

**A STUDY OF PASTORAL CARE TO THE TERMINALLY ILL IN A
MULTI-CULTURAL CONTEXT WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO INDIA**

by

S. S. JOHN RAJAKUMAR

Thesis Presented for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the
DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES
of the
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
August 1997

The University of Cape Town
the right to reproduce this thesis in whole
or in part. Copyright is held by the author.

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

ABSTRACT

In the circumstances prevailing in contemporary India, and certainly since AIDS, it is hardly possible for Christian Pastors to limit their hospital ministry, especially their ministry to the terminally ill, to members of their own denomination or religion. India is notoriously rich in its variety of religious traditions and, as we will see, there is an universal Indianness which seems to stamp itself upon even the representatives of the Abrahamic faiths present on that Continent. It is therefore vital that the Pastor should be able to enter gently and swiftly into a patient's religious world-view.

To do this we need to see if the teeming chaos cannot be reduced to some conceptual categories and ways found to describe those categories and locate individuals within them.

For this purpose we employed Cumpsty's General Theory of Religion.

The theory establishes three coherent ideal types and sub-types of religious tradition in relation to which all actual traditions can be located. Central to the distinctions between them is that immediate experience can be real and ultimate, not real, or real but not ultimate, that is, reality can be monistic (in corporate or individual style) or dualistic. There are consequences of these, for example, the powers-that-be can be essentially personal or neither clearly personal nor impersonal; time is conceived as circular, rhythmical or linear. Sometimes life events are partially predictable and/or partially controllable or they are not. It is the mixing and matching of these, and similar, possibilities together with the affirmation that

experience is chaos (the only overtly non-religious position) which provides a number of theoretical but recognizable *profiles* within the Indian situation.

The crucial stage of the project was that in which these theoretical possibilities had to be operationalized in a set of questions meaningful within the context being investigated. The questionnaire which resulted was used to structure interviews in a pilot study in the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities of Tamilnadu State, in response to which the questionnaire was accepted, but slightly extended for use in the main survey.

The data obtained from both surveys allowed a number of actually existing profiles of different kinds to be identified and described, and also identified those questions which were the most discriminating in the location of respondents within these profiles.

The instrument was then used in interviews with a, necessarily smaller, sample of terminally ill patients.

The data from this study showed that in general the terminally ill fitted into the profiles identified for the "healthy". It also provided interesting information on the similarities and differences between the "healthy" sample and the terminally ill and (unexpected in its level of distinctiveness) differences between AIDS and cancer patients. The data also enabled the questions to be prioritized for use with terminally ill patients who had been located in a particular profile.

Finally, a suggestion for an approach to pastoral care in each profile, based on an understanding of the "logic of belonging" operative in that profile, is offered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to give glory and thanksgiving to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for sustaining me till the completion of this work.

Many have contributed to this project.

I am deeply indebted to Professor John Cumpsty, my supervisor, who provided me a fine balance of intellectual guidance and freedom to think during the writing of this dissertation. He not only provided me the inspiration for this study, but also taught me a new way to think about religion. He also helped me in my personal growth. I shall remain grateful to him for all that he has done for me long after the end of my work on this dissertation.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr.K.Rajarathnam, the Director of Gurukul Lutheran Theological College for enabling me to pursue my doctoral studies in South Africa and relieving me from teaching responsibilities for the period of these studies; and to Rev.Dr.Prasanna Kumari, the Executive Secretary, the United Evangelical Lutheran Churches of India, for her continual support.

Needless to say, nothing would have been possible without the generous support of the Lutheran World Federation, who funded my research but who must not be held responsible for the contents of the thesis.

I also would like to thank Dr.Pulimood, the Director of Christian Medical College and Hospital, Vellore, for allowing me to interview their patients, Rev.Dr.George Isaac, the Chief Chaplain of the Hospital, for his guidance, and Chaplain Immanuel who introduced me to the hospital.

I would like to thank Professor Daniel Low of the University of Stellenbosch, for his valuable suggestions and also the Librarians of that University who were most helpful to one who was not their own.

My thanks are also due to Ms Asia Brey of the Department of Religious Studies, Mrs Libbi Downes of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, and Ms Isobella Scholtz of the Public Affairs Office, all of the University of Cape Town, whose sensitivity and flair for organization made my comings and goings and time in South Africa much more pleasant than it would have been without their help. Another at the University of Cape Town, whom I would like to thank is Mrs Zubaida Hattas who worked miracles typing a number of illegible chapters.

My special thanks are extended to all those who generously participated in the various stages of the study, particularly, of course, those terminally ill patients who gave of their very limited time and energies because, I believe, they felt that it was a worth while effort for those who would come after them. I hope that I will not let down their trust in me.

I owe deepest gratitude to my parents, Mrs. Sampooranam and the late Mr S S Selvaraj, who dedicated me for the Lord's ministry, and encouraged me to move forward in that ministry.

My most intimate debts are to my wife Beulah and my son Joshua for the sacrifice that they have made in allowing me to be away from them for the sake of this research.

INDEX

	Page
Chapter 1 Background	1
Chapter 2 Problematization: The Choice and Description of the Theoretical Base in Terms of which the Problem Area will be Analysed and Investigated	22
Chapter 3 Operationalization Fieldwork Method, Choice of Sample, Design of Questionnaire	63
Chapter 4 Analysis of the Pilot Study	71
Chapter 5 Analysis of Responses from the Total Sample	86
Chapter 6 Suggested Profiles	102
Chapter 7 Analysis of Responses Obtained in Interviews with the Terminally Ill	123
Chapter 8 The Effective Use of the Tested Questions in the Context of Terminal Illness	134
Chapter 9 The Profiles in Pastoral Ministry: Guidelines for Pastoral Care	166
Chapter 10 Concluding Remarks	192

PREFACE

In the Western world, recent decades have seen much attention given to the pastoral care of the terminally ill. In India, however, there has been very little research done in this area on problems which are particularly Indian.

This thesis attempts to redress that situation by making a contribution to pastoral care to the terminally ill related specifically to India's multi-cultural situation.

This is neither a thesis in Pastoral Counselling, which has developed quite specific techniques and drawn heavily on secular resources in doing so, nor in Pastoral Theology, which draws heavily on the particular theological tradition from which it emerges. This is a thesis concerned with a particular problem in the general area of pastoral care and, as will become apparent, it draws heavily upon the Scientific Study of Religion. Because this bridging situation inevitable invites dog to smell wolf and wolf, dog, we will be offering below something of a cognitive map of the thesis.

The motivation for this study is not separable from the AIDS crisis. It is not, however, that the contribution which the research is intended to make is directed primarily to those afflicted with AIDS. On the contrary, it is directed to the pastoral care of all the terminally ill in India's multi-cultural situation. AIDS patients are included among the sample of terminally ill and the special problems of AIDS sufferers, their families and those who minister to them are recognized among and in comparison with others. There is, however, a dramatically new situation in India since the AIDS epidemic engendered a consciously multi-cultural responsibility, modifying the pastor's role and greatly expanding it.

In the circumstances prevailing in contemporary India, and certainly since AIDS,

it is hardly possible for Christian Pastors to limit their hospital ministry, especially their ministry to the terminally ill, to members of their own denomination or even their own religion. It is therefore vital that the Pastor should be able to enter gently and swiftly into a patient's religious world view, to know what are their needs, and to have decided before hand how far a Christian Pastor can go in meeting those needs. This knowledge is necessary to a pastor not only because he or she might have to understand the pastoral needs of the adherents of other local traditions but also because his or her Christian patients will have been affected by the surrounding cultures. The generation and sophistication of this multi-cultural discernment is the primary focus of this thesis.

No attempt will be made to survey the literature on pastoral care to the terminally ill. The introductory chapter does not pretend to be a summary of the literature as that has developed universally, for such could hardly be done in one volume never mind in a few pages.

It has seemed important to us, however, to offer some background on pastoral care to the terminally ill, including a recent debate related to this thesis, together with some facts about India and about AIDS in India, in order to establish the context and to introduce the discourse from which this project takes off. Should our choice of what to include seem strange it is hoped that the importance of each section will become clear as the thesis proceeds.

What has been written internationally is of immense value in the Indian situation, we in no way underrate it, and it will be drawn upon where appropriate in the present task, but our focus is the particular problem of India's multi-culturalism in a situation which has been exacerbated beyond all expectations by the AIDS crisis.

A Cognitive Map

After Chapter 1 has introduced a minimal necessary background, on India, on pastoral care to the terminally ill, and on Aides in India, the thesis follows the stages of the project.

Chapter 2 at p.23 discusses the choice of the theory of religion to be employed in this thesis, making it clear that to use it is also to further test it. Those parts of Cumpsty's General Theory of Religion and other theory, appropriate to the purposes of the project, are then summarized. This theory is then related to the contextual problem to be investigated and the idea of world-view profiles introduced.

