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**Religion and the Internet:  
The Global Marketplace**

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### 3 Religion and the Internet

#### The global marketplace

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Around the mid-1990s, some journalists and critical observers of the alternative religious scene noticed with alarm the growing presence of a number of small religious movements on the World Wide Web. Could it be a promising new missionary field for modern religious movements? Such fears probably reached their apex in 1997 with the collective suicide of followers of Heaven's Gate in California.

However, it soon became obvious that the growing impact of the Internet would not only help new religious movements (NRMs), but also exert pressure on them. As I have argued elsewhere (Mayer 2000), the development of the Internet may well have helped cult-watching organisations much more than controversial groups: nearly every person or association monitoring such groups can recall instances in which people left a group due to material discovered on the Internet – a rather easy task today with efficient search engines. Even disaffected individuals with limited financial means have suddenly become able to express their grievances at a global level and to reach like-minded people accross oceans and continents. Unless access to the Internet is forbidden to members of a group – controlled and closed communes – it will become nearly impossible to keep skeletons hidden in the closet: hot information is just a click away. More generally, the development of the Internet will affect NRMs: all major changes in those societies in which they operate always do, as Eileen Barker has observed (Barker 1995b).

Of course, changes might also create much better conditions for NRMs' activities. But, while this may be something to come, we have not yet witnessed any instance of successful mass proselytisation through the Internet. For every group, the major challenge is actually (and might increasingly become) to be found and heard among millions of websites, and then to convince visitors to stay on a web page instead of jumping to the next one. A key question for the 7th European Christian Internet Conference (ECIC)<sup>1</sup> in Cologne was to evaluate how far Christian websites could gain visibility on major commercial portals. Some people feel uncomfortable with the metaphor of the marketplace for describing the current religious situation, but the Internet probably makes it more appropriate than ever: major online directories put on the same footing, without any attempt at a hierarchisation, recent and minor religious groups on the one hand, and major religious traditions on the other hand. The Yahoo directory for 'Faiths and

Practices<sup>2</sup> lists one category 'Christianity' (30,353 entries in early September 2002), along with separate categories for 'Mazdaznan' (4 entries) or 'Tenrikyo' (6 entries), which results in giving a quite surprising prominence to those groups.

The Internet not only transforms the rules of the game for NRMs: it also changes them for everybody. Journalists assigned to any topic now routinely search the Internet before making any contact. Students tend – unfortunately! – to log on instead of going first to the library stacks to consult reference books. Scholars in every field are experiencing a complete change of their working habits and methods, and this in a matter of only a few years. Those few academics still refusing to use the Internet are seen as oddities, although they would not have been unusual only ten years ago. Even for people dealing with the past, the Internet is transforming the way into which research is conducted and its results published (see *Minuti* 2002).

It was indeed a blessing for scholars researching alternative new religious movements: many of these movements are very recent, their teachings change frequently, and many groups largely remain unstudied. Consequently, the Web allows researchers to find information much more easily and to make the Web a kind of virtual encyclopaedia, although it would be wise to remember that there are also groups which make the headlines and, as strange as it may seem, are not on the Internet (Brasher 2001: 166). One of the best examples for the use of the Web as an encyclopaedic resource remains the Religious Movements Homepage, created by Jeffrey Hadden at the University of Virginia.<sup>3</sup> It is significant that such an initiative came from a scholar who had long been interested in media-related issues. It is also significant that it evolved from what was originally planned as a learning experience for students at the University of Virginia into a global resource. This is typical of the Web: many religious websites (including websites serving dioceses or other institutions) were also launched by cyber-enthusiasts, not necessarily with strong institutional support, although this is changing and there has been a clear trend toward professionalisation for some years.

The Internet should not only be seen as a new tool. In ways which are still difficult to discern, it might transform religion itself to some extent. Years ago, French sociologist of religion, Emile Poulat, devoted a paper to an unusual topic: the consequences of electric power for religious life (Poulat 1988: 35–43). Electricity, wrote Poulat, has transformed 'our inner and outer landscape, the framework of our lives and thoughts, even the way in which we feel and perceive the world'. Anybody who has ever attended a nightly religious service in a sacred space where electricity was not available is able to tell the difference. Although we rarely think about it, electrification had deep consequences for religious life at different levels. And it is legitimate to think that the Internet – which actually is a further development in the electrical revolution – will also affect religious life in various ways.

