

## Global Announcements of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi: A Content Analytic Approach to Press Releases Issued Between 1959 and 1991

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### Abstract

*Press releases form a distinct and important sub-genre of communications theory and represent a valuable means of discourse with news media and the public. By mediating words and images in a timely way, press releases provide a direct means for a person or organisation to transmit opinion and content about topics of social, public and/or professional interest. Such was the case with the press releases of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi who, through his various national and international news services, communicated with the media and general public on a variety of social issues. However, the contents of these press releases have never been systematically investigated or discussed.*

*Using established content analytic methods from communications theory, the purpose of this research was to uncover the features and structure of Maharishi's press releases and to explore their main themes. In a two-phase research design, 691 press releases were analysed for 1) issuing entity, 2) date of issuance, 3) place of issuance, 4) direct quotations, 5) media frame, 6) focus of frame, 7) content area, and 8) themes. Results indicate that across a 32-year period, Maharishi communicated in a consistent and intelligible way, connecting and interweaving Vedic and scientific content associated with current events and topics of social importance.*

**Key Words:** Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, press releases, media frames, communications theory, content analysis

### Introduction

A significant body of literature has documented the thoughts and teaching of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (for example, see Dillbeck et al., 2020; Fergusson, 2018; Wells et al., 2021). Indeed, David Frawley (2021), founder of the American Institute of Vedic Studies in Santa Fe, New Mexico, recently summarised Maharishi's global contributions to Vedic knowledge and described him as the "most influential Yoga guru from India over the last 50 years, with millions of followers in every part of the world. His meditation-based teachings have had an enormous impact, including on some of the best educated, most affluent and articulate minds and personalities from the East and West".

However, nothing in the published literature has documented what Maharishi communicated through the vehicle of press releases. Similarly, little has been published about how these statements to the press, and through them to the general public, reflected current events, people, or institutions (including, for example, his statements about the United Nations and direct appeals to world leaders). The present study seeks to correct these deficiencies in our understanding of Maharishi's legacy to Vedic knowledge and social transformation. Moreover, because his press statements occurred situationally in multiple countries over many decades they deserve to be considered an integral and legitimate part of the larger corpus of Maharishi's teaching, including the advertisements he placed during this same period (Fergusson, 2022).

In the context of corporate communications theory, according to Skorczynska-Sznajder (2016, pp. 49-50) a press release can be "viewed as a professional genre, used by a specific discourse community in a particular social context, and aimed to reach a set of established communicative goals". In this sense, press releases represent a "professional genre...characterized by a range of formal conventions, which reflect particular discursive and professional practices of the determined discourse community". Press releases focus on what she refers to as 'situatedness' or context, allowing for "unfolding discourse through recognized language". According to Catenaccio (2008, p. 9), press releases have been a "key textual genre at the heart of [public relations] since its inception at the beginning of the twentieth century".

While Maharishi's press statements are not characterised or circumscribed specifically by corporate communications theory but are more broadly based, they likely do seek to achieve communicative goals, and they likely also do embody formal conventions representing discourse through recognised language. However, they were issued piecemeal by multiple organisations across many countries and intermittent time periods, and their communicative goals remain unknown, meaning Maharishi's press releases have not been considered as an integrated whole.

As a consequence, only a systematic approach to examining them will reveal what the press releases actually communicate as a body of thought and whether they collectively parallel other public pronouncements made by Maharishi.

The research objectives for this study therefore seek to: 1) identify a representative source of press releases issued by or about Maharishi and his teaching; 2) code and describe the press releases as a group; 3) provide a coherent organisational structure to press release content; 4) systematically analyse the press releases by applying standard communications methods; 5) articulate the main themes and provide examples of each theme; and 6) thereby present for the first time the results of an in-depth investigation into a hitherto forgotten professional genre of communication used by Maharishi and his worldwide organisation throughout the twentieth century. To achieve these objectives and to guide the investigation, the present study posits three research questions: RQ1—What are the main sources, dates, and countries of origin of press releases issued by Maharishi’s international news services; RQ2—What are the types and foci of media frames used in these press releases; and RQ3—What are the content areas and main themes covered by press releases about Maharishi?

### **Method**

This study followed two phases of research: a descriptive phase and an analytic phase. These two research phases are presented in Figure 1. In order to identify and better understand the media statements made by Maharishi and his various national and international news services, the Archive of Maharishi International University (MIU) in Fairfield, Iowa, which contains approximately 100,000 historical documents on Maharishi and his worldwide teaching, was searched for press releases. A press release may have been labelled ‘press release’, ‘news release’, ‘media release’, ‘news announcement’, ‘press invitation’, or ‘press statement’, but for the purposes of this study these have been taken as equivalent. A total of 711 hard-copy press releases were identified and subsequently scanned for analysis.

The inclusion criteria applied to selection were: 1) the press release was written in English; 2) the press release included a date, contact name, address, and telephone number; and 3) the press release was written and issued by a recognised, affiliated, or accredited organisation sanctioned by Maharishi (many of which bore his name). Twenty press releases were not written in English, including seven in French, three in German, three in Italian, two in Spanish, and five in Tagalog, and these were excluded, resulting in  $N = 691$  press releases used for content analysis in this study.

Press releases were organised chronologically and numbered according to the following convention: number and date, e.g., from PR1-59 for press release number 1 issued in 1959, through to PR691-91 for press release number 691 issued in 1991. When citing headlines or excerpts of press release examples in this study, original spelling was used. Where appropriate, citations were made to other published sources of information on Maharishi as a way of cross-referencing and/or confirming press release data.

In the **descriptive phase**, each press release was examined, in numeric order, for the following descriptive features: 1) name of the entity which issued the press release; 2) issuance date; 3) place of issuance; and 4) source(s) of direct quotations used in the press release (for the purposes of this study, a ‘direct quotation’ means a quotation or verbal statement made by an individual conveyed in “inverted commas”).

In the **analytic phase**, each press release was analysed and coded for the following three elements: 5) type of media frame used by the press release; 6) focus of the media frame used in the press release; and 7) content or subject area covered by the press release. Thus, analysis resulted in coding which showed the relationship between the type of media frame > focus of the media frame > content area of the message for each press release.

A media frame is the angle or perspective from which the news story is presented or told (Borah, 2015). According to D’Angelo (2017, p. 5), a media frame is “a structure of meaning—a central idea, organizing principle, master narrative, macro-attribute, or theme—that can be implicit, or latent, in a mediated text but nonetheless imparts a clear, selective meaning to the words and visuals a communicator uses to contextualize a topic”. D’Angelo (2017, p. 1) explains:

The concept *media frame* is at the center of a dynamic research program in the field of communication. A media frame is a written, spoken, graphical, or visual message modality that a communicator uses to contextualize a topic, such as a person, event, episode, or issue, within a text transmitted to receivers by means of mediation.

The term *communicator* can refer to individuals, conceived as people unaffiliated with one another, or to groups of people located within a formal organization (e.g., a news staff or advocacy organization). The term *receiver* can refer to individual people, formal groups, and groups of people who are informally connected (e.g., audience members or constituents). A *text* is the combined modalities a communicator employs in a single message or a series of messages. *Mediation* refers to the production and distribution processes of print, film, and electronic

mass media industries....Contextualization refers to purposive behavior in which a communicator establishes a frame of reference for a topic.

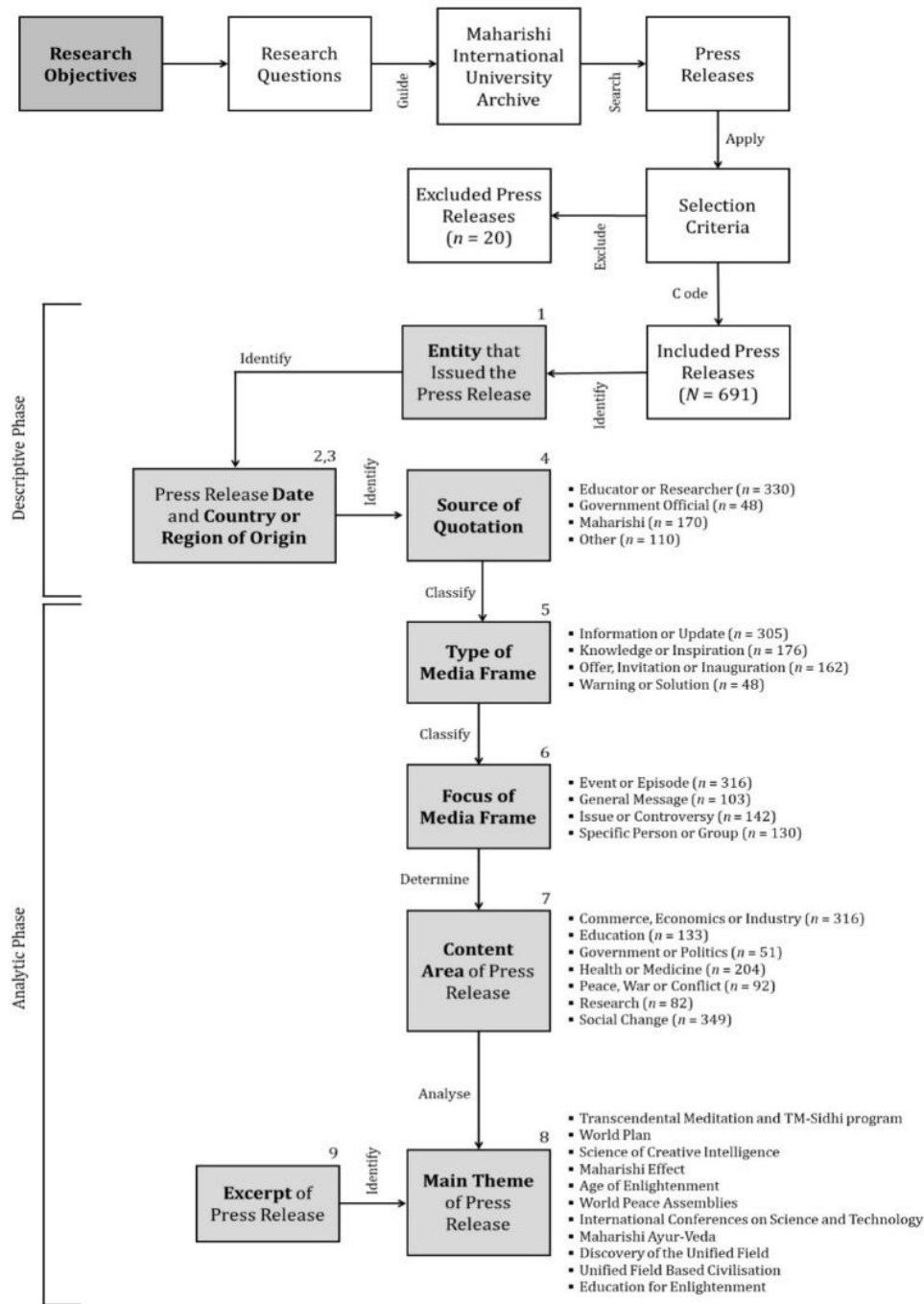


Figure 1: Process of research steps.