Chapter 3 (Operationalization) discusses the required sample, which for current purposes needs neither to be paired nor random, but must seek to be *representative* for the special task of identifying world-view profiles. The sample will seek, within the religious traditions involved, to balance age groups, gender, level of affluence/poverty which is also related to education and to caste (high caste is not necessarily a marker of affluence), but this is not a primary concern of the sample. Representativeness is.

We return to this question of the sample in chapter 4, particularly at p.84 where sample re-balancing for the main survey is discussed. A summary description of the final sample is to be found as an appendix.

The rest of chapter 3 describes the chosen fieldwork method, given the limitation of time and resources, and deals with the all-important formulation of the questions for the questionnaire-structured-interviews to be tested in a pilot study, and their validation.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the responses to the pilot study and the proposed minor changes to be made to the questionnaire for the main survey.

Chapter 5 present analysis of the responses to both surveys (pilot and main) by

Hindus, Muslims and Christians respectively.

Chapter 6 presents the profiles suggested by the theory, described in terms familiar in context, which were confirmed by the data; and also those profiles suggested by the fieldwork and explicable in the theory.

These world-view profiles having been described within the general population, chapter 7 presents analysis of responses by the sample of terminally ill patients who were interviewed with the whole of the final questionnaire.

Chapter 8 returns to the data from all three surveys (pilot, main and terminally ill) and deals with the prioritization of the tested questions for use in the terminally ill situation, where, in general, it would be undesirable to extend questioning beyond the absolutely necessary.

Chapter 9 returns to theory to offer pastoral care recommendations, based on the world-view's inherent logic, for those falling within or in relation to, each of the established profiles.

Recognition of limitations to this research project and thoughts about future work appear in chapter 10.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

This chapter offers some necessary background to the thesis for those who are not familiar with it. The first section offers some background on pastoral care to the terminally ill and particularly to a debate related to the present project, the second offers some background on India's multicultural context and particularly on caste, the third section offers some background on the scale of the AIDS crisis in India which provoked a rethink about pastoral care to the terminally ill.

D) ISSUES IN THE PASTORAL CARE OF THE TERMINALLY ILL

The term "Terminal Illness" is generally associated with impending death, often with some malignancy. In short, terminal illness is a drawn out illness in which the patient may meet death or gain an extension of life.

Among those working at the bedside of the terminally ill, it has become accepted that those who are involved with professional care and concern to the dying person, whether nurses, physicians or clergy, are a team. It is our view that clergy have an indisputable responsibility to minister to the needs of the dying and to do it ever more effectively.

i) Some Common Problems of Terminal Illness

The Patient:

Fear of Insecurity

Generally, terminally ill patients experience a sense of boredom, particularly if they have to be in bed for a long period of time. To them, their freedom of living is

dissolved, life plans are defeated. The situation which begins by being inconvenient, becomes unacceptable and, without help, potentially intolerable. The qualities which made life feel secure have gone. Melvyn Thompson, from his experience with cancer patients, reports that for many the fears that surround cancer make a diagnosis of cancer in itself a threat of death. In every case they were faced with the situation of loss and meaninglessness (Thompson 1951).

Agony of Depersonalization

The fear and anguish of separation from hitherto significant relationships with members of the family and friends cannot be neglected. It is potentially depersonalizing. The feeling of depersonalization is all too easily pressed home if the patient is given cause to feel more like an object than a human being. When one is separated from other human beings and treated like a medical case, it is difficult to maintain the feeling of worth.

Loneliness

Dying is a lonely experience. Terminally ill patients often suffer from loneliness (Cope 1970 p.18). Leela Rajan, a Post-graduate student of Nursing, at Christian Medical College, Vellore, affirms the presence of loneliness in terminally ill patients. She says "when a patient approaches death, he/she becomes increasingly exposed to loneliness, isolation and abandonment" (Leela Rajan, 1971 p.45).

"Illness alters a patient's life" write Hackett and Weisman, "and alienates him/her from the familiar world. When this illness is terminal the patient's sense of alienation often amounts to profound loneliness, loneliness is a state inaccessible to drugs". (Hackett & Weisman, 1964, p.65)

The Need for Love

The patient is in the process of losing everything and everybody he/she loves. Dr

Anderson says, "Love is the base of Christian ministry. The dying patient in his/her feelings and in his/her physical appearance may be most unlovable. Yet it is when we are most unlovable that we most need love. To love is to affirm the worth of the dying patient (Anderson, 1971, p.51).

Patients are supported, not just by the efficiency in the medical treatment, but by the love of other people.

Economic Problem

Financial burdens are added to patients because of the extensive treatment and hospitalization. The large amount of money that such treatments and hospitalizations cost force many patients to sell the only possessions they have. Some have to sell the shelter under which they dwell. For many patients medical care will span a period of months or years; for some, the costs will be astronomical and anxiety will mount as the family and patient watch their assets being depleted (Doeltz, 1971, p.39).

Fear of death

Fear of death is common among terminally ill patients. The thought of death comes to them in many different ways. Robert Neale says that rather than the fear of what happens after death or what happens during the process of dying, many fear death as the loss of life. In this connection he lists three kinds of fear:

- a. Loss of mastery
- b. Incompleteness and failure and
- c. Separation (Neale, 1976, p.18-20)

a. Loss of Mastery

To terminal patients death represents the end of control over life. The basic desire in them is to control themselves, to control others and to control their life situation. They want to be active rather than passive. But terminality puts an end to their attempts to master these things.

b. Incompleteness and Failures

The second fear of death is related to incompleteness and failures. Terminally ill patients like everyone, have ambitions in life. Men want to complete their vocation, women want to see their children growing up and settled in life. At every level, they have goals to reach. But death does not allow it. They fear it because it destroys opportunities.

c. Separation

Finally, they fear death because it means separation. This is the most common fear. There is a dread of being taken away from those whom we love and who love us. Such fear is commonly expressed. Sharing feelings about death with patients who are facing it, can both give emotional support and enrich understanding.

Spiritual Crisis

The long time spent in bed and the activeness of people around them may make terminally ill patients feel a sense of guilt. Then they may be compelled to think seriously about their past conduct and behaviour. They may then be led to consider their sickness as punishment for sin. They might direct their questions to God - asking "Why has this happened to me? What have I done to deserve it?" The sense of guilt is commonly linked with a feeling of disappointment. Doloris Doeltz

observed this kind of spiritual crisis in her experience with patients. She says, "It must not be forgotten that many people tend to view illness as a punishment and a penance; some patients even express the thought that God has forsaken them".

(Doeltz, 1971, p.38)

Under these circumstances a minister can be of great comfort to the patient in helping him/her to make his/her peace with God and easing the sense of guilt and punishment.

Family Members of The Terminally Ill Patients:

Problems related to the patient's illness are not confined to the patient only.

His/her whole family is involved in the crisis. They too need help and support.

This is not always offered. The Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Tanzania, AIDS Control Programme, Evaluation Report, October 1992, p.47-48 says "we found no example of counselling being carried out within the context of family setting.

Methods for family counselling and group counselling within the African setting should be developed." The same could be said of India.

One cannot help the terminally ill patients in a meaningful way if one does not include the family. They play an important role during the time of illness and their reaction will contribute much to the patient's response to illness. Some of the problems for family members during the crisis of terminal illness follow:-

Changing Roles at Home and Work:

"For those who are close to the seriously ill patient there is a mingling of physical and emotional problems" (Thompson, 1951, p.34). Spending a long period of time by someone's bedside, especially if he or she is unconscious is exhausting. Time passes slowly. There may be children in the family who demand time, or there are other commitments to be met outside of the Ward. At the same time, the idea of

being away from the bedside produces anxiety "What happens if he/she dies while I am out for a walk?". To meet the demands of the challenging situation, family roles may be shaken, in some cases reversed as the husband takes over the maintenance of the household or the wife goes out to work to support the family and patient.

Terminal illness and hospitalization of a husband for example may bring about changes in the household which the wife has to get accustomed to. She may feel threatened by the loss of security if she is dependent upon her husband. She may have to get involved in business matters. The parents have more responsibilities added to their burden when a child is admitted in hospital with terminal illness. Financial support and employment may worry the patient and the family.

Relationship Between the Patient and the Family Members:

The problems of the dying patient come to an end but the problems of the family members go on. Many of the post death problems of the family can be decreased by discussing them before the death of the family member. There is a tendency to hide these feelings from the patient while they are alive, and trying to keep a smiling face. The dying person can be of great help to his relatives in helping them meet his death. One of the ways he/she could do this is to share some of his/her thoughts and feelings with the members of the family. This would help them to do the same. If the patient is able to work through his/her own grief and show his/her family his/her readiness to cope with death, they will also see his/her strength and face the crisis more positively. It also gives the patient a positive role and returns some meaning to their remaining time.

It is also possible that guilty feelings may be present in family members. When an illness is diagnosed as a fatal one, the family members often say to themselves. "If I had only persuaded him to go to a Doctor earlier, it would not have happened'.