For years, authors have warned that Christian churches should make themselves ready for a new generation that is likely to rely increasingly on the Internet as a major source for information – including religious information. Increasingly, the call is heard: not only NRMs, but representatives of all major traditions are found on the Web and are in no way lagging behind NRMs. According to the

Web editor of the Italian Bishops' Conference, to the best of his knowledge, 6,200 Roman Catholic websites were active in Italy in May 2002.<sup>4</sup> The Church of England's website was receiving about a quarter of a million hits each week in March 2002.<sup>5</sup> NRMs could only envy such popularity! It is not only major religious traditions that are present on the Web: one is amazed to discover how many Zoroastrian sites, for instance, can be found there.<sup>6</sup> Basically, the Internet provides religious groups with a number of challenges as well as opportunities, and leads to new questions. Some of them will be briefly examined here.

### Keeping the message under control

Books approved as faithful to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church bear a stamp of approval: the *nihil obstat* and the *imprimatur* from church authorities which are found at the beginning of the book. It had its negative counterpart, i.e. those books which were definitely not recommended: from 1559 to 1966, the *Index librorum prohibitorum* was regularly updated to list those books which Roman Catholics were not supposed to read; the purpose was to protect faith and to prevent the spread of heresy.

The *Index* has probably been the most systematic attempt at control over a long period, but other groups (including modern ones) have also sought, in various ways, to control the kind of information to which their followers could or should have access. The fact that the Internet creates a completely different context does not need long explanations, since it is so obvious. An increasing number of people are becoming empowered to become not only consumers of information but also its producers – which has consequences for the media landscape, too.

There are attempts to put some limits on access to information through filtering systems: at a very basic level, 'nanny' tools used by parents on home PCs in order to prevent their children from accessing pages with adult content. In 1998, opponents of the Church of Scientology accused it of having issued to its members a CD containing a hidden filter (censorware) that would prevent access to a range of web pages. However, if such reports are true, even attempts of that kind would require some degree of agreement from the user (i.e. installing the CD): it could not be imposed on a population unwilling to adopt the filter. Only states could aspire to set up a system of that kind on a broad basis. Chinese Internet monitoring has often been reported. In Saudi Arabia, the Internet Services Unit, located at King Abdulaziz City for Science and Technology (KACST), makes no mystery of the fact that '[f]iltering the Internet content to prevent the materials that contradict with our beliefs or may influence our culture' is one of its tasks, in order to preserve 'our Islamic values'. The public explanations of that task are worth quoting here:

All incoming Web traffic to the Kingdom passes through a proxy farm system implementing a content filtering software. A list of addresses for banned sites is maintained by this filtering system. This list is updated daily

based on the content filtering policy. A list of pornographic sites is provided periodically by the filtering software provider. However, this list is not comprehensive due to the high proliferation and diversity of pornographic sites. Therefore, KACST maintains a web-based form that users can fill out to report sites they feel should be blocked. Hundreds of requests are received daily. A team of full-time employees at KACST study these requests and implement them only if justified. As for non-pornographic sites, KACST receives orders to block them from related government bodies.<sup>7</sup>

In the West, no major religious group could even dream of censoring the Internet. Rather, the problem of content control has to do with the possibility that Web users can distinguish between legitimate, authorised expressions of their religious tradition and other websites which – sometimes under the guise of, and with the claim of being, authoritative interpreters – diverge from the official teachings. Such concerns were openly expressed in *The Church and the Internet*, one of the two documents about the Internet released in February 2002 by the Pontifical Council for Social Communications in Rome.<sup>8</sup> On the one hand, ‘church-related groups that have not yet taken steps to enter cyberspace are encouraged to look into the possibility of doing so at an early date’. On the other hand, ‘it is confusing, to say the least, not to distinguish eccentric doctrinal interpretations, idiosyncratic devotional practices, and ideological advocacy bearing a “Catholic” label from the authentic positions of the Church’. In order to respond to this ‘confusing proliferation of unofficial websites labelled “Catholic”’, the Council suggested:

A system of voluntary certification at the local and national levels under the supervision of representatives of the Magisterium might be helpful in regard to material of a specifically doctrinal or catechetical nature. The idea is not to impose censorship but to offer Internet users a reliable guide to what expresses the authentic position of the Church.