Moreover, a media frame can “affect public opinion” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 103). For the purposes of this study, only textual, not visual or graphical, media frames were considered, with the main headline of the press release providing the information necessary to identify and classify the frame (Guillamon-Saorin, Osmá, & Jones, 2012). Where the headline was absent or insufficient for analysis, the press release text was used for this purpose. As noted by D’Angelo, media frames contain content which is contextualised. In this study, a press release’s ‘content’ pertained to step 7), the content or subject area of Maharishi’s knowledge, e.g., health, education, government, politics, etc., with its ‘context’ being step 6), the focus of the message, described by D’Angelo as ‘a person, event, episode, or issue, within a text transmitted to receivers by means of mediation’.

The final steps in the analytic phase were 8) to analyse each press release for the main theme being conveyed by the media frame, and 9) to identify and extract an excerpt of key press release examples to illustrate the structure organised by this study. Step 8) was achieved by one, or a combination, of the following standard techniques: A) keyword analysis; and/or B) thematic analysis. Keyword analysis followed the method described by Kochetova and Ilyinova (2018) for press releases; thematic analysis followed the so-called ‘critical framing method’ described by Koerber et al. (2017), also for press releases. To qualify as a ‘theme’, defined as a recurring or pervading topic or idea, the topic or idea of the press release must have been identified in a minimum of 20 (3%) press releases. In this study, the main goal of content analysis was to validate media frames in the texts under investigation. This approach was similar to that of Choi (2012), although his context was different, and is an approach described in more detail by Matthes and Kohring (2008). Thus, content analysis resulted in the coding of: 5) type of media frame > 6) focus of media frame > 7) content area > 8) theme of press release.

After coding by two independent and trained coders, 139 (20%) press releases were analysed for inter-coder reliability (to measure consistency or agreement between coders) using Cohen’s Kappa ( $k$ ) for type and focus of media frame (these two require coder judgement; content area and theme require descriptive judgment and thus inter-coder reliability is irrelevant to them). Such an approach to inter-coder reliability has been used by Kurande et al. (2013) and explained by Warrens (2015).

## Results

### Descriptive Phase Results

**Issuing Entities.** As shown in Table 1, 617 (89%) press releases were issued by the following nine entities, in order of number: Age of Enlightenment Foundation of the Philippines; Age of Enlightenment News Service; World Plan News Service; Maharishi International University News Service; World Medical Association for Perfect Health; Maharishi Capital of the Age of Enlightenment—Great Britain; Maharishi University of Natural Law (MUNL); Maharishi Ayur-Veda Association of America; and Maharishi European Research University (MERU). The remaining 74 (11%) press releases not issued by the aforementioned nine entities were issued by an additional 14 entities, including: Maharishi Vedic University (MVU); Maharishi Schools of Gandharva-Ved Music; Maharishi World Capital of the Age of Enlightenment—India; Maharishi World Centre of Ayur-Veda; Maharishi Corporate Development International (MCDI); Maharishi Veda Land; Spiritual Regeneration Movement (SRM); Student International Meditation Society (SIMS); and International Meditation Society (IMS).

**Table 1:** Entities that issued press releases.

Entity	Number	Percentage
<b>Age of Enlightenment Foundation of the Philippines</b>	180	26%
<b>Age of Enlightenment News Service</b>	147	21%
<b>World Plan News Service</b>	76	11%
<b>Maharishi International University News Service</b>	71	10%
<b>World Medical Association for Perfect Health</b>	42	6%
<b>Maharishi Capital of the Age of Enlightenment—Great Britain</b>	33	5%
<b>Maharishi University of Natural Law</b>	28	4%
<b>Maharishi Ayur-Veda Association of America</b>	24	4%
<b>Maharishi European Research University</b>	16	2%
<b>Other</b>	74	11%
<b>Total</b>	691	100%

Four hundred and seventy four (68%) press releases were issued by the first four entities, with: Age of Enlightenment Foundation of the Philippines operating from offices in Manila; Age of Enlightenment News Service operating from the Netherlands and New Delhi; World Plan News Service operating from offices in 55 cities, including Washington, D.C., New York, Los Angeles, London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Rome, Zurich, Stockholm, Beirut, Tehran, Hong Kong, Montreal, Lagos, Cairo, Addis Ababa, and Cape Town; and Maharishi International University News Service operating from Fairfield, Iowa.

**Dates of Issuance.** As shown in Table 2, press releases were issued between 1959 and 1991. The earliest press releases were issued by Spiritual Regeneration Movement from Shankaracharya Nagar in Rishikesh, India (PR1-59, PR5-68),

Spiritual Regeneration Movement—Great Britain from London (PR2-59), Spiritual Regeneration Movement—United States from Los Angeles (PR3-59), International Meditation Society of Great Britain from London (PR4-66), and Student International Meditation Society from Los Angeles (PR6-67, PR7-67). However, these seven press releases were the only ones issued between 1959 and 1969.

The 1960s represented the period when Maharishi (1960, 1961, 1964a, 1967, 1968) established the importance of experiencing pure consciousness through his Transcendental Meditation technique, documenting its source in the ancient Vedic tradition of complete knowledge (Maharishi, 1964b). For example, “Maharishi propounds a simple method of meditation whereby anybody of a normal mind, without effort, can successfully ‘take a dive within’ and experience immediately, or within a few days, the Blissful Nature of the Divine” (PR1-59). In 1959, Maharishi said “I have brought from the land of the ancient sages to the modern man of this new world a simple technique of living in peace and happiness...I will fill the earth with love and create heaven on earth” (PR3-59).

This was also the period during which Maharishi wrote two seminal books on both Transcendental Meditation and Vedic Science: *The Science of Being and Art of Living* (1966) and *Maharishi Mahesh Yogi on the Bhagavad-Gita* (1969). An All-India Convention of the Spiritual Regeneration Movement in 1968 stated: “Maharishi’s message of Transcendental Meditation has attracted [the] world’s interest because it has presented a revival of understanding about life and has opened a possibility for any nation to rise to all progress and fulfillment by improving creative intelligence and happiness in the life of the individuals. Maharishi has blessed the world with a philosophy of action, the true philosophy of Karma Yoga—‘*Yogastha Kuru Karmani*’—(Gita)” (PR5-68).

**Table 2:** Date ranges of press releases and countries or regions of origin.

Date and Location	Number	Percentage
<i>Date</i>		
<b>1959-1969</b>	7	1%
<b>1970-1979</b>	96	14%
<b>1980-1989</b>	522	76%
<b>1990-1991</b>	66	9%
<b>Total</b>	691	100%
<i>Country or Region</i>		
<b>Philippines</b>	180	24%
<b>United States</b>	173	23%
<b>United Kingdom</b>	136	18%
<b>Switzerland</b>	113	15%
<b>Netherlands</b>	88	12%
<b>India</b>	27	3.5%
<b>Africa</b>	12	1.5%
<b>Other</b>	22	3%
<b>Total</b>	751 <sup>†</sup>	100%

<sup>†</sup>Note, of the 691 discrete press releases issued between 1959 and 1991, 60 were issued simultaneously by multiple entities and from multiple cities, countries, or regions, making the total number of press releases issued 751.

Ninety-six (14%) press releases were issued in the decade 1970 to 1979, with almost all of them being broadcast by the 55 offices of the World Plan News Service. The 1970s represented the period when Maharishi’s worldwide activities gained momentum, resulting in the establishment of his Science of Creative Intelligence (SCI), Maharishi International University (1971), the World Government of the Age of Enlightenment (1977), and Maharishi European Research University (1977a, 1977b, 1978, 1979).

For example, according to PR8-72 under the headline ‘Maharishi in Italy’, by 1972 Transcendental Meditation was being practiced by “350,000 people in over 50 countries” and the Mayor of Fiuggi Fonte north of Rome “donated a large building next to the Town Hall as the Administrative Centre of the Maharishi International University. Here the first courses in the Science of Creative Intelligence, the theory behind [Transcendental Meditation], are now being prepared”.

as also the period when Maharishi introduced his World Plan, which had “arisen from the scientifically proven effectiveness of the Science of Creative Intelligence in improving the quality of life and its adoption by individuals from all areas of the globe” (PR10-72). Maharishi’s efforts with educators in U.S. cities Chicago (PR11-73), New York (PR12-73), and Atlantic City (PR16-73), and in countries such as Denmark (where Maharishi met with the King), Germany, Ethiopia, Norway, Sweden and United Kingdom (PR17-73, PR19-73, PR20-73, PR21-73, PR46-75), resulted in the World Plan being implemented throughout the world. In the middle part of the decade, based on evidence from empirical research which showed Transcendental Meditation produced uniquely important states of restful alertness, deep physiological rest and brainwave coherence (PR53-75) and that 1% of the population practicing Transcendental Meditation was associated with a significant reduction in crime rate (PR13-73), Maharishi inaugurated the Dawn of the Age of Enlightenment (PR35-75). Toward the end of the decade, he introduced the Transcendental Meditation-Sidhi program to hasten the development of individual consciousness and to bring about lasting world peace and invincibility for every nation (PR89-76, PR98-78).

At 522 (76%), the 1980s represented the decade with the most issued press releases. This period included a plethora of major developments, including the inauguration of Maharishi University of Natural Law in United Kingdom (PR106-82) and Maharishi Vedic University in Europe (PR357-85), important world assemblies of thousands of practitioners of the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program, such as the Taste of Utopia Assembly in 1983-84 at MIU (PR138-83), the Global Initiative to Establish a Permanent Group of 7,000 Experts in 1984 in Yugoslavia (PR168-84), and World Assembly on Vedic Science in 1985 in Washington, D.C. (PR396-95), the launch of Maharishi’s Global Festival of Music for World Peace (PR548-88), and the launch and expansion throughout the 1980s of a global initiative for perfect health using Maharishi Ayur-Veda addressed in dozens of press releases (e.g., PR428-85, PR434-85, PR440-85, PR441-85, PR441-85).

These 1980’s press releases were issued by most of the entities listed in Table 1, but also included others, such as: American Association of Ayur-Vedic Medicine from Lancaster, Massachusetts; Maharishi Ayur-Veda Association of Great Britain from Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire; and World Centre for Maharishi Ayur-Veda from Maharishi Nagar in India. All 180 (26%) press releases issued by Age of Enlightenment Foundation of the Philippines were issued from Manila in this period, during which Maharishi introduced Transcendental Meditation and other programs, such as Maharishi Ayur-Veda, to schools, colleges, prisons, and a variety of government institutions (e.g., PR309-84, PR337-84, PR346-84, PR348-84) throughout the country.