As Kübler-Ross points out, "If they had been helped before the death of their partner to bridge the gulf between themselves and the dying one, half of the battle would have been won" (p.142).

Coping with the Situation

Before accepting the reality, family members also go through stages. At first they cannot believe that it is true. They also may go from one doctor to another with the hope of hearing that this was a wrong diagnosis. "Just as the patient goes through a stage of anger the immediate family will experience the same emotional reaction" (Kübler-Ross, 1969, p.143). They may argue with the doctor who confronted them with the reality. They may get angry with the hospital staff for not allowing them to be with the patient and to care for him. They may develop guilty feelings for lost opportunities. The more they are helped to express this emotion before the death of a loved one, the more comfortable the family member will be.

Once the anger, the resentment, the guilt are worked through the family will go through a state of "preparatory grief".

The most difficult time for the family is perhaps the final stage when the patient is slowly detaching herself/himself from his/her world including his/her family.

Kübler-Ross suggests, "When the patient asks to be visited only by a few more friends, then by his/her children and finally only by his/her wife/husband, it should be understood that this is the way of separating himself/herself gradually" (Kennedy, 1979, p.232).

There are also situations in which the patient is ready to separate himself/herself but the family is unable to accept this, contributing to the frustration on both sides.

In the case of patients who are old, the family is often confronted with the difficult decision as to whether it is worth spending for their treatment, particularly as the

financial sacrifice does not involve any improvement of the condition. This decision may itself, and either way it is made, lead to a feeling of guilt.

ii) Terminally Ill Patients - The "Stage" or "Phase" Debate

In Dr. Elizabeth Kübler-Ross' now classic book "On Death and Dying" (1969) she explicated five psychological stages in the process of dying, based on her own work with terminally ill patients. These stages are categorized primarily in terms of coping mechanisms at various times within a terminal illness. She and those who followed her in "Stage (or Phase) Theory" have been criticised on many grounds but mostly because of the supposed rigidity and monodirectional nature of the stages they suggested.

We are not going to enter into the debate itself but it has implications for what we will be saying later on about world-view "profiles" into which patients might fall. Any tool can be misused, indeed some seem to have a potential for misuse. We would not want to be thought to be offering neat little pigeonholes into which everyone must fit but rather useful markers to which individuals may relate closely or not so closely. One thing we have learned in this research is a sympathy with Kübler-Ross as she tried to walk the difficult path between being clear and concise on the one hand and leaving oneself open to misinterpretation on the other. Kübler-Ross' stages and the discussion of them have marked an era, one way of locating this thesis is to understand what we have to offer as a necessary multicultural prior step before entering upon what she and her followers have offered the counsellor. Another way is to understand it as as qualifying stage theory itself. We therefore begin with a short statement of the debate.

The stages she deals with are Denial, Anger, Bargaining, Depression and Acceptance.

1. Denial

Dr Kübler-Ross first explains denial in terms of the patients' effort to carry on as usual. Patients often in this stage will say something like this- 'No, not me; it can't be true'. This would be their reaction when a Doctor tells them that they have a terminal illness. Such patients may go from physician to physician trying to disprove this diagnosis and they may avoid telling their family, just as they avoid telling themselves the truth about the situation. As Anderson says "No one can face death steadily and denial is an emotional shock absorber or a psychic anaesthetic" (Anderson, 1971, P.51).

2. Anger

Patients also pass through a stage of anger. There is anger, envy and resentment in them. They often say, "why me?". They express anger toward themselves, their doctors and others. This is obviously a time for counsellors and for these others not to take the patients' anger personally. Some patients find it difficult to express it overtly and turn it inward, isolating themselves.

3. Bargaining

Then follows what Dr Kübler-Ross describes as bargaining. While facing death the patient may try to negotiate with God (or with the Medical professional) in an effort to gain time. For example, 'God if you do this I will live for you'. Here the individual tries to gain some stay of execution from God with promises of better behaviour and other reforms. This kind of bargaining goes on till the reality of death is confronted.

4. Depression

The succeeding stage is depression. At this stage dying persons mourn past

losses and then begin to withdraw their interest from the world around them. When bargaining does not fundamentally change the inevitable reality of death, the patient begins to ask 'what is the use?' He/she begins to realize that he/she is facing the ultimate loss of his/her life and becomes depressed - 'As dying is a process of physical disintegration, it must entail some distress, which results usually in depression' (Gibson, 1960, p.14).

5. Acceptance

The final stage is one of acceptance in which the patient is able to meet death peacefully. Here the person recognizes the reality and accepts death. This is very well brought out by three case studies in which all the dying patients said, "If I get well or if I die - anything is alright" (Cabot & Dicks, 1936, p299-301).

According to the analysis of Kübler-Ross the one thing that persists all through these stages is Hope (p.123). The terminally ill want to live until they die. All through the stages patients keep expressing hope. Hope is constantly reevaluated. Since everything in life is based on some level of hope, a terminally ill patient's hope has a variety of levels. Hope for a cure. Hope for extension of time. Hope for relief from suffering. Hope that one can still accomplish some personal goals, and the final hope is the patients' longing to know the ultimate meaning of life through death.

Many terminally ill patients in remission approach the tasks of life with renewed vigor. It is as though "if one can busily engage the tasks of life then one is well". Vigorous activity is associated with health. Some, however, view their goals from a new perspective, some altering their life's goals, some experience a serenity that comes from a reappraisal of values and goals. Many feel they are living on borrowed time and make use of the moments and experiences as they come.¹

In the light of subsequent criticism and in fairness to Kübler-Ross we must note that

she says that all terminally ill patients pass through different stages before they accept the reality, but not every patient goes through every stage.

Criticism of Stages or "Phase Theory"

There are now a variety of conceptual models for the psychological dynamics of the terminally ill patient. These theories differ in points of view and terminologies but they all focus on the emotional experiences of the terminally ill patient. Kübler-Ross' model is but one of what have become known as "Stage or Phase Theories" all of which are currently under strong criticism because they emphasize a progressive movement from denial to acceptance but also because such stages are more difficult to assess in practice than they are to conceptualize.

The majority of criticism centres around the implication that "Phase Theory" suggests that a process exists which never changes; that it always follows the same course. It is expressly not what Kübler-Ross writes but it is said to lead the caregiver to misuse the theory. They try to force the dying person into the different phases and not use the theory to obtain a better understanding of the individual. (de Villiers, 1988, p.52) Those who criticize in this way wish to emphasize the fact that every terminally ill patient is unique and one person's experience cannot be used as a comparative model of what might be another person's experiences. Research results show that the dying person experiences varying moods in tension, varying from astonishment to acceptance. (de Klerk) ²

Though the stage theory intends to sensitize care-givers, enabling them to be more compassionate, it often produces the opposite effect. These categories tempt care givers to stereotype the dying person and tend to oversimplify the process of coming to terms with death. This process can be agonizingly painful and complex for patient, family and professionals alike. (Joesten, 1985, p.140)

Then it is said, that if we look more closely at the five stages of Kübler-Ross there really are only two and they are not stages but reactions which remain in dynamic

tension, namely, resistance and acceptance. Denial, anger, bargaining and depression are merely different expressions of resistance. They are the patient's attempts to ward off the necessity of looking at, and dealing with, the inevitability of their death. If we view the stages in this way, we discover that there are different levels of resistance and of acceptance. As denial begins to fade away so acceptance develops in different degrees. Certain aspects of this process may be accepted, such as the disease and necessary treatments while other aspects may remain denied, such as the ultimate outcome. Patients require time, energy and assistance to fully absorb the intensity of this total experience. Rather than trying to move patients through the stages it is important to recognize the tension between denial and acceptance. It is this view which Avery Weisman emphasizes in his book *On Dying and Denying*.

Weisman redefines denial as a process. He discusses three orders of denial and acceptance which appear in varying degrees throughout three psychological stages of terminal illness. (Weisman, 1972, p.18) These stages are primary recognition, established disease and final decline. First-order denial (denial of the diagnosis) takes place in stage one and early stage two. Second-order denial (denial of the implications of the illness) is common in stage two. Third order denial (denial of the fatal outcome) is typical during stage three.

This means three things regarding denial. Firstly it is a natural emotional response. It keeps the ego from being devalued. Secondly it is necessary. The denial is unavoidable if a person is distinguish between the inevitability of death and the immanence of death. Thirdly, the people surrounding the dying are caught in a similar tension between being forced by circumstances to surrender the person to death yet being compelled by emotional ties to "hold on" to them.

Clearly pastoral care should be flexible, sometimes supportive, at other times confrontational, always individualized, respecting the unique and varying need of

each terminally ill patient, but always recognizing that there are things to be learned from each new experience which have to be reduced to conceptual order if they are to be available to inform us in the next time of need. Ignoring the past is every bit as dangerous as supposing that we now know it all.