To go back to our initial historical reference, the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, i.e. filtering, is clearly out – it is unrealistic, and no longer acceptable to religious institutions based in the West. But the *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur* (i.e. a kind of quality label of approval for acceptable and faithful content) are clearly ideas considered in new forms at least by some religious leaders, in order to help the faithful to find their way safely through the growing jungle of the World Wide Web. It may or may not take the form of ‘voluntary certification’, but the Internet makes more acute than ever the need to make distinctions between what is legitimate and what is not.

### Local vs global?

In the 1850s, an American Quaker, Warder Cresson, moved to Palestine. Not only did he gather stones in preparation for the rebuilding of the Temple, but he

'had himself appointed American consul so that he could greet the Messiah when he came on behalf of the government of the United States' (Katz and Popkin 1998: 145) Today, millenarians will no longer need to be physically present in the Middle East in order to witness those dramatic events live. The Web virtually abolishes space: in Jerusalem there are now two 'Messiahcams'<sup>TM,9</sup> which permanently allow us to watch the Golden Gate (sealed, and assumed to open when the Messiah comes), as well as the Ascension chapel on the Mount of Olives (where He might return) – which means we should be able to witness the Second Advent from our own homes, sitting comfortably in front of our PCs. Technology as a crowning of millenarian longings!

This is taken for granted: time is accelerated, interpersonal relations are transformed, space is abolished through the Internet. 'Rome, New Delhi, Toronto and Singapore have become quarters of the same city', the only borders being those created by fee-based or password-protected sites (Revelli 2000: 36–8). However, a closer look indicates that we should not conclude too quickly that there is just a lack of place or monolithic cyberspace. Actually, the Internet produces ambiguous results.

The Internet 'is numerous new technologies, used by diverse people, in diverse real-world situations', emphasise two British scholars at the beginning of their ethnography of the Internet in Trinidad (Miller and Slater 2000: 1). The Internet is 'continuous with and embedded in other social spaces' (Miller and Slater, 2000: 5). The Internet can very well be used for local purposes: it suffices to mention here the many web pages of parishes, which are usually not meant for consumption by outsiders. The Internet is also used as a tool for local communities.

Moreover, the idea that there is a placeless cyberspace might lead to the inaccurate conclusion that it will necessarily dissolve traditional social links. This is far from proved. The Internet can be used for various purposes. It can be used for strategies aimed at maintaining identities as well. This is particularly evidenced by its use in a diaspora situation. Anybody entering a cybercafé in some area with a strong concentration of migrants in a large Western city will easily notice how many visitors there are who do not seem to be very computer-literate but who make use of the e-mail in order to keep in touch with their families and friends back home – exactly as young backpackers do during their nomadic experiences. Thanks to Funeral Cast,<sup>10</sup> 'you can watch your loved one's funeral, memorial and graveside service or view online death notices and memorials from anywhere computer and Internet access is available', and leave a message to the family in the guest book. The amazing number of Zoroastrian websites is certainly in part a consequence of the need felt by members of a small religion to keep their identity through internal communication: an endogamous community without converts, Zoroastrians do not envision the Web as a proselytising tool.

However, it is also true that the global will increasingly act with the local on the Internet, with consequences for religious life as well. Miller and Slater have shown how Trinidadian Hindus come to perceive themselves much more as part

of a global Hindu network through the use of the Internet, while some Trinidadian Muslims come to question their own local practice of Islam when the Internet allows them to compare it with Islam as practised elsewhere (Miller and Slater 2000: 175, 179).

The Internet may also serve to short-circuit local religious authorities. An interesting phenomenon is the explosion of cyberfatwas<sup>11</sup> in Islam – admittedly not a tradition with a central source of religious authority. A number of Muslim websites offer fatwas, opinions on a point of law by qualified people. This means that '[a] single question or query for information would receive several different answers, depending upon which Muslim site was consulted' (Bunt 2000: 108). Of course, different authorities might already have given different answers before the advent of the Internet: but a simple believer in a small town in England, Egypt or Malaysia would not normally have enjoyed access to a wide range of replies. Today, as long as the person knows how to surf the Web, even a non-theologian will get nearly instant access to a variety of replies from different schools and scholars, easily found with the help of search engines.