The remaining 66 (9%) press releases were issued at the beginning on the 1990s, when MIU’s Archive of press releases ceases. 1990 and 1991 were marked by Maharishi’s Master Plan to Create Heaven on Earth (PR627-90). Key elements of the Plan included eradicating poverty, creating a global green revolution, building ideal villages, towns and cities, creating a disease-free society, and achieving ideal education through Maharishi’s Vedic Science (PR628-90). The global expansion of Maharishi Ayur-Veda (PR638-90) and Maharishi Gandharva-Veda (PR637-90) continued through the early 1990s. Among the most significant press releases of this period related to Maharishi’s offers, made repeatedly in 19 (3%) press releases (e.g., PR644-90, PR647-90, PR661-91), to help end the ‘Persian Gulf War’ (what would subsequently be referred to as the First Gulf War) by proclaiming: “With a group of 7,000 people in any place on earth, I can bring world consciousness in alliance with Nature’s Government and thereby neutralize all conflict in the world today and prevent any international conflict from ever arising in the future” (PR647-90).

**Places of Issuance.** As also shown in Table 2, a total of 751 individualised press releases were issued from news services in seven main countries or regions. In addition to the four main source countries—180 (24%) from Philippines, 173 (23%) from United States, 136 (18%) from United Kingdom, and 113 (15%) Switzerland—press releases were issued from Canada, Cypress, India, Kenya, and New Zealand, and elsewhere; in the case of 60 (8%) press releases, the same release was issued simultaneously from multiple news services in different cities, countries or regions.

**Direct Quotations.** Four hundred and ninety-five (72%) press releases used direct quotations and 196 (28%) did not. Table 3 presents the findings on direct quotations as they appeared in the press releases. In the 495 press releases which used direct quotation, 658 individual sources of direct quotes were identified.

**Table 3:** Sources of directly quoted material.

Source of Direct Quote	Number	Percentage
<b>Educator or Researcher</b>	330	50%
<b>Maharishi Mahesh Yogi</b>	170	26%
<b>Government Official</b>	48	7%
<b>Other</b>	110	17%
<b>Total</b>	658 <sup>†</sup>	100%

<sup>†</sup>Note, many of the 495 press releases quoted more than one quotee.

Three hundred and thirty (50%) press releases quoted an educator or researcher affiliated with Maharishi, such as Dr Geoffrey Clements, Vice Chancellor of MERU (PR187-84) or Dr Kurleigh King, former Secretary General of the Caribbean Community and Common Market and Professor of Management and Public Administration at MIU (PR400-85). Examples of this source of direct quote were: “The Transcendental Meditation technique was easily learned by their patients and held their interest over a long period of time in contrast to EEG biofeedback and autogenic training. They [i.e., Dr Bernard G. Glueck and Dr Charles F. Stroebel] found it to add a ‘significant positive therapeutic dimension to the overall hospital treatment program’” (PR56-75); and “Dr Susan Dillbeck said ‘with Maharishi’s Unified Field Based Education all possibilities are open to every school and university for the creation of ideal education’” (PR383-85).

One hundred and seventy (26%) press releases quoted Maharishi directly. Examples of this source of direct quote were: “‘Crisis anywhere is a phenomenon of consciousness,’ Maharishi says. ‘Whether we look to the history books, or Iran, El Salvador, the same holds true. Such crises can arise in any country, at any time, and for any reason—sometimes religion, sometime politics, sometimes social order, and sometimes economics; somewhere a monarchy collapses, somewhere a dictatorship, and somewhere a democracy—in one instance capitalism flounders while in another communism seems to fail. In today’s world no government, however powerful, can breathe in peace or rest free from the fear of internal or external crises and conflict’” (PR104-82); and “‘With the effect produced by large assemblies such as this [i.e., the Assembly of 6000 Experts in Maharishi’s Technology of the Unified Field in the Hague, Holland], every nation is going to rise to perfection,’ said His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi” (PR353-85). Maharishi’s repeated offers to the United Nations, for example to its Habitat Forum in Vancouver in 1976 (PR84-76) and to its representatives at the Austria Center in Vienna in 1987 to whom he said “With the onset of terrorism and the dangerous rivalry of the superpowers, world peace is the personal and immediate requirement of every significant individual in the world today, and it must be fulfilled today without waiting for tomorrow” (PR521-87), are of historic significance.

Forty-eight (7%) press releases quoted a government official or representative, such as the Governor of Vermont, Thomas Salmon (PR18-73), California Senator John Tunney (PR26-74), and Brigadier General Arcadio Lozado, Commissioner of the National Police Commission of the Philippines (PR197-84). Examples of this source of direct quote were: “The Prime Minister’s [i.e., Margaret Thatcher’s] recent statement at the United Nations special session on disarmament included some profound insights: ‘The springs of war’, she said, ‘lie in the readiness to resort to force against other nations. It is a mistaken analysis to suppose that we can prevent the horrors of war by focusing on its instruments. These are more often symptoms than causes’” (PR110-82); and “The Commissioner of Police for New Delhi, Mr Raj Vijay Karan, said during the telecast that his department is starting to teach Maharishi’s Transcendental Meditation at its training facility. Speaking on video tape from police headquarters, Commissioner Karan said: ‘With 55,000 officers, Delhi has one of the largest municipal police forces in the world, and I believe that Maharishi’s programme will greatly reduce stress and fatigue and increase creativity, peace of mind, and efficiency throughout the force’” (PR633-90).

One hundred and ten (17%) press releases quoted one or more business leader, independent researcher, other press source, or expert in a related field, such as Dr Narinder Puri, Professor of Civil Engineering at University of Roorkee, Uttar Pradesh in India (PR583-88). Examples of this source of direct quote were: “Attorney Vincente Santos, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of the East, today said... ‘Present-day education increases the thirst for knowledge but fails to satisfy it. Fortunately now, through the courtesy of our international friends, we have in our possession the knowledge of the unified field, the field of total knowledge. Here is an opportunity for us to create a new generation of enlightened individuals’” (PR288-84); and “This week’s ‘TIME’ magazine (August 25) points out that ‘there is undisputed evidence that (the TM technique) lowers oxygen consumption and induces other physiological changes’” (PR55-75).

### Analytic Phase Results

**Types of Media Frame.** As shown in Table 4, four types of media frame or textual message were identified: 1) 305 (44%) used information or update to message; 2) 176 (26%) used knowledge or inspiration to message; 3) 162 (23%) related to an offer, invitation or inauguration; and 4) 48 (7%) issued a warning or tendered a solution.

**Table 4:** Types of media frames.

Media Frame	Number	Percentage
<b>Information or Update</b>	305	44%
<b>Knowledge or Inspiration</b>	176	26%
<b>Offer, Invitation or Inauguration</b>	162	23%
<b>Warning or Solution</b>	48	7%
<b>Total</b>	691	100%

The ‘information or update’ frame included messages which contained either data or facts about a topic or provided an update of previously supplied information, such as an update to research findings or a progress report on a tour of medical doctors. Examples of this type of frame were captured by headlines such as: ‘Japanese Doctor to Research Transcendental Meditation Technique and Aging’ (PR77-76); and ‘More than 2,000 Medical Doctors Will Attend One-week Maharishi Ayur-Veda Training Courses in USSR, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Brazil, USA, and New Zealand’ (PR636-90).

The ‘knowledge or inspiration’ frame included messages related to communications about Maharishi’s knowledge, such as his Science of Creative Intelligence or his Vedic Science and Technology, and the inspiration readers might find from reading about them. Examples of this type of frame were captured by headlines such as: ‘Selected Extracts from Articles Published in the World Press Illustrating Our Contribution to Life and Progress in the Age of Enlightenment’ (PR85-76); and ‘New Era for Mankind Through Unified Field Based Education Declares Eminent Catholic Leader from Brazil’ (PR181-84).

The ‘offer, invitation or inauguration’ frame included messages which specifically made an offer to participate in an event, project, program or initiative, an invitation to attend an event, or an announcement about the inauguration of a project, program, plan or initiative. Examples of this type of frame were captured by headlines such as: ‘Maharishi Offers a New Fulfilling Concept in Education’ (PR119-82); and ‘Filipinos Invited to be Custodians of Unified Field Based Civilization’ (PR218-84).

The ‘warning or solution’ frame included the identification and explication of a problem or a warning of a future problem, and always tendered a solution to a problem through Maharishi’s knowledge, including practice of the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program, often related to its group practice. Examples of this type of frame were captured by headlines such as: ‘Maharishi Offers One Solution to All Problems at United Nations Habitat Forum, Canada’ (PR84-76); and ‘Leading Doctors Encourage WHO Member States to Introduce Maharishi Ayur-Ved in Order to Solve the Problems of Health and Create a Disease-free Society’ (PR600-89).

**Focus of Media Frames.** As shown in Table 5, four foci of media frames were identified: 1) 316 (46%) focused on an event or episode; 2) 142 (20%) focused on an issue or controversy; 3) 130 (19%) focused on a specific person or group; and 4) 103 (15%) referenced a general, rather than a specific, message.

Media frames which focused on an event (i.e., an occurrence) or episode (i.e., an action or incident which was part of a sequence or series of events), such as those captured by headlines like ‘Lecture on the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field and the Reversal of Aging’ (PR315-84) and ‘Maharishi’s World Medical Association for Perfect Health Inaugurated by Leading Doctors in England and Norway’ (PR435-85), were the most common.

Media frames which focused on an issue (i.e., a topic of importance) or controversy (i.e., a topic of debate or discussion), such as ‘Officials of the World Medical Association for Perfect Health Respond to the President of the Philippine Medical Association’ (PR326-84) and ‘Labour Leaders the Only Hope for World Peace’ (PR528-87), were the second most common.

Media frames which focused on a specific person, group of people or an organisation, such as a published researcher, an expert in higher education, an institution of learning, or Maharishi himself, included ‘New York Educator reports on Effectiveness of Science of Creative Intelligence Introduced into School Systems’ (PR12-73) and ‘His Holiness



Maharishi Mahesh Yogi to Meet the Press' (PR137-83). This focus in media frame was represented by 19% of all press releases.

Finally, media frames which conveyed a general message or statement rather than targeting a specific event, episode, issue, controversy, person or group, constituted the remaining 15% of all frames. Examples included 'The Science of Creative Intelligence and Government, Law, and Social Welfare: Autumn 1975 Fact Sheet' (PR61-75); and 'Support of Nature Necessary for the Nation' (PR351-84).