II) INDIA AND MULTICULTURALISM - CASTE

India is not a typical Western country with upper, middle and lower classes, however they may be defined, but a country of almost infinite variety in religion and culture and with the residue of an elaborate caste system which has been reformed but not removed. Something, therefore, must be said about this multi-faith, multi-cultural context of India.

Selvanayagam (1993 pp.1-2) writes of the religions of India as follows:-

Indian society is pluralistic. People of different religions and cultures have lived (mixed) in large communities in this country for a long time. They continue to live so, when we say that India is a pluralistic society, four types of traditions may be identified:

(i) Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh traditions which have originated and grown in the Indian soil.

(ii) The Semitic religions of Islam and Christianity which came to this country as missionary movements. These religions are regarded as foreign because of the new streams of culture they brought in to this country.

(iii) The Tribal religious tradition needs to be recognized in its own right without mixing it with Hinduism. This tradition has unique features expressed through oral traditions and distinctive cultural life. Their emphasis on nature is significant.

(iv) There are secular ideologies also in this country. Secular movements have made a considerable impact on life of this nation, particularly since the beginning of this century.

Thomas (1995, pp.47-55) writes of the multi-faith context as follows:-

India has always been a multi-religious society and though religions tended "to keep to themselves and to enclose themselves in their own social habits," there was considerable interaction among them. Hinduism and Islam in the North and Christianity and Hinduism in the South are examples. Hinduism and Islam became integral parts of the social order and influenced each other in food, in architecture, in music, in dress even in evolution of a particular language, a language like Hindustani, but also in each other's religious development like the Islamic Sufi and Hindu Bhakti movements, the mosque at Nagore and the temple at Kanchipuram in the South. Syncretisation of religious practices are many; for example the use of coconuts and incense and camphor in mosques and churches as well as temples and the participation of the common people in Christian, Hindu and Muslim festivals without having any reservation.

There are positive elements in pluralistic society. There are common problems in life and the religions propose different solutions. For a particular problem one religion may have a special emphasis. For example, ecological crisis and environmental concerns have captured the attention of many. In this connection the tribal/primal religious traditions which attach sacred importance to nature appear to be very significant. Their view of nature has helped people of other faiths to explore in their own traditions. There were also instances when people of different faith helped each other in crucial tasks. For example, Hindus in the past built mosques for the local Muslims without worrying about their specific religious implications.

Problem of Communalism

Unfortunately at present India faces the problem of communalism.

Communalism is the current term which poses a sense of competition rather than co-operation between communities. The shift to communalism came with European colonialism. European nationalism was based on ethnic purity and a single language; therefore the British said, "India is not and can never be a nation" and is and can only be "a collection of religious communities" always at relative war or peace with each other. The British recognized the separate religious communities each with its own personal law as the constituent units of India. This was accepted by many of the Indian national leaders. So British interpretation plus the shortsightedness of the Indian leaders together resulted in this dreadful phenomenon. Then it may reveal that there are social roots for communalism; religion is used as a cover. People take religion as a weapon or instrument to assert their social and cultural identity.

Hindutva (reassertation of Indianness) is an example of this trend. The idea of Hindutva represents the reaffirmation of the religious to reassert their cultural heritage. Religious allied with political power, have caused communal tensions and conflicts in the recent times. The fear of others' influence and one's own weakness combined with an urge for distinctive self-identity seems to be the root cause of this development.

Dube (1990 pp.35-42) writes of the function of religions in Indian Society as follows:-

The function of religions in society are many. But the important one is a sociological function, because religion marks the social identity of people. The social dimension of religion in the Indian context is strongly based on the caste system. In order to understand the impact of religion on society one has to get into the structure of the caste system (varuna) in India.

Sen (1961 pp.27-31) writes of the Caste system as follows:-

Indian society is arranged according to caste. The Caste system, a unique Indian phenomenon, is a religious system sanctioned and sustained by Hinduism. In other words, the caste system is inconceivable apart from the Hindu context. Everything in Hinduism, philosophy, myths, art and culture convey the single message: accept caste at any cost. It dominates the individuals' behaviour as well as national piety.

The Hindu doctrine of caste originates from its conception of the nature and the structure of the sacred. Among the pantheon of Gods, some are regarded as the ruling deities while some are considered subordinate or serving deities. Some Gods are venerated as pure Gods- those to whom are offered flowers and fruits - and some are considered impure - those who accept animal sacrifice.

Through religious restrictions some people, though Hindus, are denied access to temples and the vedas.

Devasahayam (1992, p.4-48), writing on Caste in India says:

People are placed in graded inequality which expresses itself in the social, economic and religious dimensions. Dalits (outcasts) who are at the lowest in the hierarchy have to suffer the most. The word Dalit literally means broken, crushed, oppressed and marginalised. The Dalits were the indigenous people of India. The people and their culture were destroyed by Aryan invaders around 1500 B.C. They enslaved the Dalits and scattered them throughout the land.

The Dalits themselves are divided into several subcastes and intra-Dalit rivalries are not infrequent. According to the Pura Hymn of the Rigveda, Dalits have no part in Brahman from whose body the universe was created. Hence, they also have no place among the upper caste people. They are outside the social order. The Dalits in the villages are made to live outside the main village, are banned from the temple entry and are denied access to public school, public

well and other amenities.

After the introduction of democracy in 1950, the uppercastes acquired political power - the Dalits were still powerless. Due to the long period of oppression came to regard themselves as worthless, with marks of lowered self-esteem, confusion of self-identity, self-hate mixed with assertiveness.

The caste system remains more or less in tact because of the solid support it derives from the Hindu tradition. Hence, the Dalit aspiration for liberation since the time of the Buddha, has taken the form of religious conversion; and they have embraced and are in a majority in most of the non-Hindu religions of India.

After independence, the government of India moved to rationalize the immensely complicated caste system. It did this by grouping together all those subcastes which had been Brahmins, Sudras, Varisyas into what became known as the Forward class. The Sudras and the Dalits which were previously outcasts were grouped together as the Scheduled class.

The presidential order of 1950 introduced a discriminatory clause which deprived Dalits even of those limited rights and privileges guaranteed to them by the constitution if they are converted to other non-Hindu religions. Those outcast people who had given up their Hinduism and converted were reclassified as Backward class.

He also added that the influences of caste are not absent within the Church.

Wilson (1993 pp.59-63) writes of the Upliftment of the Dalits as follows:-

After the independence in 1947, the government of India launched several economic measures to benefit the scheduled castes. The system of reservation in matters of education and employment was introduced. Seats are reserved for the Dalits in Parliament, state legislatures and local bodies. This protective

discrimination for the Dalits has created jealousy and as a consequence has led to widespread oppression of the Dalits. Even the Dalit elites who have benefited from the reservation policy of the government, have very little concern for their own people. Hence, the Dalits have been looking to the non-Hindu religions as a means of their liberation. They have joined Islam and Christianity in large number and thus moved into the backward class.

III) THE AIDS CRISIS

AIDS has proved itself to be, in natural terms, the plague of the twentieth century. Three different stages have been identified in the epidemic. The first was the period in which the AIDS virus spread in a so-called "silent world", over a period of approximately ten years before the first signs of the virus became visible. The second stage, the symptomatic stage, was characterized by people falling ill and dying from diseases like pneumonia as a direct result of something which came to be recognized as AIDS. The third phase is described as the consequential stage in which the consequences of AIDS are clearly recognized. The world is now in that third stage and the extent of AIDS is staggering, the human suffering involved overwhelming, as the numbers of those affected continue to grow.

Statistics issued by the World Health Organization headquarters in Geneva in 1990 recorded 340,000 cases of AIDS worldwide. In 1993 the World Health Organization estimated that no fewer than 1.2 million people were suffering from AIDS and around 11.5 million people were already HIV positive. According to the WHO's predictions the disease would peak in Europe and the USA in the mid 1990's, but the current trend of the disease shows that the developing countries are more at risk than the developed countries. In developed Africa it would peak at the end of the decade, but in India and the rest of Africa it will continue to rise beyond 2000 AD. By the year 2000, the WHO foresees that there will be five million full blown AIDS cases world wide and forty million people may

have become HIV positive.⁵ It further assessed that the number of AIDS patients could swell to as many as 13 million people.

AIDS in India:

India with its immense and migrant population must inevitably be a country at risk of great numbers of infected people and the almost impossible task of safeguarding other lives from being affected.

As early as July 1987, a recipient of an infected blood transfusion developed AIDS and died. In 1989 fifty three HIV positive cases were discovered among promiscuous males. In January 1991 there were 60 recorded AIDS cases in India which reached 102 by December of that same year. By September 1992 the figure had gone up to 238.

In 1993 there were 11,000 confirmed AIDS cases in India, and the Bombay based Centre for AIDS Research and Control, estimated that there would be at least 50,000 full blown cases by 1995. By this time the picture of the future became one of the deaths of productive young people, of devastated towns and villages and crippled industries.⁶

Presently India is in the exponential phase of the epidemic with doubling of the prevalence every year. (Pavri, 1992, p.19)

In India AIDS has become a community and systematic problem, placing incredible burdens and obligations upon medical services, health care and religious institutions.