However, there is a big difference between virtual fatwas and traditional ones: online fatwas cannot take into account the context in which they are sought and delivered, the local traditions and circumstances, since the person asking the question and the person answering may live on different continents and may not know each other (Brückner 2001). French scholar Olivier Roy is correct to claim that the Internet is one element contributing to the de-territorialisation of Islam (Roy 2000).

### **Virtual communities and online worship**

In 1997, the Rev. Dr David M. Ford, from Augusta, Georgia, established the First International Church of the Web (FICOTW).<sup>12</sup> While it is quite similar to a number of mail-order churches found in the United States, it should be noticed that Brother Dave, as he likes to call himself, gives ordination for free (although a reasonable fee has to be paid if the ordinand wants a certificate): it looks like a sincere attempt to use cyberspace as a place where a ministry can be conducted. Of course, there are many religious groups with a ministry on the Web. But most of them are an extension of an existing, physical congregation: the hope is that people converted online would then push the door of the congregation behind the website.

There is nothing like that, however, with the FICOTW, its fellow members of the International Alliance of Web-Based Churches and other similar undertakings. Their congregation is purely virtual. Even if the visitor sees on the welcome page a photograph of church bells against the background of a bright blue sky, those bells do not belong to any FICOTW local parish, since there is none! Brother Dave is not a bodiless being: he attends a local church and even leads a homeless ministry. However, he considers his web-based church as something very real as well:

We have an actual congregation, and many members communicate with each other via our bulletin board and through e-mail. Most of my correspondence with members is done one-to-one via e-mail ... I know we have many members who are disabled and not able to visit regular church or fellowship, and they really enjoy the opportunity to fellowship with our other members via the web. We also have members in rural areas where they don't have access to regular churches, or are home-bound for other reasons, and also members living in Islamic countries where they can't openly practice their Christian faith ... So yes, I do feel as though I've established a true virtual congregation.<sup>13</sup>

The FICOTW does not have a very sophisticated website: Brother Dave launched it with a very basic knowledge of the Internet and does not attempt to keep up to date with the latest technical possibilities online. He is happy if what he does can lead people to Christ. Several members of the International Alliance of Web-Based Churches use free hosting services. There is nothing like interactive worship. This prompts the question: does a number of one-to-one relationships create a virtual congregation, or is it rather a ministry, despite the name of 'Church' which it bears? The Roman Catholic document on *The Church and the Internet* which was mentioned earlier observes:

Although the virtual reality of cyberspace cannot substitute for real interpersonal community, the incarnational reality of the sacraments and the liturgy, or the immediate and direct proclamation of the gospel, it can complement them, attract people to a fuller experience of the life of faith, and enrich the religious lives of users.

What about worship online, then? With the technological improvements and the growing possibilities offered by the Web, it would be a mistake to exclude the possibility that sufficiently interactive solutions could be found to create a real worship experience online despite the fact that participants would remain in different locations. The keyword here is 'interactive': religious programmes on radio and television have long been offering the opportunity to hear and/or to watch a religious ritual taking place at a distant location, but there is no opportunity for interaction. Religious services offered online by groups such as the International Christian Internet Church<sup>14</sup> (based in Hungary, with services in English or in Hungarian) are just that: broadcast services, recorded obviously in a church or chapel, conducted exactly as they would be on radio, except that listeners are invited, at the end of the sermon, to send an e-mail if they have any questions. The Web helps to spread the message, with the advantage of being accessible at any time and from anywhere, but otherwise there is not much new.

The Internet has, however, already brought the process one step further. One can visit a virtual place for worship, or 'go' to a real place through watching it online. For instance – and this is not the only case, although probably the most



widely publicised since it is found in the convent of a cyber-monk who has written a guide to the Catholic Internet (Raymond 2000) – one can see at any time the altar with the tabernacle in the chapel of the Monks of Adoration, ‘updated every minute 24 hours a day’.<sup>15</sup> And if one reads the witness stories on the website of the Monks of Adoration – there is no reason to believe they are not authentic ones – there are people who really pray, meditate, adore in front of their computer (which is especially interesting, since Roman Catholics believe in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but how is it mediated through the Internet?). Some people claim that they ‘come to visit your chapel several times a day’. Another one: ‘Every morning, I logon to your website and pray before the Blessed Sacrament.’ Some are quite moving: ‘Thank you ... for the Eucharistic webcam. I am a semi-invalid; on my ‘tired days’ your webcam is a means for me to focus upon He who is the Eucharist.’ Of course, the Monks of Adoration do not claim that a webcam can replace a visit to church: ‘It is for those times when you cannot visit Him in a church.’