**Table 5:** Number and percentage of main foci of media frames.

Focus of Frame	Number	Percentage
<b>Event or Episode</b>	316	46%
<b>Issue or Controversy</b>	142	20%
<b>Specific Person or Group</b>	130	19%
<b>General Message</b>	103	15%
<b>Total</b>	691	100%

Table 6 shows the breakdown of foci to each of the four media frames. In each case, the main focus of media frames was an event or an episode, with 152 (50%) press releases the focus of all information or update frames, 45 (26%) of all knowledge or inspiration frames, 104 (64%) of all offer, invitation or inauguration frames, and 15 (31%) of all warning or solution frames, with generic messaging being the least common focus of media frames.

**Table 6:** Number and percentage of media frames x focus of frames.

Media Frame	Focus of Frame	Number	Percentage
<b>Information or Update</b>	<b>Event or Episode</b>	152	50%
	<b>Issue or Controversy</b>	60	20%
	<b>Specific Person or Group</b>	56	18%
	<b>General Message</b>	37	12%
	<b>Total</b>	305	100%
<b>Knowledge or Inspiration</b>	<b>Event or Episode</b>	45	26%
	<b>Issue or Controversy</b>	47	26%
	<b>Specific Person or Group</b>	38	22%
	<b>General Message</b>	46	26%
	<b>Total</b>	176	100%
<b>Offer, Invitation or Inauguration</b>	<b>Event or Episode</b>	104	64%
	<b>Issue or Controversy</b>	21	13%
	<b>Specific Person or Group</b>	26	16%
	<b>General Message</b>	11	7%
	<b>Total</b>	162	100%
<b>Warning or Solution</b>	<b>Event or Episode</b>	15	31%
	<b>Issue or Controversy</b>	14	29%
	<b>Specific Person or Group</b>	10	21%
	<b>General Message</b>	9	19%
	<b>Total</b>	48	100%

**Content Areas.** Seven main content areas were identified. For the purposes of this study, a 'content area' was defined as a social or professional practice domain or discipline. Across the 691 press releases, a variety of content areas were addressed, with many press releases devoted to more than one area (i.e., 951 subjects were addressed in 691 press releases). As shown in Table 7, these have been grouped into seven main categories: 1) 349 (37%) press releases concerned social change; 2) 204 (21%) concerned health or medicine; 3) 133 (14%) concerned education; 4) 92 (10%)

concerned peace, war or conflict; 5) 82 (9%) concerned research; 6) 51 (6%) concerned government or politics; and 7) 31 (3%) concerned commerce, economics or industry.

For the purposes of this study, ‘social change’ was related to instances where Maharishi’s knowledge and programs were directed to the salutary transformation of cultural and social institutions or practices, and where a profound impact on individuals, institutions, or society more generally, could be anticipated. Examples of social change as a content area, the largest category of all press release content, included: ‘King Carl Gustav of Sweden Receives Maharishi’ (PR67-75); ‘Invincibility to Every Nation: Maharishi’s New Programme Proclaimed by the World Government of the Age of Enlightenment’ (PR92-77); ‘The Global Maharishi Effect: The Rising Sunshine of the Age of Enlightenment—New Principles of Life Takeover to Bring Fulfilment Through the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi Programme’ (PR99-78); ‘An Interview with His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi: Maharishi Offers Fulfillment to the Disappointed World’ (PR436-85); and ‘Maharishi Calls Washington’s Criminal Atmosphere a Danger to the World: Urges Residents, Government Leaders to Move Out of City’ (PR690-91).

**Table 7:** Content areas identified in the press releases.

Content Area	Number	Percentage
<b>Social Change</b>	349	37%
<b>Health or Medicine</b>	204	21%
<b>Education</b>	133	14%
<b>Peace, War or Conflict</b>	92	10%
<b>Research</b>	82	9%
<b>Government or Politics</b>	51	6%
<b>Commerce, Economics or Industry</b>	31	3%
<b>Total</b>	951 <sup>†</sup>	100%

<sup>†</sup>Note, the messages of many press releases covered more than one topic, thus there were a total of 951 content areas covered by the 691 press releases.

Examples of ‘health or medicine’ content included: ‘U.S. Physician Predicts New Athletic Records due to Transcendental Meditation Technique’ (PR58-75); ‘Conference on Health at Maharishi College of Natural Law Presents the Formula for Perfect Health and Maximum Longevity Through Alliance with Natural Law’ (PR122-82); ‘Discovery of the Unified Field: Its Application to Create Perfect Health’ (PR173-84); ‘Ayurvedic Physicians Complete European Tour to Promote Maharishi’s World Plan for Perfect Health’ (PR441-86); and ‘New Medicine Introduced to Moscow: Health Officials Take Steps on Joint Venture with Maharishi Ayur-Ved Foundation of India to Open USSR Maharishi Ayur-Ved Institute With Intention to Teach Transcendental Meditation to Millions of Soviet citizens’ (PR595-89).

Examples of ‘education’ content included: ‘Maharishi Mahesh Yogi Addresses America’s National Conference on Higher Education’ (PR11-73); ‘His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi Offers a New Fulfilling Concept in Education’ (PR118-82); ‘Filipino Educators Announce Enlightenment Council at World Parliament Session’ (PR346-84); and ‘Maharishi International University and China’s Nanjing University Agree on Academic Exchange’ (PR372-85).

Examples of ‘peace, war or conflict’ content included: ‘Maharishi Ushers in World Peace Through Invincibility’ (PR97-78); ‘Maharishi Festival of Music for World Peace: First Step to Create Heaven on Earth’ (PR565-88); ‘Maharishi Mahesh Yogi Offers Solution to the Gulf Crisis: Interview with Maharishi Via International Conference Call’ (PR648-90); and ‘Maharishi’s Solution to Gulf Crisis Confirmed by World Events: Tensions Soften During One-week Assembly of Experts in Maharishi’s Vedic Science and Technology—Tensions Rise Again After Assembly Ends’ (PR655-90).

Examples of ‘research’ content included: ‘MERU: Research to Hasten the Dawn of the Age of Enlightenment’ (PR43-75); ‘Scientific Research on the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field’ (PR313-84); and ‘For Psychological Health New Comparative Studies Show that Transcendental Meditation Scores Highest: Latest Studies Show That Simulated Meditations Have Little Effect’ (PR674-91). Examples of ‘government or politics’ content included: ‘Maharishi Mahesh Yogi Meets with Governors of Iowa and Michigan and State Legislatures’ (PR14-73); ‘Maharishi Meets with Norwegian Prime Minister’ (PR22-73); ‘Conference of Maharishi College of Natural Law: Simple,

Problem-free Government Through Alliance with Natural Law’ (PR125-82); and ‘Maharishi Offers to All Governments the Constitution of Nature’s Government: To Gain the Ability to Satisfy Everyone, Create a Problem-free Society, and Thereby Justify Their Existence’ (PR688-91).

Examples of ‘commerce, economics or industry’ content included: ‘Conference on Industry: Developing Full Creativity Through the Knowledge, Experience, and Application of the Full Potential of Natural Law’ (PR121-82); ‘Ideal Economics: Maharishi Presents Knowledge and Technology to Achieve Nature’s Perfect Economy’ (PR400-85); and ‘Building Heaven on Earth: A Business Venture’ (PR561-88).

**Main Themes.** Eleven main themes were identified: 1) Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program; 2) World Plan; 3) Science of Creative Intelligence; 4) Maharishi Effect; 5) Age of Enlightenment; 6) World Peace Assemblies; 7) International Conferences of Science and Technology; 8) Maharishi Ayur-Veda; 9) Discovery of the Unified Field; 10) Unified Field Based Civilisation; and 11) Education for Enlightenment.

A total of 46 secondary themes were also identified, but these did not have the minimum 20 press releases assigned to them. Secondary themes included: Maharishi International University; Maharishi European Research University; Higher States of Consciousness; Neurophysiology of Enlightenment; Capitals of the Age of Enlightenment; World Government of the Age of Enlightenment; Global Television; New Principles of Life; Alliance with Natural Law; Maharishi University of Natural Law; Solution to Nuclear War; and Model of an Ideal Society.

Thus, in addition to coding the entity which issued the press release, date of issuance, country or region of origin, and source of quotations, all 691 press releases were analysed for type of media frame, focus of media frame, content area of the press release, and theme of press release. Such a structure can be seen in the examples provided in Tables 8a through 11b, with two Tables per media frame. These Tables are followed by brief descriptions and references to each of the 11 main themes.

**Theme 1: Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program.** One of the most common themes was related to practice of, instruction in, or research on Maharishi’s Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program, a topic which has been documented extensively in the published literature (Maharishi Foundation International, 2014). The research literature alone on this program is vast, consisting of more than 600 published studies (Dillbeck, 2011, 2013; Dillbeck et al., 2020; Chalmers et al., 1989a, 1989b, 1989c; Orme-Johnson & Farrow, 1997; Wallace et al., 1990). For example, in 1973 “Transcendental Meditation has resulted in ‘more relaxed, efficient and contented executives’, states the current edition of the *International Management Magazine*, a highly respected British-based international business journal... Dr David Orme-Johnson, a researcher and lecturer in experimental psychology at the United States branch of Maharishi International University located in Santa Barbara, California, believes that the awakened business interest in Transcendental Meditation is due to the fact that meditation effectively reduces stress and worry” (PR17-73).

Furthermore, in 1978 “through the Transcendental Meditation technique the individual gains experience of pure consciousness and through the TM-Sidhi programme he gains the ability to function from that state. The result is that the individual can fulfil every desire and materialise whatever he wants because pure consciousness is a field of all possibilities. At the same time, because pure consciousness is also the home of all the laws of nature, the individual’s desires are always life-supporting” (PR98-78). Other press releases which detailed ‘Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program’, also referred to in many press releases as the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field, included PR6-67, PR9-72, PR17-73, PR24-74, PR98-78, PR115-82, and PR202-84.

**Theme 2: World Plan.** In 1972, Maharishi launched his World Plan. This Plan was a more comprehensive account of Maharishi’s initiative to transform society laid out in earlier iterations, such as the ‘Three-Year Plan’ to eliminate suffering for all mankind launched in London on 30 December 1959 (PR2-59). Details of the World Plan were announced in PR10-72 and were subsequently published by Maharishi International University (1973). The seven objectives of the World Plan were: “1) to develop the full potential of the individual; 2) to improve governmental achievements; 3) to realise the highest ideal of education; 4) to eliminate the age-old problems of crime and all behaviour that brings unhappiness to the family of man; 5) to maximise the intelligent use of the environment; 6) to bring fulfilment to the economic aspirations of individuals and society; 7) to achieve the spiritual goals of mankind in this generation” (PR10-72).