Caring for Terminally Ill Patients:

If it could be said that there is a positive side to AIDS it is that it is testing the church on the theological level, on the level of faith and, above all, at the level of the provision of pastoral care to the terminally ill.

In the last few decades, as medical science has made evermore gains in combating disease, the churches have become complacent. We now have a new disease which looks like confounding scientists for many years to come and once again the sufferers are looked on with fear and disgust, just as lepers were in biblical times.

"The world-wide pandemic of AIDS has given birth to a worldwide epidemic of fear which needs to be analyzed and to which we must respond. There is not only the fear of the disease as such but also of the social stigma of uncleanness. On the spiritual level persons with AIDS struggle with the issue of damnation or salvation."⁷

Frequently, the person infected with AIDS carries a heavy burden of guilt. The pastor has to deal with this. Some pastors have responded from a view point of judgmental theology. The presence of AIDS both in society and in individuals is seen as clear evidence of the wrathful judgement of God on the behaviour that communicated the disease. In contrast to the judgmental theology, there is an incarnational theology focusing on the similarities that we, as human beings, have with those who have AIDS. AIDS challenges the church not only to develop a more profound understanding of death and dying but also to develop better relationships with people who are dying.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cabot, Richard and Dicks, Russell L. *THE ART OF MINISTERING TO THE SICK*, (New York, Macmillan, 1936)
- Dube, S.C. *INDIAN SOCIETY*, (New Delhi, National Book Trust, 1990)
- Cope, Gilbert (ed.) *DYING, DEATH AND DISPOSAL* (London, SPCK, 1970)
- de Villiers, Fredrika *CARE OF THE DYING*, (Pretoria, NG-Kerkhandel, 1988)
- Holst, Lawrence *THE HOSPITAL MINISTRY* (NY, Crossroad, 1987)

- Kennedy, Eugene *ON BECOMING A COUNSELLOR*
(New York, Gill and Macmillan, 1977)
- Kübler-Ross, E *ON DEATH AND DYING*
(London, Macmillan, 1969)
- Neale, Robert E *THE ART OF DYING*
(New York, Harper and Row, 1976)
- Pavri, Khorshed M., *The Challenge of AIDS*,
(New Delhi, National Book Trust, 1992, p.19)
- Thompson, Melvyn *CANCER AND THE GOD OF LOVE*
(London, SCM, 1951)
- Selvanayagam, I. *THE MULTI-FAITH CONTEXT OF INDIA*
(Bangalore, BTTBPSA, 1993)
- Samartha S.J. "DIALOGUE IN A RELIGIOUSLY PLURAL SOCIETY"
in Selvanayagam 1993
- Thangaraj, R.H. *MEDICO-PASTORAL RESPONSE TO AIDS*,
(Madras, NLHMBUELICI, 1991) p.24
- Weisman, Avery D. *ON DYING AND DENYING*
(NY, Behavioural Publications, 1972)

JOURNALS

- Anderson, Philip A, "Death and Dying: The Counsellor's Role", *Religion and Society*, Bangalore, Vol.XVIII No.2, June 1971
- Doeltz, Doloris S, "Helping the Cancer Patients: The Minister and the Social Worker", *Pastoral Psychology* January 1971
- Hackett, T.P & Weisman, A.D, "The Treatment of the Dying", *The Journal of Pastoral Care* Vol.XVIII No.2 Summer, 1964
- Gibson, Paul, "The Agony of Dying" *Frontier* Vol.III No.4 1960
- Rajan, Leela "Death and Dying" *Religion and Society* Vol.XVIII No.2, June 1971

ENDNOTES

- 1 Lawrence Holst supports this view. See Holst 1987 p.122
- 2 quoted in Fredrika de Villiers, 1988, p.52
- 3 Leroy Joesten in Holst 1985
- 4 *Everyone Should Know Everything About Aids*, (Bombay, State Health Education Bureau, 1995)
- 5 See G. David Milton, "Struggle against AIDS" , *Indian Express*, August 11, 1992
- 6 Siddharth Dube, "Facade of AIDS Prevention" , *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 11-18, 1992
- 7 See R.H. Thangaraj 1991 p.24

CHAPTER 2

PROBLEMATIZATION

THE CHOICE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE THEORETICAL BASE IN TERMS OF WHICH THE PROBLEM AREA WILL BE ANALYSED AND INVESTIGATED

APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

We have said that, in the circumstances prevailing in contemporary India, it is hardly possible for Christian Pastors to limit their hospital ministry to the sick, particularly in the case of the terminally ill, to members of their own denomination or even their own religion. If Christian love prevents that limitation, then Christian wisdom requires that Pastors be able to enter as quickly and painlessly as possible into the religious position of the one being ministered to. We will see later that even within a Pastor's own denomination something which might be called "Indianness", in parallel with what Desmond Tutu calls "Africanness" and Peter Takayama and Michael Pye speak of as "Japaneseness" or a "Japanese Field", is deeply present in the Indian Christians and creates very distinctive styles of Christian belonging. (Tutu 1973, Takayama 1988, Pye 1995, See also Cumpsty 1991 p.141 for George Orwell on this point)

Because we needed to bring a functional understanding to the potential chaos of these religious positions into which we would enter with understanding, and because we needed to understand what we will be calling the "logic of belonging" in each position, and what otherwise characterizes it, so that we might, with the minimum of questions and discussion locate the patient, and minister to him or her appropriately, we turned to Cumpsty's General Theory of Religion. (Cumpsty 1991,

1995(a) & (b), 1996, 1997) The situation which we will be investigating will be problematized in the terms of that theory.

The validity of the theory (as the Author himself indicates) and therefore also our choice of it for current purposes, can only be tested in its effectiveness in doing what we want done. One could, as Cumpsty does, offer some persuasive argument for beginning with this theory and not in some other way (Cumpsty 1991 p.169). It is sufficient for our purposes, however, to note that the theory has been used effectively in a number of similar multi-cultural studies (Cumpsty, Hofmeyr and Kruss 1985; Buijs 1985; Cumpsty 1987 & 1995(c)) and specifically in a study of the relevance of Western pastoral counseling developments in a Zulu context (Msomi 1992). After that the validity of the choice must emerge in use.

Central to the theory is an understanding of the characteristics of three coherent "ideal types" of religious tradition which serve as a general framework within which actual religious traditions, contemporary or of the past, can be identified and located. It is the characteristics of these ideal types which establish the *thrust* of the questions-of-location to be asked in the counselling situation. The *form* of the questions, of course, has to be established by enquiry into the manner in which each characteristic "outcrops" in the culture or sub-culture concerned.

Apart from the framework comprised by these ideal types and their non-negotiable consequences, we are concerned with those parts of the theory which relate directly to pastoral care and particularly to pastoral care in conditions of extremity. That is, with what Cumpsty has to say about a cosmic sense of belonging, and about reduced reality belonging where a cosmic sense cannot be achieved, and within this, the role of the cognitive element, the logic of belonging, which may not be dominant in most peoples sense of belonging most of the time, but which becomes of great significance in situations of insecurity, and is also the outsiders best hope of making speedy contact with a person of another faith.

We will also need to consider those parts of the theory which bear upon the integration of the "self" which is seeking cosmic belonging, that is, the interrelation of the multiple "aggregations", each with their own aspirations and values, to which individuals perceive themselves to belong. Finally we will need to consider the individual's participation in the processes of a "Tradition Community" which generate the sense of belonging to an entity which, perhaps, already belongs to whatever lays beyond. We now turn to the theory itself.

As Cumpsty says, the generation of a theory is also the generation of a universal language for that area of discourse. For this reason it would make little sense to try to rewrite Cumpsty in our own words. We have been selective in what follows and we have paraphrased and compressed where appropriate but much of what we include is by way of extensive quotations from Cumpsty himself. For those not familiar with his work this seemed the best way of introducing them to the developing "universal language".

CUMPSTY'S GENERAL THEORY OF RELIGION¹

Cumpsty begins his theory of religion, not from a consideration of the great traditions, the public face of religion, but from the individual. He argues

.. religion is primarily affective and only the individual feels. All that a tradition community can possess in common, is symbols of various kinds.

and that

If religion did not do something for the individual then no tradition would get off the ground nor survive once it had.

So it is with the individual that any general theory of religion must begin.

(1995(b))

Therefore he begins the development of his theory by exploring what "the individual might be supposed to be doing or experiencing when being religious".

Following on the example of A.N. Whitehead, Martin Buber and particularly the Dutch academic psychologist and Freudian psychotherapist H.C.Rümke, he maintains that the distinctive religious stance is that of:

standing back from all the bits and pieces of experience to ask the other side of the question "who am I?", namely "what is all that out there and how am I related to it?".(1995(b))²

Then he says that "one needs to go beyond stance to its purpose", and suggests that the "purpose has to do with identity but is more than identity."

