychological assault, and not of long-standing personality patterns or conflicts (Deikman, 1990). It is advisable that therapists should evaluate the positive as well as the negative influences of the cult environment and patients' psychosocial histories in order to identify those factors that may have rendered them susceptible to cultic manipulations and those psychological problems that may re-emerge after the cult experience. Therefore the goals of psychotherapy with former cult members should include the follow:

- 1. Help clients integrate their cult experience into the rest of their life experience and deal with residual psychological problems
- Help clients understand the psychological manipulation and abuse to which they were subjected
- Help clients reconnect to and repair their pasts (personal relationships, goals, interests), and contrast their cult with their mainstream lives;
- 4. Help them manage the day to day crises;
- 5. If possible, mobilise patients' social support network and other resources, e.g. helping families (Langone et al. 1994).

#### **Counselling Families**

Counselling work with families is usually through consultation (Singer1986). Assistance is aimed at helping family members cope with their emotional reactions to the cult involvement. However, this requires some educational work because the troubled family member needs to better understand the cult phenomenon in order to reduce the confusion, fear and despair that

results from the family's unsuccessful attempts to help their involved loved one.

According to Langone (1991), Ross and Langone (1988) consultation with families addresses three areas: assessment, education and training. Assessment includes an exploration of the family's history, strengths, weaknesses, current functioning and knowledge about the loved one's involvement in cult activities. Frequently families become alarmed, though not necessarily inappropriately, even though they have minimal information about the group in question. The consultant tries to help the family determine whether there is reason to believe that these behaviours are linked to the group's practices. During the assessment process the consultant tries to teach the family about cults and psychological manipulation (Langone 1991). The rationale of the training component is:

- (1) To improve communication;
- (2) To identify a strategy to help the involved person; and
- (3) To implement the strategy.

Langone (1993) has opined that standard communication and negotiation skills training can contribute much to the first goal (assessment). In addressing the second, the consultant and family will usually choose from one of the following options:

- (a) Postpone a decision about strategy and focus on collecting more information to complete the assessment properly;
- (b) Acknowledge the family's limited influence and devise a strategy for making the best out of a bad situation and carefully look for reasons to hope that the situation may someday change for the better; and
- (c) Develop a strategy for intervention, which may include family counselling.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The study of cultic activity includes issues involving the abuse of power, pressured manipulation, and deprivation of informed choice, regardless of the alleged religious justification. In recent years it has become increasingly clear that authorities around the world are examining these issues (Oti 2002).

It is necessary, therefore, to avoid simple, ethnocentric analyses and responses. Instead, focus must be upon disciplined, objective, and factual scrutiny (Bloomfield et al. 1996) The

problems posed by cultic groups highlight the need for societies to continually balance competing rights of and obligations to its citizens (Langone et al. 1994). Most psychologists would probably acknowledge that there exists a deep human need to belong to a group. Often, this need leads a person to form what might be viewed as unhealthy allegiances to a person or group who, ultimately, does not truly have the person's interest at heart. The menace of secret cults in tertiary institutions in the country generated the righteous indignation of the Federal government, parents, and school administrators. The Vicechancellors of the Universities, the Rectors of Polytechnics, and the Provosts of Colleges of Education have all worked very hard to ensure that their students who were members of secret cults renounced their membership. Religious organizations have played and are still playing a significant role in the rehabilitation of those who have come out openly to renounce their membership of secret cults. The number of weapons of violence (guns, cutlasses, axes, etc.) and charms displayed at the various renunciation ceremonies indicated how dangerous the cults had become. Hoping that the secret cults have been eliminated from the campuses of our tertiary institutions, the next battle is that of sustaining this objective. Some of the measures that can be utilized to sustain this objective include the following:

The admission of students into tertiary institutions in the country should be based strictly on merit. The academic regulations of tertiary institutions should be made very clear to students. Tertiary institutions should admit only the number of students they can cater for. More hostel facilities should be built. Bright students should continue to be awarded scholarships. There should be orientation programmes for all fresh students.

The measures suggested above are the responsibility of the government and school administrators. The parents of students also have a role to play. They should monitor the activities of their children and wards that are in higher institutions. When these and other measures are implemented, the war against secret cults will be sustained for a very long time.

#### NOTE

The information regarding initiation ceremony was gathered from students who had openly renounced

membership of the secret cults. Their names need not be mentioned.

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