In 1975, a ‘World Plan progress report: Scientific research on the Transcendental Meditation programme’ cited 62 studies from 16 countries on medicine and experimental physiology, 30 studies from ten countries on psychophysiology, 140 studies from 13 countries on psychology, 39 studies in seven countries on sociology (including rehabilitation—alcohol, drug and correctional), five studies in two countries on business and industry, and 45 studies in nine countries on education (PR38-75). Multiple press releases also documented ‘World Plan Weeks’, including in Denmark, Sweden, and London (e.g., PR9-72, PR18-73, PR19-73), during which activities will “focus public attention

upon a World Plan which was inaugurated in 1972 by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, to establish 3600 teaching centers of the Science of Creative Intelligence and Transcendental Meditation throughout the United States and the world” (PR9-72). Other press releases which detailed ‘World Plan’ included PR8-72, PR10-72, PR23-74, PR28-74, PR31-74, and PR32-74.

**Table 8a:** Main theme examples of information or update press releases.

Frame	Focus	Content Area	Theme	Excerpt
Information or Update	Event or Episode	Education	Science of Creative Intelligence	<b>Santa Barbara, California Approves SCI Course for High Schools:</b> According to H. D. Baylor, Principal of Dos Pueblos High School, “The Santa Barbara High School District has approved the Science of Creative Intelligence as a course title for an accredited course to be offered in the junior and senior high schools starting in September, 1973....The steps of adoption were approved by the curriculum council, approval by the seven secondary school principals, and approved by the Board of Education in January 1973.” (PR15-73)
		Social Change	International Conferences of Science and Technology	<b>Maharishi Presides Over International Science Conference:</b> “Maharishi presided over a two-part international science conference held from 16-19 December at MIU and 21-22 December at MERU. Among the speakers were: Dr George Sudarshan, Professor of Physics University of Texas at Austin; Nobel Laureate Dr Ilya Prigogine, Head of the Department of Chemistry at Universite Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium; Nobel Laureate Dr Brian Josephson, Professor of Physics at Cambridge University, and Dr John Lewis, Professor of Planetary Science and Chemistry at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.” (PR69-75)
		Research	World Peace Assemblies	<b>Thousands Meet at MIU to End the Tradition of War:</b> “It is well-established by 38 studies on the TM-Sidhi program that we have an effective means to establish world peace and end the tradition of war”, said Assembly organizer Mario Orsatti. “The research has been accepted and published by leading academic journals. Now it’s time to take action and create an irreversible state of world peace.” (PR687-91)
	General Message	Education; Government or Politics	World Plan	<b>Publishing Venture Speeds the World Plan:</b> “On March 6, Maharishi flew from the World Plan International Administrative Center, Switzerland, to give final instruction to teacher trainees in Belgium, having initiated the biggest phase of publishing in the movement’s history. Printing of MIU’s <i>Catalog</i> and a first run of 130,000 copies of <i>Alliance for Knowledge</i> is taking place in Stuttgart and at MIU’s European press at Heidelberg, Germany.” (PR25-74)
		Commerce, Economics or Industry	Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi Program	<b>Transcendental Meditation Reduces Health Care Use:</b> “A field study compared five years of medical insurance utilization statistics of approximately 2,000 regular practitioners of the Transcendental Meditation program, with a normative data base of approximately 600,000 members of the same insurance carrier. The benefits, deductible, co-insurance terms, and distribution by gender of the TM group were very similar to the norm, yet the TM group has lower medical utilization rates in all categories.” (PR573-87)

**Table 8b:** Main theme examples of information or update press releases.

Frame	Focus	Content Area	Theme	Excerpt
<b>Information or Update</b>	<b>Issue or Controversy</b>	Peace, War or Conflict	World Peace Assemblies	<b>6000 in Fairfield to Create a Taste of Utopia: A Response to the ABC's 'The Day After':</b> In response to the questions and anxieties caused by a recent nationwide television program by the ABC network on the effects of nuclear war, "the president and senior scientists of Maharishi International University will meet the press to announce a program to give an immediate taste of utopia to all mankind." (PR138-83)
		Health or Medicine	Maharishi Ayur-Veda	<b>Maharishi Ayurveda Medical Centre Opens in Washington, D.C.—Provides Advances in Prevention and Cure:</b> "Maharishi Ayurveda will be indispensable for the future of modern medicine because it has something that is indispensable at all times—a vision of wholeness. From western medicine we have a superior science; from Maharishi Ayurveda we have superior wisdom. When you put the two together you get something unique. For the first time, we will have complete medicine." (PR486-87)
		Research	Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi Program	<b>Flawed National Research Council Report Challenged:</b> "The [National Research Council] report deceives the American people" said Dr David Orme-Johnson. "It tells us that there is nothing individuals can do to reduce stress and anxiety and develop their vast, untapped potential. But all the scientific studies reached the opposite conclusion." (PR691-91)
	<b>Specific Person or Group</b>	Social Chance	Science of Creative Intelligence	<b>Maharishi Briefs Finnish Government's School Reform Chief on Science of Creative Intelligence:</b> "Mr Jaakko Itälä, chairman of the Finnish school reform committee, spent over an hour with Maharishi today as he told how the Science of Creative Intelligence can eliminate the problems of education. Mr Itälä visited Maharishi at his Helsinki hotel after having talks in his offices with four professors of Maharishi International University and Professor Matts Roos, professor of nuclear physics at Helsinki University and Finish chairman of SIMS, the Students' International Meditation Society." (PR68-75)
		Health or Medicine; Research	Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi Program	<b>TM Program: Widespread in U.S. Business, Enjoying Rapid Growth in Japan:</b> Ten years ago, American business first heard of Transcendental Meditation....Today doctors recommend it, corporate executives practice it, and companies offer TM programs to their employees to reduce stress, increase productivity, and cut health care costs. And now Japanese business professionals are following their American colleagues." (PR413-85)

**Theme 3: Science of Creative Intelligence.** For over 50 years, Maharishi's Science of Creative Intelligence (SCI) has been the subject of an extensive body of literature (e.g., MIU, 1971; Wells et al., 2021) and is a core component of the World Plan (see Theme 2). According to Maharishi, his Science of Creative Intelligence, by

opening one's awareness to the infinite, unbounded value of intelligence, broadens the awareness and makes it permanently unbounded so that no area of life remains foreign. This is the ground of all knowledge—complete knowledge—and therefore is the basis of complete fulfillment.... We will count ourselves successful only when the problems of today's world are substantially reduced and eventually eliminated, and the educational institutions of every country are capable of producing fully developed citizens (MIU, 1981, p. 5).

Maharishi went on to point out that his Science of Creative Intelligence

has its beginnings in the observation of the phenomenal world. An apple fell and Newton structured gravity. Closely examining a phenomenon reveals laws which are then found to have application and use in other fields according to their range of influence. Just like any other science, the Science of Creative Intelligence is advanced by close observation and study, and what it observes and studies is how one creates. Since the physical properties of phenomena differ, the study of the physical aspects of things alone can neither provide complete knowledge nor present a common basis for all branches of learning. A common basis can only be found in

something which is the same in all phenomena and every study. Order in nature and man's power of ordering is at the core of every physical existence and every human mind. The understanding of the nature of intelligence, therefore, can be the common ground of all knowledge. Thus, it is creative intelligence which is the dynamic of interdisciplinary study through which its goal can be achieved (MIU, 1971, p. 14).

**Table 9a:** Main theme examples of knowledge or inspiration press releases.

Frame	Focus	Content Area	Theme	Excerpt
Knowledge or Inspiration	Event or Episode	Education	Science of Creative Intelligence	<b>The Introduction of the Science of Creative Intelligence into Secondary School Curricula:</b> "SCI courses are now being taught for credit at over 40 American universities—and at 50 secondary schools in the United States, Canada, Sweden and Norway." (PR33-74)
		Peace, War or Conflict	World Peace Assemblies	<b>Maharishi's European Governor-General of the Age of Enlightenment Predicts Another 'Taste of Utopia' for the World:</b> "Between 21 December and 15 January thousands of experts in the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field from all parts of the Europe will assemble in Rome. Together they will practice this technology in a large group in order to neutralize negative trends and create an upsurge of positivity and coherence in the collective consciousness of Europe and the whole world." (PR422-85)
	General Message	Education	Age of Enlightenment	<b>Fulfillment of Desires on a Scientific Basis:</b> "Five hundred graduate students from over 15 countries are taking part in the first six-month Age of Enlightenment course now in progress at Maharishi European Research University in Switzerland....According to MERU's research team, the Age of Enlightenment courses represent a significant advance in the field of psychophysiology, and, more importantly, a milestone in the evolution of consciousness for the whole human race." (PR76-75)
		Social Change	Unified Field Based Civilisation	<b>The World Enjoys and Upsurge in Unity and Optimism: Maharishi's Programme to Promote and Stabilize Unified Field Based Civilization:</b> Maharishi said "With the effect produced by large assemblies such as this, every nation is going to rise to perfection", said His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi...while addressing the [World Peace] Assembly of over 6000 experts in the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field from 48 nations now in progress in the Hague, Holland." (PR354-85)

Thus, Maharishi's Science of Creative Intelligence arose from "the major discovery that there exists in every human being the constant source of intelligence, energy and happiness and that this source can be easily and systematically drawn upon by everyone for spontaneous use in everyday life through the practice known as Transcendental Meditation" (MIU, 1973, p. 4).

At an international conference called 'Science and Consciousness' held at UNESCO's headquarters in Paris, and in other forums in 1975, educators and researchers introduced Maharishi's Science of Creative Intelligence to representatives of UNESCO and the International Labor Organization, and to the U.S. Ambassador to India and the President of the Gandhi Peace Foundation (PR42-75, PR44-75). Indeed, the Science of Creative Intelligence represents the core component of the World Plan (PR32-74). Other press releases which detailed 'Science of Creative Intelligence' included PR15-73, PR30-74, PR33-74, PR36-75, PR-66-75, PR68-75, PR87-76, PR91-77, and PR129-82.

**Theme 4: Maharishi Effect.** Empirical research has demonstrated that individuals practicing the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program create coherence not only in their own brain, in the form of 'electroencephalic ordering' or brainwave synchrony and coherence, but in the wider society as well, in the form of harmony, order and peacefulness. When the number of those practicing the program reaches and crosses a particular threshold (i.e., 1% of a population in the case of those practicing Transcendental Meditation and  $\sqrt{1}$ % of a population practicing the Transcendental Meditation-Sidhi program in a group), research indicates that an influence of harmony, order and peace is generated in society.

One early example promoted in a press release before the phenomenon having been so named, was outlined in PR13-73 in which it was stated: “There is a 16.6% difference in the trend of crime rate in those cities having the 1% compared with those not yet at that ‘One in One Hundred’ level”.

Scientists named this phenomenon the *Maharishi Effect*, a term that first appeared in published literature in the mid-1970s (e.g., Borland & Landrith, 1977; World Government of the Age of Enlightenment, 1977). The mechanisms for this phenomenon are directly linked to the discovery of the unified field as explained by modern physics (see also Theme 9) and explained elsewhere in reference to the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program, including its group practice (e.g., Orme-Johnson & Fergusson, 2018).