If one visits the virtual chapel of the Elisabethkirche,<sup>16</sup> a Protestant parish in Marburg, Germany, there is no adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, but the possibility to do something more interactive (externally – of course, prayer is interactive, but in another sense): the visitor can use a mouse to light the candles of the virtual prayer chapel, and then put them out at the end of prayer. A selection of prayers is offered: as soon as one clicks on one of them, the text appears, while a religious organ-like music plays in the background. It is also possible to listen on the website of the parish to a meditative worship as it takes place once a month in the church in Marburg – with one major difference, compared with what a ‘real’ participant would experience: the possibility of selecting some segments of the service (preaching, readings, songs, psalms, prayers ...) and not listening to others.

While the technical possibilities offered by the Web will definitely improve and open new opportunities, there are limits set by theological beliefs: as already mentioned, the Roman Catholic Church does not see the Web as a substitute for sacraments, and practices such as online confessions (most of them parodic, anyway) have been clearly condemned. But this may be different for traditions with an emphasis on different elements in worship and relationship with God. For instance, in the Hindu tradition, the notion of *darshan*, of seeing and being seen by God or anything sacred, is not unlike a sacrament (if one sees a *murti* or a saintly person, a blessing is received) (see Eck 1998).

Consequently, the Web, with its visual aspect (sometimes complemented by sound – and maybe some day by smell), can be used for providing that experience of ‘seeing the Divine’. There are several websites offering it, for instance Online Darshan.<sup>17</sup> After choosing the representation of a particular deity, the visitor not only listens to devotional songs, but can also click in order to see the text of the prayers and to read them alongside. One may also offer virtual flowers by using the mouse for dragging and dropping them at the deity’s feet. Moreover, virtual lamps are provided in order to perform *aarti*.<sup>18</sup> This is not just watching a ritual or listening to it, but also participating actively, although on

an individual basis – it is not a collective worship. Such resources are used not only by teenagers but also by older people, for instance those living in the West and far away from a temple.

### Answering prayers and questions online

This brings us back to the issue of space and the Internet. Not only is it possible for believers to pray online in front of the Western Wall in Jerusalem,<sup>19</sup> but they can also have a note placed in the Wall. Similarly, it is possible to order over the Internet a *puja* in a temple of one's choice in India.<sup>20</sup> But another important aspect of the Internet is its more general use for prayer.

The Web is not a place that first comes to mind as very appropriate for prayer life. However, the fact that many monasteries are found on the Web seems to indicate possible convergences – in addition to the desire to make one's monastery known to a wider audience through a new medium.<sup>21</sup> Some monasteries offer not only glimpses of their daily life but also the possibility of listening to recordings of religious services.

If one pays attention to prayer on the Internet, two main aspects quite soon become obvious. A first aspect is guidelines for praying. For instance, several Jesuit websites offer guidance for people who want to pray and suggest prayer intentions. Irish Jesuits offer a 'sacred space' online: 'We invite you to make a "Sacred Space" in your day, and spend ten minutes, praying here and now, as you sit at your computer, with the help of on-screen guidance and scripture chosen specially every day.'<sup>22</sup> American Jesuits propose 'online retreats'.<sup>23</sup> Some participants with experience of a traditional type of retreat are quite convinced, if we read the testimonies left on the website: 'I have been making in-person Ignatian retreats at a retreat house every year for the past 17 years, but I have found the online retreat has really drawn me to Ignatian spirituality even more.' It seems important to mention such testimonies, since they are evidence that the potential impact of the Internet for religious life (and not just for spreading a religious message) should be taken seriously.