He suggests that human beings have two drives, the one for "physical and material survival and fulfillment, the other for identity generation and its securing".

Religion is about both drives, people frequently turn to religion when physical and material well-being is threatened, but it is more about the drive for identity. The ultimate case, in which there is sacrifice of the former for the latter, is, of course, the martyr. (p.159f)

In order, not only to establish an identity but to secure it, individuals need to "secure their relation with whatever grounds it (identity) ultimately".

Because this securing of relationship with whatever grounds identity, establishes reciprocal expectations including material expectations, Cumpsty writes of a quest for "belonging" rather than a quest for identity. He goes on to say:

Religion is more than identity and its securing, but identity is a *sine qua non* of religion. Without a sense of self there can be no sense of belonging. (p.312)

He then offers the following definition:

Religion in all traditions might be said to be:

the quest for, maintenance or realization of, belonging to whatever is felt to be the Ultimately-Real and at least a minimal conceptualization of that Ultimately-Real.

The Ultimately-Real is that to which the individual most needs to belong in order to secure, give meaning to or otherwise enrich his/her life. (p.172)³

Unpacking this definition, he says: (1995 (b))

.. although belonging to the ultimately-real is basically affective, one needs a minimal conceptualization of both the ultimately-real and of one's belonging to it.

.. the conceptualization of an ultimately-real to which one would belong can only take place within three basic paradigms for reality.

It is these three paradigms which stamp their characteristics on one or other of the three great families of religion.

These paradigms arise as follows:

Humankind's primary response to the world-out-there in which it finds itself, is the uncomplicated monistic one "this is the real". If, however, total experience cannot be affirmed as the real to which one would belong ultimately, then the quest for belonging will lead to a splitting of that which can be wholly affirmed from that which cannot. This "splitting" sets up the expectation of something to be overcome and it establishes the distinctive character of what have been called "religions of salvation or release"⁴ The splitting can take two forms only. The split can be modelled as a divide between reality and its appearance, or, as a divide within reality itself. (p.172)

In the first option, which remains monistic, the reason the immediate world-out-there cannot be affirmed is understood to lie in the individual's perception. In the second, which becomes dualistic concerning reality, the split is understood to lie in reality itself, the real and the ultimately-real being quite different in nature.

These three possible paradigms for reality give rise to consequential symbols that are *necessary*, in the sense that to reject them is to reject their generating paradigm.⁵ These paradigms for reality and their consequential symbols constitute three coherent "ideal types" of religious tradition. One of these ideal types dominates in each of the three major families of world religion. I emphasize that they are ideal types, no actual religious tradition may fit without remainder into any one of them. Logically, however, they are mutually exclusive and therefore provide a permanent frame in which ever-shifting, actual traditions can be located and movements explained. (1995 (b))

The three "ideal types" of tradition are labelled Nature Religion, Withdrawal Religion, and Secular World Affirming Religion. These names were chosen to reflect, what is the most obvious aspect to an outsider, the different modes of engagement with the adherent's immediate world-out-there.

In the Secular World Affirming Religion type, to which the Abrahamic family most closely approximates, the mode of engagement with the immediate world of experience is an individual and corporate taking hold and shaping. The adherents of this type strongly affirm the reality of the immediate world of experience but at the same time deny its ultimateness. It is secular.

In the Withdrawal Religion, the dominant mode of engagement is withdrawal, both physical and affective, from the immediate world of experience.

In Nature Religion, the immediate world and all that is in continuity with it, that is, the whole natural order, is perceived as the real and handled with respect. The mode of engagement is a fitting into rhythms and maintaining of harmonies.

It can be seen that these three modes of engagement are mutually exclusive, one cannot fit into, withdraw from, take hold and shape at the same time, so the mode of engagement implies an understanding of the reality one is engaging with even if there is no overt symbolization of it.

The three types may be summarized as follows:

Nature Religion:(p.118) In this type immediate experience is real and monistic.

The world out there is treated as divine and eternal or as a given, without having a beginning or a destiny, so called creation myths being concerned with how things gained their present form. There is no difference between gods or powers and the world of experience, and religion is not separated from life in general because all belongs to one monistic reality. Hinduism of the Common people and the traditional religions of Africa approximate closely to this category.

As the world is experienced as a given, time does not run in linear fashions but is cyclical, it is not dominated by historical events but by natural ones. The typical adherent of this type of religion is relatively passive, fitting himself or herself into the given rhythms maintaining or restoring harmony with others and with the whole natural order. Because the system is a closed one, neither chance nor new beginnings are possible, there being an explanation for all that happens and every action having its effect.

Religion, magic, healing, science, are all one, one needs to know and manipulate the causal nexus. Thus

the world-view of Africa has been compared with the world-view of science.⁶

It must be said, however, that the closed system of cause and effect is ontological in Africa, while in science it is a methodological supposition within

a system driven by the values of the linear time, goal oriented paradigm. That is to say, even in an Enlightenment secularity, one is still dealing with one half of the dualistic paradigm for reality not a monistic paradigm. (1995 (b))

Reality may be modeled in personal or impersonal terms, the distinction is hardly necessary, but as Cumpsty says:

I believe that there is a tendency in all religions to speak of the powers-that-be in personal terms. Humankind's most typical experience of the unique is another person, when treated as person, and there is a tendency to carry the feeling over to other unique experiences and to transfer a sense of the personal to the unique *per se*. (p.125)

As will be explained below, the real test of how personally reality is conceived is whether there is volition in the power or whether the powers are part of the closed system of cause and effect.

According to Cumpsty, for life to be meaningful, one of two conditions must be fulfilled. Either there must be individual achievement which will probably include survival after death, or there must be participation in some grand design.

Inherent in the Nature Religion paradigm is belief in some sort of grand pattern in which everything participates. Each person contributes to the completion of the grand pattern and is therefore a *Pleroma* (one who fills up something to completeness) and in that sense each individual entity is equal. This type of religion is predominantly corporate.

Withdrawal Religion:(p.121) In this type the immediate world out there is regarded as real but deceptive. So the ideal person is no longer one who passively fits into the rhythms of nature but one who withdraws from it. Reality remains monistic but

this type of religion is predominantly individualistic as each seeks to achieve realization of oneness with the whole. Reality, the whole, therefore tends to be conceived in impersonal terms and time to be understood in terms of succession but not in the sense of duration as there can be no objective knowledge of past or future. So time remains cyclical or rhythmical but is not expressed in natural events but rather in eons, which might be likened to the heartbeats of the ground of being. Because of its individual emphasis the closed system manifests as *Karma* in Withdrawal Religion.

With regard to quality of life, because experience is deceptive, even the desirable texture is expressed negatively, for example, as the absence of suffering or simply as detachment. With regard to the meaningfulness of existence, grand design can be neither grand pattern nor grand purpose and must be understood as "grandeur", or an unstructured "worthwhileness" or, perhaps better, simply as potential.

Secular World Affirming Religion: (p.123) This type affirms the immediate world out there as real but secular, not as the Ultimately-Real. Reality is dualistic, Creator and Creation quite different in kind, the transcendent being essentially personal and the world secular. The divine may be discerned in and through the world-out-there but the world-out-there is not divine. The Abrahamic family of faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam are the ones which fit closely in this type of religion.

Time is linear running from creation to destiny and change is no longer just a rhythm in reality but a positive step for or against a divine purpose. Because God is essentially personal, human kind enters into some form of volitional covenant with the divine in which the ideal person is the one who actively takes hold of this real, secular and essentially good environment, seeking to shape it in conformity to divine will. In this type chance is possible and in particular there can be

new beginnings, forgiveness becomes a possibility in which human shortcomings are absorbed or washed away by the divine. There is scope for miracles (understood as intervention from without, unlike magic which is knowledge of the causal nexus in the closed system). Because individuals are able to set goals for themselves they can also evaluate their lives according to their contribution towards or success in terms of their goals. The grand design which renders the testing of meaningfulness possible is now grand purpose although grand pattern remains a contributor.

The adjacent table is reproduced from Cumpsty 1991 p.218.

Cumpsty says of this table "all religious traditions can be located in relation to these ideal types but not all religious experience, although the limits set to conceptualization must in some degree constrain what one experiences". (1995(b)) "Religion may exist, prior to adherence to any particular tradition, as a quest, that is, as pre-paradigmatic. It may also, as it were, come out on the other side as post-paradigmatic, in which the paradigms have been recognized as just that, paradigms, and people exist in a sort of unspecific cosmic trust. This, however, needs referring back to the understanding that any serious engagement with what is out there implies an ontology."