**Table 9b:** Main theme examples of knowledge or inspiration press releases.

Frame	Focus	Content Area	Theme	Excerpt
Knowledge or Inspiration	Issue or Controversy	Research	Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi Program	<b>Scientists Verify ‘State of Least Excitation of Consciousness’:</b> “Scientists working at Maharishi European Research University (MERU) in Switzerland have reported dramatic changes in physiology and brain activity during the practice of the Transcendental Meditation technique.” (PR53-75)
		Health or Medicine	Maharishi Ayur-Veda	<b>Maharishi Inspires New Initiatives for Perfect Health of All Mankind through Propagation of Ayurveda:</b> “Through the inspiration of His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, many Ayurvedic scholars, including ourselves, have realized the importance of propagating Ayurveda throughout the world, not through discussion and research alone, but by giving perfect health in reality to every individual on this earth’, said Dr B.D. Triguna, President of the All-India Congress of Ayurvedic Physicians.” (PR403-85)
	Specific Person or Group	Government or Politics	Science of Creative Intelligence	<b>World Plan Week in Britain: Maharishi’s Appeal to Governments:</b> “Solve 80-90 percent of all problems within two years by training teachers of the Science of the Creative Intelligence in every part of the country’. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi returned to the World Plan Administrative Headquarters in Switzerland today after attending World Plan Week in Britain where he launched a global appeal to governments to solve the problems of mankind by enlivening the full potential of life through the Science of Creative Intelligence.” (PR32-74)
		Education; Social Change	Education for Enlightenment	<b>Catholic Leader Foresees New Era for Mankind through the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field:</b> “Through the introduction of the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field in education, the full creative potential of the student will be developed, and they will become ideal citizens acting perfectly in accordance with the will of God’, says Father Teofanes Augusto de Araujo Barros.” (PR180-84)
		Peace, War or Conflict	World Peace Assemblies	<b>Maharishi Credits Governors of the Age of Enlightenment with Preventing War:</b> “Speaking to the World Assembly on Vedic Science now convened in Washington, His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi said positivity is growing in the world as a result of groups like the Assembly practising the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field together.” (PR395-85)

Under the press release headline ‘A sign of the times?’, due to the Maharishi Effect, and “with the number of meditators well past the 1,100,00 mark, the sign of a better time for the whole world is beginning to become apparent. In the United States, where 30,000 people learn the TM technique every month, upward trends and the growth of a ‘new U.S. mood’ have already started to appear.... These are the first indications of the growing balance in nature that Maharishi has predicted will follow the rise of the number of meditators to a significant level in the community” (PR64-75). According to this press release, “recent studies indicate that only one percent of a community practicing the TM technique can exert a harmonizing influence on the entire environment (a phenomenon now dubbed ‘the Maharishi Effect’). As in the case of Glossop [in the UK], Maharishi predicts that a total of five percent would magnify the effect dramatically, ‘even to the extent of creating the ideal society, free from sickness, crime, violence, absenteeism and industrial problems”.

Under the press release headline ‘The fulfillment of Silver Jubilee celebrations’, the direct chronological and theoretical connections between Transcendental Meditation (Theme 1), the World Plan (Theme 2), the Science of Creative Intelligence (Theme 3), and the Maharishi Effect (Theme 4) were made (e.g., PR142-84). Other press releases which detailed ‘Maharishi Effect’ included PR13-73, PR67-75, PR81-76, PR88-76, PR98-78, PR99-78, and PR103-78.

**Theme 5: Age of Enlightenment.** On the basis of the Maharishi Effect, where researchers were able to empirically measure the effect on crime rate of 1% of ten city populations practicing Transcendental Meditation in 1974, Maharishi declared the Dawn of the Age of Enlightenment on 12 January 1975 (Maharishi, 1977; MIU, 1975). Under the headline ‘Inauguration of the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment’, it was explained that “During the course of the one-month inaugural tour, Maharishi spoke in twelve countries. He met with heads of state, presidents, prime ministers, members of parliament, and senators. He presided over conferences and symposiums attended by educators, business men, and other leaders of society.

“Maharishi’s message in the tour was that an ideal society of orderliness, progress, and peace can be created when only a small percentage of the world’s practicing the Transcendental Meditation technique. He credited science for bringing about this world-wide inauguration: ‘Through the window of science we see the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment’” (PR50-75).

**Table 10a:** Main theme examples of offer, invitation or inauguration press releases.

Frame	Focus	Content Area	Theme	Excerpt
Offer, Invitation or Inauguration	Event or Episode	Peace, War or Conflict; Social Change	World Peace Assemblies	<b>Invitation: Press Conference—World Peace Assembly:</b> “Under the guidance of His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi to be held in England for six weeks from 24 <sup>th</sup> July to 4 <sup>th</sup> September, 1982 for 800 people to practise Maharishi technology of consciousness in a group.” (PR112-82)
		Research; Social Change	Discovery of the Unified Field	<b>Special Courses on the Discovery of the Unified Field:</b> “Two of the world’s foremost experts in this field are offering courses in Metro Manila this week on the recent discovery by modern physics of the unified field, which lies at the basis of the infinite diversity of creation.” (PR172-84)
		Social Change	Age of Enlightenment	<b>News Conference at Hotel Mirador:</b> “All members of the press, television, and radio are cordially invited to attend a press conference at Hotel Mirador, 1000 San Marcelino, Manila on Monday October 22, at 2.00pm...details of the forthcoming Autumn Session of the World Parliament of the Age of Enlightenment to be held in Manila will be announced by representatives of the World Government of the Age of Enlightenment.” (PR316-84)
	General Message	Government or Politics	Unified Field Based Civilisation	<b>Maharishi Offers Support of Nature to Raise All Governments to Perfection:</b> “Whatever the system of government existing today in any part of the world, that system can now be raised to an ideal state through the Technology of the Unified Field. Each system of administration of society will find its fulfilment in becoming unified field based and gaining the ability to bring satisfaction to all people in the nation.” (PR381-85)
		Government or Politics	Age of Enlightenment	<b>New Conference Invitation: His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi’s New Year’s Message to Heads of State:</b> “Bring you government into alliance with nature’s government and you will create heaven on earth for the whole world family”, said Maharishi. “World leaders urged to establish groups of 10,000 experts in Maharishi’s Vedic Science and Technology to create coherence in world consciousness.” (PR653-89)

The connection between Transcendental Meditation (Theme 1), Science of Creative Intelligence (Theme 3), the Maharishi Effect (Theme 4), and the Age of Enlightenment, with examples from Asia, Europe, North America, South America, and Africa, was outlined in PR50-75. For example, in New Delhi at the time Maharishi said: “As we inaugurate the dawn of the Age of Enlightenment, we realize that the world is sunk in the darkness of ignorance. But we don’t mind if the whole field is full of darkness; what we see is the coming of the dawn”; in London he said “it is in the hands of a few individuals in every country today to change the direction of time and guide the destiny of their nation to all harmony, happiness, and progress”; and in Buenos Aires he said “‘Age of Enlightenment’ means age of wholeness of life. The word wholeness is so sweet to us today, because we see the wholeness of life now for the whole world of mankind. Every man in South America and around the world will be enjoying his full potential, the wholeness of life” (PR50-75). Other press releases which detailed ‘Age of Enlightenment’ included PR35-75, PR40-75, PR42-75, PR49-75, PR136-83, PR137-83, and PR142-84.



**Theme 6: World Peace Assemblies.** A number of World Peace Assemblies (WPA), where experts in the practice of the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program gathered for knowledge and experience of higher states of consciousness and to create an influence of peace and harmony in society, were presented in the press releases. These included WPAs in Owen’s Park, Manchester in 1982 (PR111-82), Skelmersdale, Lancashire in 1983 (PR134-83), the ‘Taste of Utopia’ assembly held in 1983-1984 at MIU in Fairfield, Iowa (PR138-83, PR139-83, PR140-83, PR141-83; PR142-84), the Second World Assembly at MIU in 1984 (PR170-84; PR171-84), World Assembly on Vedic Science in Washington, D.C. in 1985 (PR404-85, PR405-85), and the World Assembly on Perfect Health in Washington, D.C. in 1986 (PR460-86). The Taste of Utopia assembly dominated 1984, with more than 40 (6%) press releases dedicated to this Assembly, and was the subject of other publications in that year (e.g., MIU, 1984a).

Hypotheses and predictions of research outcomes from the Taste of Utopia assembly were lodged with the public through a press release prior to the assembly in early December 1983 (PR140-83). In it, researchers predicted “Improved relations between nations, greater cooperation between political parties, greater tolerance among religious groups, increased social harmony, and other such indications of rising coherence in world consciousness will characterize the taste of utopia and will be confirmed by the world press. The taste of utopia will also be verified by scientific research documenting change in quality-of-life parameters measured at the beginning, during, and at the end of the assembly”.

**Table 10b:** Main theme examples of offer, invitation or inauguration press releases.

Frame	Focus	Content Area	Theme	Excerpt
<b>Knowledge or Inspiration</b>	<b>Issue or Controversy</b>	Education; Social Change	Unified Field Based Civilisation	<b>Offering Assistance to Universities, Colleges, and Schools:</b> “At the core of the problem-solving strategy developed by Maharishi Education Foundation is the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field, through which the infinite organising power of nature could be harnessed for the benefit of individual life and society to accomplish any goal.” (PR270-84)
		Government or Politics	World Peace Assemblies	<b>All Government Invited to Observe the Rise of the Global Maharishi Effect:</b> “World-wide upsurge in positivity and progress predicted for 8-15 April created by simultaneous Assemblies of experts in the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field in India, Yugoslavia, the USA, and other nations.” (PR635-90)
		Government or Politics; Social Change	Maharishi Effect	<b>Maharishi Offers Solution to Violent Crime in Washington:</b> “The world’s most important decisions are being made in one of the most violent cities. Washington DC’s murder rate is the highest in America and it getting worse...It’s in this violent atmosphere that America’s leaders must make decisions critically affecting the lives of all the world’s 5 billion people.” (PR669-91)
	<b>Specific Person or Group</b>	Research; Social Change	Discovery of the Unified Field	<b>Eminent Professors from Europe Visit Manila to Give Courses on the Discovery of the Unified Field:</b> “These courses will present a substantial amount of understanding regarding the discovery of the unified field and the practical application of this discovery”, said Dr Geoffrey Clements, a physicist who has studies and researched this subject extensively.” (PR174-84)
		Social Change	Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi Program	<b>New Year’s Interview with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi:</b> “Since Maharishi first introduced Transcendental Meditation to the world in 1957, he has been a figure of world renown. About four million people of all cultures and walks of life have learned the technique and scientists have extensively verified the benefits for mind- body, and society. The impact of his movement in Britain and elsewhere has been instrumental in transforming the values of life.” (PR686-91)

The parameters included: physiological measures, such as improved physical health trends and reduced motor vehicle accidents; psychological measures, such as improved mental health as measured by reduced mental health related hospital admissions; sociological measures, such as reduced crime, improved social cohesion, and greater economic strength; and ecological measures, such as reduced environmental pollution, and reduced international hostilities (PR140-83). Asked about the anticipated results of the assembly, Maharishi said “Anything that is good will grow. Anything that is not good will vanish, as darkness disappears with the first rays of light” (PR160-83).