A second aspect is the amazing number of people looking for supportive prayer on the Web. Just as some churches leave a notebook on a table where people can leave anonymous requests for prayer, with the promise that the local community will pray for them, so the same thing is taking place online. Several monasteries have such a space where visitors can leave a prayer and be assured that the community will remember their concerns. But the practice is not limited to monasteries: the FICOTW also has a section for prayer requests. Moreover, it is not solely a Christian phenomenon: there are several Jewish sites on which one can leave prayer requests as well, for instance one specifically for people suffering from sicknesses, with the possibility of indicating precisely the nature of the sickness.<sup>24</sup> Those prayers can often be read online by other visitors of the website, which indicates that there is an expectation that some of those visitors will also pray for the people who have requested prayers – thus creating some kind of invisible, online, prayerful community.

People not only expect prayers; they also have questions, whether about theological and practical issues in their religious life or more personal decisions to be taken. This is another important development taking place on the Web: spiritual counselling, for which there is a demand which seems to be growing, although statistics are lacking<sup>25</sup> – and this is quite in accordance with the increasing use of the Web as a source for information, including on religious issues. It is difficult to measure it, since most such activities are conducted on a one-to-one basis: web pages serve as an initial contact point. But cyber-priests, cyber-rabbis and cyber-imams have a lot of work to do – and as one old cyber-priest confided at the first gathering of the French Christian Internet in Paris in June 2002, this is a learning experience, since questions asked by people are not always what clergy would have expected. The Internet, again, creates contact opportunities with people who otherwise might never push the door of the local church or temple.

As a sociologist studying young and rapidly evolving religious movements over many years, Eileen Barker has paid special attention to changes in that specific field. The rapid development and spread of the Internet is one of the factors which might produce some subtle or more obvious changes in NRMs as well as traditional religions in the years to come. While we may see the emergence of purely web-based religions – which will no doubt attract much interest from media and scholars, due to their novelty – it is primarily transformations induced by the existence and the use of the Internet in existing religions that will probably require most attention and innovative approaches from scholars. There are reasons for suspecting that the various elements mentioned in this brief overview are only a foretaste of things to come.

## Notes

- 1 [www.ecic.info](http://www.ecic.info)
- 2 [http://dir.yahoo.com/Society\\_and\\_Culture/Religion\\_and\\_Spirituality/Faiths\\_and\\_Practices/](http://dir.yahoo.com/Society_and_Culture/Religion_and_Spirituality/Faiths_and_Practices/)
- 3 <http://religiousmovements.lib.virginia.edu/welcome/welcome.htm>
- 4 Interview with Fr Franco Mazza, 12 June 2002.
- 5 'Church grapples with hi-tech dilemma', BBC News, 28 March 2002 (downloaded on 6 September 2002: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/sci/tech/1895116.stm>).
- 6 See directories of links such as: <http://www.zoroastrian.net/zorosites.htm>.
- 7 Information downloaded on 6 September 2002 from the website of the Saudi Internet Services Unit: <http://www.isu.net.sa/index.htm>.
- 8 Document downloaded on 6 September 2002 from the website of the Holy See: [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/pccs/documents/rc\\_pc\\_pccs\\_doc\\_20020228\\_church-internet\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/pccs/documents/rc_pc_pccs_doc_20020228_church-internet_en.html).
- 9 <http://212.150.183.204/index.html>
- 10 <http://www.funeral-cast.com/>
- 11 The German scholar Matthias Brückner maintains a website on that issue: <http://www.cyberfatwa.de>.
- 12 <http://ficotw.org/index.html>
- 13 Personal communication from Brother Dave, 30 August 2002.
- 14 <http://www.worshipservice.hu/>

15 <http://www.monksfadoration.org/chapel.html>

16 <http://www.elisabethkirche-mr.de/spiforum/gebetska/index.htm>

17 <http://www.onlinedarshan.com/>

18 See another attempt at a virtual *puja* (conducted by clicking on the various steps) at: <http://www.shivkhodi.com/puja.htm>.

19 <http://www.aish.com/wallcam/>

20 <http://www.saranam.com/>

21 There is also a web-based 'Religious Careers Placement Service of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States', found at <http://vocationsplacement.org/index.asp>, which is reported to have already helped several monasteries to find new recruits.

22 <http://www.jesuit.ie/prayer/>

23 <http://www.creighton.edu/CollaborativeMinistry/online.html>

24 <http://www.savealife.org/Tehillim.htm>

25 The impression of growth is based upon discussions with people involved in such ministries.

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