Most of the entries, the "non-negotiable symbols", speak for themselves (given that they follow from the originating paradigm for reality) or have been dealt with above (Mode of Engagement, Chance, Ground of Meaning). Some, however, more central to the concern of this thesis, call for particular comment. They follow:

Of the *Nature of the Ultimately Real* Cumpsty says:

Human beings in general have only two models of causation. One they can conceptualize. It is mechanistic. The other they cannot conceptualize but they

THE THREE LOGICALLY COHERENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS SYSTEM			
NON-NEGOTIABLE SYMBOLS	NATURE RELIGION	WITHDRAWAL RELIGION	SECULAR WORLD AFFIRMING REL.
EXPERIENCE OF IMMEDIATE WORLD OUT THERE is	AFFIRMED AS OF THE REAL	NOT AFFIRMED AS OF THE REAL	AFFIRMED AS OF THE REAL BUT NOT ULTIMATE
REALITY is	MONISTIC	MONISTIC	DUALISTIC
CHANCE AND DETERMINISM	CHANCE EXCLUDED	CHANCE EXCLUDED	CHANCE, new beginnings
BELONGING TO ULTIMATELY REAL is	ASSUMED must be maintained or repaired	ASSUMED needs to be realized individually	to be SOUGHT individually
NATURE OF ULTIMATELY REAL is	without rigid distinction between personal and impersonal		PERSONAL
TIME is	CYCLICAL biological, maybe astral	CYCLICAL rhythmic aeons	LINEAR
TEST OF QUALITY OF EXPERIENCE is	TEXTURE ONLY	TEXTURE ONLY	GOALS AND TEXTURE
GROUND OF MEANING is	GRAND DESIGN (pattern)	GRANDEUR	GRAND DESIGN (purpose)
MODE OF ENGAGEMENT WITH WORLD OUT THERE	FIT INTO	WITHDRAW FROM	TAKE HOLD AND SHAPE
SOCIAL FEATURES			
1 INDIVIDUAL or COMMUNAL	COMMUNAL centered	INDIVIDUAL universal	COMMUNAL solidary
2 SOCIAL COHESION	BEHAVIOR PATTERN	BEHAVIOR PATTERN	BELIEF PATTERN
3 SOCIAL COERCION	"LOVE" "FEAR"	n/a	"LOVE" "GREED"
SOURCE OF ETHICS is	HARMONY, INDIVIDUAL PURPOSE	REALIZATION, ONENESS	THE END, THE ABOVE
THE MODELLING OF SURVIVAL	ANCESTOR	REINCARNATION	TO HEAVEN
RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE is	WISDOM	DISCOVERY OF A PATH	REVELATION

THE THREE IDEAL TYPES OF RELIGIOUS TRADITION

Reproduced from Cumpsty 1991 p.218

are very familiar with it. It is volitional. In the dualistic, secular world affirming paradigm the mechanistic model is excluded (the Creator and Creation being quite different in kind) so resort must be had, as in the opening passages of Genesis, to volition. In this paradigm therefore the Ultimately-Real is inescapably personal. In the monistic paradigms the Powers-that-be can be modeled either as personal or impersonal. (1995 (b))

He says elsewhere that whatever symbols are chosen to speak about the powers that be, personal or impersonal, if they are understood to be bound by ritual if that is properly performed, then there is no real volition and the powers are not personal. (1995(b))

Of The Test of Quality of Experience Cumpsty tells us:

That there are two ways in which humankind evaluates the quality of present experience, by its texture and by its goals. If there is no sense of linear time and therefore of goals, the only possibility is to ask about the harmony, health and richness of individual and corporate life. If there is a sense of linear time then there is also the possibility of asking about achievement of individual goals or contribution to corporate goals which one has made one's own, both of which may call for some sacrifice of present texture. (p.188)

Of Social Feature: Individual or Communal Cumpsty tells us:

Nature Religion is essentially communal, the Community including the living and the dead, while Withdrawal Religion is individualistic, each individual having the same task to achieve in order to realize belonging. Secular World Affirming Religion the individual needs to enter the covenant relation but from thence he or she is engaged in a communal quest for the Kingdom. Because there are different ideas of the Kingdom and ways of seeking it, this quest can become competitive

between different groups. This is why Cumpsty calls it "communal solidary" in distinction from Nature Religion's "communal centred" (p.196)

Of Social Feature: Social Cohesion Cumpsty tells us:

Every Community must have a principle of cohesion which is usually a common belief pattern or a common behaviour pattern or some combination of these.

Withdrawal Religion by its very nature has no place for a principle of social cohesion. In Secular World Affirming Religion the goal orientation necessitates a high cognitive content that is, the religion is based largely on belief pattern. (p.200)

Of Social Feature: Social Coercion Cumpsty tells us:

Apart from the habitual all actions of human kind seem to be motivated by love, fear or greed or some mixture of these. On the other hand most religious traditions look for the time when all actions of humankind will be motivated by altruism. Withdrawal Religion has no interest in social coercion, rather it seeks escape from motivation by fear and greed, even affection, although altruism is not excluded.

Nature Religion, being essentially corporate, discourages self-interest and therefore tends to resort to fear for social coercion. Secular World Affirming traditions on the other hand, respecting freedom of individual choice, tend to turn to greed rather than fear when altruism fails. (p.202)

Of the Source of Ethics Cumpsty tells us:

"Ethics" refers to the specific rules by which, the individual or community govern their relationship with themselves, each other and the world around them. It is the detail of the Mode of Engagement. In Nature Religion, the sole source of ethics is the grand pattern, the whole natural order. To diminish any part is to

diminish self. In each of the two bifurcated reality paradigms, there are two sources of ethics that may conflict with each other. In Withdrawal Religion, the individual's action will be directed by his or her need to achieve enlightenment, or by consideration of the same unity of things found in Nature Religion. In Secular World Affirming Religion ethics may be directly revealed or arise from consideration of a revealed end. (p.205)

Of the *Modelling of Survival After Death* Cumpsty tells us: (p.207)

If a religious tradition affirms the existence of life after death then the belief that one will continue to belong to the Ultimately Real after death will be modelled within the various paradigms of reality differently.

In Nature Religion, where the present reality and the ultimately real are one, there is a need to remain - in a different state of being, as a spirit or ancestor- but to remain. In Withdrawal Religion where the nature of the ultimately real is cyclical manifestation and dissolution, reincarnation is fundamental perhaps leading to the still heart of Brahman. At a most sophisticated level death is not a reality for the individual but is part of an eternal pattern. In Secular World Affirming Religion, when the Ultimately Real is visualized in spatial terms, life after death is expressed as going to be with God or going to heaven. Therefore the three statements "when I die I will be an ancestor", "I will be reincarnated", "I will go to heaven" are not truth claims in conflict, they express the same thing, namely, "when I die, I will not cease to belong to the Ultimately-Real as I model it".

This concludes our summary of Cumpsty's three types which will be the main tool in this project. The questions employed in the structured interviews will be designed to locate the respondent in relation to each of these three types by locating them in relation to a number of the non-negotable symbols. The form that the question takes

will be decided on the basis of how the variable manifests in the community concerned. There are, however, some further details of the types which will be required for the location of individuals but also for understanding appropriate counselling. These follow:-

FURTHER ASPECTS OF NATURE RELIGION: MYTH AND ITS USE

An understanding of the nature of religious language is basic to any decision one takes on pastoral care outside of one's immediate tradition community. If one regards religious language as literal truth, there is very little room for maneuver, but if one understands it as a symbolic expression of a felt reality then there is much more room for maneuver, recognizing, of course, that symbols can be wrong within a tradition just as much as literal discourse can. The nature of myth appears most clearly in Nature Religion.

The Mythopoetic Character of Nature Religion

.. it is in the nature of this type, where myth or other symbolic forms should be almost unnecessary in the ideal situation (see Actual Life-World Perspective below), that there springs up what seems to be the greatest number and variety of myths. To understand why this is the case, one needs to recognize that the other two paradigms exist, only and precisely, because the unacceptability of experience has had to be dealt with as a whole. The basic divide between the ultimately acceptable and the ultimately unacceptable is built into their world-views and this has a number of consequences.

In the other two types, the very experience of unacceptability stands as evidence for the validity of the paradigm. In Nature Religion unacceptability ought not to be present. It stands as evidence against the modelling of reality and each unacceptable experience must, therefore, be dealt with as it arises. It is this

episodic maneuvering to maintain the unity of experience [and to maintain ones belonging to it] that gives rise to such highly complex and fragmented mythology and to its associated ritual when the world-view is threatened.

Myth that is generated within the other two types tends to become systematically integrated around the appropriate principle of bifurcation and the proposed means of overcoming it. Thus it is likely to appear more as a coherent theology or philosophy than as a collection of independent, perhaps conflicting, myths. It is therefore less readily perceived as myth, but myth it remains.

Because in this type immediate experience is affirmed as the real, and because there is no bifurcation to act as a buffer, myth must continually reflect any and every change in experience. In particular, there is no escaping the fact that nature is destructive as well as creative and this ambivalence must be reflected in the world-view or it will not feel real. Sometimes the ambivalence is deliberately fostered, sometimes it is reduced to order, but somehow it must be reflected. (p.256)

Cumpsty draws out further details of the types by examining possible moves in the preservation of a sense of belonging when experience is threatened in different ways. His definition of religion, of course, leads to the principle that religion will change as and when necessary to maintain or restore the sense of belonging.