A significant number of subsequent press releases covered the empirical and non-empirical research findings of the Taste of Utopia assembly, including PR143-83, PR144-83, PR145-83, PR146-83, PR147-83, PR148-83, and PR149-83. Other press releases which detailed ‘World Peace Assemblies’ included PR111-83, PR112-82, PR113-82, PR114-82, PR134-83, PR663-90, and PR687-90.

**Theme 7: International Conferences of Science and Technology.** In the 1970s and 1980s, a multitude of different types of international conference were documented, both in terms of invitations to the press and general public, and in reporting conference outcomes, beginning with ‘Maharishi Mahesh Yogi addresses America’s national conference on higher education’ (PR11-73) through ‘Maharishi presides over international science conference’ (PR69-75), which included contributions by Nobel Laureates, to ‘Maharishi College of Natural Law announces a special series of conferences and courses for all areas of society’ (PR107-82) at which presentations were made by physicists, mathematicians, physiologists, biochemists, and, for the first time, Vedic psychologists. Such conferences were a feature of Maharishi’s activities in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g., MERU, 1975, 1977c; MIU, 1977).

The ‘First conference of Maharishi College of Natural Law’ (PR117-82) is representative. In this conference, “all fields of modern science join Maharishi’s Vedic Science in offering a vision and practical formula for life in perfect alliance with natural law”. In addition to joining “distinguished faculty” from MIU, MUNL and MERU, Maharishi opened the conference by saying: “Vedic Science, the ancient science of natural law has adopted the predominantly subjective approach of gaining knowledge of natural law, while modern science has focused on the objective approach to gaining knowledge to discover the ultimate reality of life. Modern science has now discovered the total potential of natural law in the unified field of nature—the home of all the laws of nature—and Vedic Science has given us the key to it in the experience of the simplest state of human awareness through the technology of consciousness—the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi programme”. Maharishi went on to explain that “all problems in the world arise from violations of the laws of nature. Everywhere in the world today there is a lack of happiness, harmony, and real freedom. This shows that life on earth is not lived in perfect accord with natural law. This is due to lack of knowledge of the full potential of natural law in the field of education”. Other press releases which detailed ‘International Conferences of Science and Technology’ included PR11-73, PR23-74, PR69-75, PR70-75, PR102-78, PR107-82, PR117-82, PR127-82, and PR233-84.

**Theme 8: Maharishi Ayur-Veda.** One of the best represented themes was Maharishi Ayur-Veda, the ancient science of ‘perfect health and prevention’ (American Association of Ayurvedic Medicine, 1990a, 1990b, 1991). At least 130 (19%) press releases either focused solely on, or highlighted and referenced, the theme of Maharishi Ayur-Veda. Dr T. M. Gogte, an “eminent Ayurvedic physician” from Maharashtra in India, said “Ayurveda, the ‘science of life’, is the most ancient and complete system of health in the world...Ayurveda maintains life in such perfect balance that the body expresses health and vitality and the mind enjoys a natural state of evenness capable of reflecting the full value of enlightenment” (PR370-85). Maharishi Ayur-Veda achieves this effect through comprehensive measures on all levels of consciousness, physiology, psychology and behaviour. It prevents and cures disease by restoring balance in the functioning of the mind and body, as reflected in the balance of the three doshas—Vāta, Pitta, and Kapha. According to MVU, “Maharishi says that the Transcendental Meditation and the TM-Sidhi programme is essentially an aspect of Ayurveda that naturally quiets down mental activity and relieves stress, thereby restoring balance in the relationship of mind and body” (PR370-85).

Of particular interest was the work Maharishi did with Raj Vaidya Brihaspati Dev Triguna in the 1980s and beyond. Dr Triguna was President of the All-India Ayurvedic Congress and “the world’s foremost Ayurvedic physician” (PR410-85). His unique ability, developed over 40-years of clinical experience, was to precisely diagnose any disease in the body within one or two minutes of a consultation. This he did “through the ancient Ayurvedic method of pulse diagnosis”. Upon diagnosis, Dr Triguna then prescribed traditional Ayurvedic procedures whose “effectiveness has been scientifically validated” (PR410-85). According to Dr Triguna, Maharishi Ayurveda eliminates “the three weaknesses of modern medicine: its high cost; its negative side-effects; and its fragmented approach which focuses primarily on disease” (PR414-85). On behalf of Maharishi, during the late 1980s Dr Triguna visited many countries promoting Maharishi Ayur-Veda, the completely revised system of perfect health, including Brazil (PR461-86), United Kingdom (PR-479-86), Netherlands (PR481-87), and Switzerland (PR505-87). Other press releases which detailed ‘Maharishi Ayur-Veda’ included PR328-84, PR338-84, PR355-85, PR370-85, PR622-89, PR374-85, and PR381-85.

**Theme 9: Discovery of the Unified Field.** Another significant theme which emerged in the 1980s was the discovery of the unified field. Indeed, at least 150 (22%) press releases were devoted to this theme and/or to the technologies associated with enlivening its potential.

The first press release, under the headline ‘The discovery of the unified field by modern science’, to speak of this theme was issued in 1983: “The unified field is described as fundamentally a self-sufficient, infinitely self-referral field of pure intelligence which unifies at their source all the forces and particles in the universe. Since only consciousness can be fully self-referral, knowing itself in a completely self-sufficient manner, leading physicists see the unified field as a field of consciousness. This equivalence of the unified field and consciousness is verified experientially by the practice of the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field. This simple technology opens individual awareness to the self-referral state of pure consciousness. In this state, consciousness is wide awake within itself, completely identified with the unified field of all the laws of nature” (PR159-83). The identification of the unified field of modern physics and the field of pure consciousness described in the ancient Vedic tradition was subsequently outlined by Hagelin (1987).

In the context of a series of lectures, seminars, and courses on the discovery of the unified field offered in the Philippines (World Government of the Age of Enlightenment, 1984), Dr Geoffrey Clements said: “This discovery [of the unified field] in super gravity theory of quantum physics is the most advanced development in physics and represents a profound breakthrough in our understanding of the universe and its origins. Super gravity theory provides a complete description of the fundamental unified field of natural law from which emerge all the forces and particles that structure all of creation. It presents the holistic and complete understanding of natural law for which Einstein and other great physicists have striven for many decades” (PRR174-84). Other press releases which detailed ‘Discovery of the Unified Field’ included PR172-84, R173-84, R175-84, PR177-84, PR184-84, PR190-84, PR191-84, and PR192-84.

**Table 11a:** Main theme examples of warning or solution press releases.

Frame	Focus	Content Area	Theme	Excerpt
<b>Warning or Solution</b>	<b>Event or Episode</b>	Peace, War or Conflict	Age of Enlightenment	<b>World Government Accepts Challenge Created by Failure of U.N. Disarmament Conference:</b> “The World Government of the Age of Enlightenment accepts the challenge thrown to the human intelligence of this generation by the reported failure of the New York Disarmament Conference. The family of nations does not have to continue to feel depressed and helpless. The World Government of the Age of Enlightenment has evolved a simple, practical, and scientifically validated formula to develop cultural integrity, self-sufficiency, and invincibility in every nation.” (PR102-78)
		Peace, War and Conflict; Social Change	Maharishi Effect	<b>World Assembly on Vedic Science to Create the Maharishi Effect: A Proven Formula for World Peace and Holistic National Development:</b> “The principal goal of the World Assembly on Vedic Science, now convened in Washington, D.C., is to inspire the establishment of at least one permanent group of 7000 experts in the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field.” (PR393-85)
	<b>General Message</b>	Social Change	World Plan	<b>The World Plan:</b> According to Maharishi, “Implementation of the World Plan is an historic phenomenon that promises a fresh wave of fulfilment for the whole human race.” (PR10-72)
		Social Change	Unified Field Based Civilisation	<b>Knowledge and Technology of the Unified Field Recommended to Resolve Problems and Create an Ideal Civilization:</b> “...Professor Hou Can, the eminent pathophysiologicalist from the People’s Republic of China...gave a brilliant presentation on the development of the full potential of brain physiology through the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field. He explained how this leads to perfect health by eliminating stress, strengthening the immune system, and improving the overall physiological functioning of the body.” (PR196-84)

**Theme 10: Unified Field Based Civilisation.** On the basis of the discovery of the unified field, Maharishi posited the idea of possibly creating a Unified Field Based Civilisation (e.g., Maharishi, 1984; MIU, 1984b), an idea first proposed in his conception of the Age of Enlightenment and later expanded to include his plans, programs and courses associated with the creation of heaven on earth as formulated in his Master Plan to Create Heaven on Earth (e.g., PR402-85, PR465-88).

Maharishi's vision for the future of civilisation was explained by Father Teofanes Augusto de Araujo Barros, then Rector of the Catholic University of Maccioand representative of the Brazilian Federal Council of Education. Father Barros said "the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field promises a new era for mankind. I personally came into contact with this technology about three years ago. I studied it and found it to be remarkable, something one cannot afford to ignore—it is a marvellous technology" (PR181-84).

The new era for mankind of which he spoke means that with the application of this technology of consciousness "negativity, problems, and suffering will no longer arise when the people no longer violate the laws of nature. Through alliance with natural law, every economic system, every political system, every system of education, and every culture and religion will rise to fulfilment. As the unified field and its beautiful evolutionary qualities are enlivened, the root of the tree of life will be nourished, bringing nourishment to all aspects of the tree. Society will be characterized by harmony and happiness. Health will be perfect. Seasons will come on time, crops will be abundant, creativity will blossom, productivity will increase, cultural integrity will be strengthened, and every nation will rise to enjoy self-sufficiency and invincibility. The Philippines will be a lighthouse for the entire family of nations, establishing the foundation for unified field based civilization for all generations to come" (PR216-84). Other press releases which detailed 'Unified Field Based Civilisation' included PR168-84, PR201-84, PR204-84, PR205-84, PR217-84, PR219-84, and PR220-84.

**Table 11b:** Main theme examples of warning or solution press releases.

Frame	Focus	Content Area	Theme	Excerpt
Warning or Solution	Issue or Controversy	Education	Education for Enlightenment	<b>University of the East Should Continue:</b> "Dr Bevan Morris, President of Maharishi International University...has offered a solution to the present difficulties of the University of the East." (PR244-84)
		Peace, War or Conflict; Social Change	Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi Program	<b>His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi Offers Solution to Problems of Civil Disorder and Conflict:</b> "The efficacy of the Maharishi Technology of the Unified Field in creating coherence in national consciousness has again been demonstrated in Britain in the last few days. Over the past weekend more than 400 experts...assembled in Skelmersdale, Lancashire, to practise this technology together." (PR365-85)
		Peace, War or Conflict; Social Change	Maharishi Effect	<b>The Maharishi Effect: Formula to Save the World:</b> "Special presentation by British teachers of Transcendental Meditation just returned from the Soviet Union....During 1990, over 100,000 Soviet citizens in six republics learned the Transcendental Meditation™ technique founded by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. At the press conference, representatives of the 30 British TM teachers who participated in this project will describe the enthusiastic response from scientists, doctors, educators, professionals, and the general public to Maharishi's scientifically validated programmes." (PR668-91)
	Specific Person or Group	Peace, War or Conflict	Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi Program	<b>Christchurch Doctors Endorse Peace Proposal: Solution to Nuclear War:</b> "A Group of New Zealand doctors who practice and recommend the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi programme... present compelling evidence for a practical and inexpensive solution to the threat of nuclear war." (PR136-83)
		Health or Medicine	Maharishi Ayur-Veda	<b>World Authority to Speak at U.S. National Institutes of Health to Offer Solutions to Critical Problems of Modern Medicine:</b> "In one or two minutes of private consultation, Dr Triguna is able to precisely diagnose any disease anywhere in the body. Normally such a diagnosis would take us several hours of testing using our most sophisticated, and costly, medical technology." (PR410-85)

**Theme 11: Education for Enlightenment.** The principle of 'education for enlightenment' was embodied in a number of press releases related to the curriculum of Maharishi International University and what later came to be known as Consciousness-Based Education (CBE) or education for higher consciousness (for example, see Fergusson & Bonshek, 2017; Fergusson, Bonshek, & Sutrisna, 2021; Grant, 1998; Heaton & Heaton, 2018).

The principle, as explained by one educator, was summarized in six points of Maharishi's Philosophy of Education: 1) "higher education is for higher consciousness", which is accomplished by practice of the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program; 2) "the human brain is that cosmic computer which can deliver anything through proper

programming”; 3) “all possibilities are latent in the human mind. Through proper education the individual can be trained to accomplish anything”; 4) “Maharishi’s concept of a university is to enliven all knowledge in one human brain, instead of merely providing it in one campus”; 5) “student life is a tender aspect of society. It must be protected from hardships of struggle and strife, controversies, and discordant tendencies in society. For this, it is necessary to make the process of gaining knowledge as interesting as possible and as simple as possible”; and 6) “It is true that no one can learn all disciplines. Therefore, education should be such that it delivers the fruit of all knowledge. The fruit of all knowledge can be described as the ability to be spontaneously friendly with everyone and everything and able to fulfill one’s desires without jeopardizing the desires of others” (PR311-84).

The earliest record in the press releases of the term ‘education for enlightenment’ dated to 1975, linking it directly to the Science of Creative Intelligence and Transcendental Meditation. For example, under the headline ‘Indian universities offer education for enlightenment’, Maharishi stated: “The ideal of every system of education is to produce fully developed—enlightened—citizens. Through the Science of Creative Intelligence all systems of education can now rapidly make this ideal a living reality. The Science of Creative Intelligence brings enlightenment to education by providing the student with the understanding and experience of the state of least excitation of consciousness—the field of all possibilities and the home of all knowledge—and by developing his full potential for knowledge. Here is an automatic procedure for developing a state of perfect order in thought, emotion, action, and behaviour that will produce life spontaneously in accord with all the laws of nature, perfectly evolutionary, free from suffering, ever progressive, and completely fulfilling” (PR75-75).

Maharishi also related the principle of education for enlightenment to ‘new principles of the Age of Enlightenment’, for example when he said: “In the Age of Enlightenment the focus of education is on the knower instead of on knowledge alone. The emphasis will be on expanding the individual’s capacity to acquire knowledge until it is infinite, by using the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi programme. This will fulfil the purpose of education which is to bring enlightenment to the individual and invincibility to the nation” (PR99-78). Thus, the Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program (Theme 1), the Science of Creative Intelligence (Theme 3), the Age of Enlightenment (Theme 5), and this Theme 11 are all directly related in Maharishi’s approach to education. Other press releases which detailed ‘Education for Enlightenment’ included PR27-74, PR28-74, PR73-75, PR120-82, PR290-84, PR292-84, PR294-84, and PR371-85.

**Inter-Coder Reliability.** Analysis of inter-coder reliability for the four types of media frame yielded the following results: 1) information or update = 87% agreement between coders ( $k = 0.70$ ); 2) knowledge or inspiration = 94% agreement ( $k = 0.58$ ); 3) offer, invitation or inauguration = 90% agreement ( $k = 0.79$ ); and 4) warning or solution = 95% agreement ( $k = 0.81$ ). Average inter-coder agreement for types of media frames was 91.5%.

**Table 12:** Inter-coder reliability data of types and foci of media frames.

	Agreement Between Coders A and B		Disagreement Between Coders A and B	
	Both coders agreed	Both coders disagreed	Coder A agreed but coder B did not	Coder B agreed but coder A did not
<b>Type of Media Frame</b>				
Information or update	36	85	13	5
Knowledge or inspiration	7	123	0	9
Offer, invitation or inauguration	50	77	7	5
Warning or solution	22	109	5	3
<b>Focus of Media Frame</b>				
Episode or event	67	61	6	5
Issue or controversy	27	102	2	8
Specific person or group	21	115	2	1
General message	7	124	7	1

Analysis of the four foci of media frames yielded the following reliability results: 1) event or episode = 93% agreement ( $k = 0.84$ ); 2) issue or controversy = 93% agreement ( $k = 0.80$ ); 3) specific person or group = 98% agreement ( $k = 0.92$ ), and 4) general message = 94% agreement ( $k = 0.61$ ). Average inter-coder agreement for focus of media frames was 94.5%. The data upon which these results were determined are shown in Table 12.

### ***Discussion and Conclusions***

The research questions posited for this study have been answered. For RQ1, the majority of press releases identified in the Archive of MIU were issued by nine main news services between 1959 and 1991; 97% were issued from nine countries or regions. For RQ2, the 691 press releases contained four main media frames (i.e., messages related to information or update, knowledge or inspiration, an offer, invitation or inauguration, or a warning or solution) with four main foci (i.e., messages were focused on either an event or episode, an issue or controversy, a specific person or group, or a general message). For RQ3, seven main content areas and 13 themes were identified and enunciated, and where relevant connected to the broader corpus of published literature on Maharishi, thereby revealing the content and context of press releases.

Thus, the study has met its research objectives by identifying a representative source of press releases, by coding and describing the press releases, by providing a coherent organisational structure to press release content, by systematically analysing the press releases, and by articulating and exemplifying the main themes of the press releases. The study has thereby presented, for the first time, the specific details and content of Maharishi's press release communications over a 32-year period.

Approximately 5% of press releases were half- to one-page in length and of mostly an informative nature. For example, PR127-82 headlined 'Announcement of Conference on the Knowledge of Natural Law', was a straightforward half-page announcement of an upcoming conference at MUNL, and the one-page PR487-87 headlined '1000 Universities Invited to First Student World Peace Conference', announced a three-day MIU conference on the 'Technology of World Peace'. However, the vast majority were two to six pages in length and contained an abundance of knowledge related to Maharishi's thoughts and teaching. For example, PR391-82 was four pages long and covered topics such as 'Neutralizing the harmful effects of unemployment', 'Life in accord with natural law', 'Improved quality of life in society', 'The nationwide campaign', and 'An appeal to the government'. In this sense, most press releases were not only informative but also instructive, and expository. Of note also was the consistency of language with which press releases were written. This was true for press releases issued by multiple news services in different countries and regions of the world but spread over long periods of time. Such a feature did not appear to be driven either by ideology or an attempt to energise participants and create a sense of hopeful community, but reflected a unifying, coherent and integrated body of knowledge which was internally consistent and communicated using open, straightforward language. Such a conclusion is reinforced by the presence throughout the press releases of two combined linguistic features: 1) use of everyday language; and 2) use of technical language embedded in the modern sciences and other academic disciplines. This approach to language should not be confused with the so-called 'pure potentiality' of language and its application in neoliberal theory (particularly in the use of English) and its relation to achieving communication goals (Park, 2016).

A second notable feature related to themes. By definition, a 'theme' recurs, and thus in thematic analysis a topic which reappears and persists automatically becomes a 'theme'. However, it was the consistency with which topics were repeated across many decades, often using the same language structures and terminology, which was most noteworthy in Maharishi's press releases.

Furthermore, these topics also appeared to be elaborated and developed over time, not simply reinforced. For example, in the Philippines, Maharishi introduced courses on the discovery of the unified field in July 1984 (PR172-84), then explained his Technology of the Unified Field (PR184-84), then presented its place in higher education as a "way to realize the highest ideals of education" (PR314-84), and by November 1984 was planning for it to fulfil the goals of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (PR352-84). This logical and sequential theoretical progression occurred over many months of communication.

Moreover, as shown above for the inter-relationship of themes where the connection between Transcendental Meditation (Theme 1), Science of Creative Intelligence (Theme 3), the Maharishi Effect (Theme 4), and the Age of Enlightenment (Theme 5) was made in PR50-75, many press releases incorporated a wide range of topics but also showed their interconnectedness and relevance to one another and to the events of their times. This, too, was an unexpected feature of the press releases. Finally, the connection between context and situatedness was a particularly strong feature of the majority of press releases.

Such an observation was reinforced by the fact that the majority of press releases related to either an event, episode, issue, controversy, or specific person, group, or organisation, but only 103 (15%) communicated a ‘general message’, such as a neutral ‘invitation’, without special or specific context.

This content analysis provides an important insight into the thoughts, teaching and approach to communication of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi over a three-decade period. It has illuminated his response to world events and crises, including troubles such as the problem of mental health (PR57-75) and the “growing dissatisfaction with the current health care system” (PR473-86), and the Persian Gulf War of 1990-1991 (PR644-90). Content analysis has also documented Maharishi’s warning of future crises and his diverse approaches to addressing them. The press releases indicate a pragmatic, down-to-earth individual with a direct approach to problem solving. These are coupled with, and supported by, a well-argued body of knowledge which is embedded in the ancient Vedic tradition of knowledge while at the same time communicated in a common parlance appropriate to the times.

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