Moves to Maintain or Restore a Sense of Belonging (p.175f)

In Nature Religion belonging is assumed. In a relatively stable and acceptable experience, the sense of belonging is grounded in factors and relationships that are part of the ordinary life-world. When the life-world is threatened, recourse has to be had to different moves to retain a unified sense of the real and of one's belonging to it.

Moves to Maintain the Unity of the Real - Perspectives on the World-Out-There

(p.276)

There are three possible perspective each with its appropriate context and appropriate language.

The Actual life-world Perspective - in this:

each aspect of everyday existence is perceived as it exists in itself and in interaction with its neighbours, without symbolic implications and without overt relationship to postulated entities or to the totality of things. This perspective exists in every culture and it will suffice for a sense of belonging in an acceptable, relatively unthreatened situation.

If experience becomes threatened then a move may be made to:

The Total Perspective - in this:

one stands back from all the bits and pieces of life and seeks to know what all-that-out-there feels like and, perhaps to ask the cognitive question "what is it all about?". In a Nature Religion type of tradition the minimal conceptual answer would be that it is a closed system of cause and effect embracing a multitude of interacting parts and that it has a feel, if not a conceptualized character, of its own. The totality may be given a name, which, *inter alia*, justifies the statement that Africans always had a high God, if one does not interpret that to mean necessarily a transcendent God. This Total Perspective is always immediately available as an alternative perspective to the previous one and is the only available move in an acute disturbance (war, drought, etc). If experience suddenly ceases being coherent and is difficult to affirm as the Real, there is a strong possibility that the person involved will stand back and ask "what is the nature of all that-out-there?" This is an attempt to get the present unacceptable experience into a more total and therefore more real perspective

and to engender the feeling that the (disturbing) experience can still be affirmed as real when viewed as part of the whole.

Language will also change, as literal discourse will not express consciousness of feelings about the totality.

To help to express this consciousness, the ultimately real may be named and feelings about it are likely to be expressed in art forms and narrative myths.

If this standing back and becoming conscious of totality is not enough to preserve the sense of belonging this sense will require a support of a cognitive model where before it was simply accepted. This requires the development of a symbolic frame but this takes time to develop and is therefore an unlikely response to acute forms of unacceptable experience.

In a chronic threat to the acceptability of the life-world there is time and motivation to enter:

The Symbolized Life-World Perspective - in this:

significant aspects of the life world are separated out and then given symbolic content or relationship. This enables them to be reintegrated at a level beyond that of their actually experienced relationships. The different aspects may be personified, or given the characters and whims of beasts, or they may be conceived as vital forces that are neither personal nor impersonal.

Integration may be attempted by inventing and accepting certain specific categories, e.g. when a high infant mortality is rationalized by inventing a category of "those born to die".

Whichever perspective is entered it must enable the adherent to hold together the cosmos to which he or she would belong, if only by explaining the conflicts.

Moves to maintain the Sense of Belonging: Mediation (p.288)

When disturbance occurs, Cumpsty says, the first move will be to begin a strengthening of the ties already existing, for example in family and extend family, and for these to become more conscious and to be more safeguarded. In situations of chronic unacceptability, they may even be duplicated so that each individual is related to the community in two or more ways. At higher levels of unacceptability the need to focus belonging will lead not only to the symbolization of significant aspects of experience (and to the establishment of orders of people who can manipulate these) but also to the elaboration of sacraments i.e special times, places and buildings, people and activities.

FURTHER RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE SECULAR WORLD

AFFIRMING TYPE (p.294)

The pastor will always be concerned with the quality of the individual's relation with the divine, that quality is comprised by two things, the nature of the Divine and the style of one's belonging to it.

Whereas in all types, when belonging is established, one may employ the principle that "religion will change as and when necessary to maintain or restore the sense of belonging", to further tease out the details of the forms in which a particular type may exist; with the dualistic type (SWAR) it is necessary that belonging be first sought. Therefore one must begin with the conditions necessary for a sense of belonging, as far as that can be achieved in this life of quest.

We begin with the nature of the Ultimately-Real and then the different forms of belonging to that Ultimately Real.

Nature of the Ultimately-Real (p. 181 and p.307)

Cumpsty argues that there is a tendency to characterize experience of the unique as personal because "the most typical experience of the unique is when we opt, in Buber's terms, to treat another person as Thou."

In the two monistic types, however, there is no rigid distinction between the personal and the impersonal. In Withdrawal Religion, logically speaking, the distinction should disappear and with it the more ultimate gods. In that paradigm one is inevitably on one's own, but the very nature of reality is on one's side.

On the other hand, in the dualistic tradition the distinction between personal and impersonal is a critical one.

In the Secular World Affirming paradigm, there is a very different normal relation to reality than that which pertains, for example, in Nature Religion. In the latter, the individual, being firmly related to the immediate, has no need (save in the direst circumstances) to explore the nature of or relate directly to that which lies beyond. A general cosmic trust will suffice.

In the Secular World Affirming type of tradition, because the ultimately-real is necessarily conceived as personal, the structure of the belonging must be some sort of covenant in which the gender and the character of the ultimately-real must be known and lived with. Cosmic trust is not generally sufficient.

It is currently argued that the Divine gender has an influence upon the social position of woman, but it is certainly the case that the conceived character of the

Ultimately-Real, whether male or female, will influence almost everything else. Cumpsty speaks of the basic elements of Divine character as sovereignty, righteousness and love, "expressed in a great variety of images such as king, judge and father".

To the adherent they represent control and security, direction and consistency, benevolence and acceptance, respectively. Sovereignty and righteousness taken together represent demand, while sovereignty and love represents acceptance.

A shift in the balance of these three will have a major impact, upon the experience of belonging to such a deity.

It will suffice to notice what happens when each characteristic is highly emphasized and each is neglected. None of the character traits could exist virtually on its own and still have significance... I will therefore consider them in pairs.

If one neglects love, then sovereignty and righteousness will constitute a demanding, legalistic and somewhat impersonal deity.

If one neglects righteousness, then one has an arbitrary deity who may be benevolent when and to whom his sovereign whim pleases.

If one neglects sovereignty, then one has an otherwise very attractive deity, but not one that is in control, a god without teeth, a religion that is well described as a "holy custard".

If sovereignty were (highly) emphasized there would be a tendency for the divine to become impersonal, for events to be seen as determined and, unless the divine demand for action were particularly clear, for human response to be submissive and quietist. One would have an unbounded ultimately-real, that is, an arbitrary and immediate deity, unrestrained even by his own attributes of righteousness and love.

If righteousness were (highly) emphasized then conformity to what is conceived as righteousness could not only lead to an exceedingly careful walk through life, but might also become an end in itself. One would have a bound ultimately-real, structured by its own character frame (law), remote (only commands need be present).

If love (acceptance) were emphasized far beyond the others both direction and significance of life would be lost and anomie result."

The Different Forms of Belonging to the Ultimately Real: Modes of Belonging, Logics of Belonging and Pathways to the Ultimately-real in Secular World Affirming Religion (p.127f, p.298f)

The transcendence gap between the Creator and Creation sets up two or perhaps three ways in which the individual can conceptualize his/her belonging to the Ultimately-Real. Cumpsty refers to these as Modes of Belonging and, to the details of the cognitive aspects of them, as Logics of Belonging.

Because one cannot have a sense of belonging without both a sense of the Ultimately-Real and a sense of self, and because the details of the sense of self are formed in relationship to the world-out-there, there are three actors in Secular World Affirming tradition, the Ultimately Real, the Real (world-out-there) and the Individual, all in need of interrelation. These relations, Cumpsty speaks of as Pathways. The first two are the same as those suggested below under Modes of Belonging, the third is a side-by-side relation with the Ultimately-Real, as the individual seeks to relate to, or look out upon, the world-out-there with God's eyes.

Modes of Belonging (p.127, p.180)

Cumpsty introduces these as follows:

In secular world affirming religion, with its belief in a transcendent god, humankind cannot relate to him by fitting into the rhythms of nature, nor by withdrawing into the self, but only in some form of volitional covenant. Within that very general understanding of how humanity and history are potentially linked to the divine, there is the need for every individual to feel linked.

There are two ways in which the individual's relation to the divine can be modelled and perhaps a third, a compensatory move, which may be employed if the former paths are for any reason excluded.

The two normative relations, I have called Direct Cosmic Belonging and Indirect Cosmic Belonging. I have called the compensatory move Reduced Reality Belonging.

I have employed the word cosmic ... to indicate that the relationship includes all that is non-ego, all that is out there, the real and the ultimately-real. The reason for this will become clear when we consider the compensatory move.

... frequently mixed in practice, there is some evidence that a mixed logic of belonging presents some difficulties for a secure faith.

there is ... an affective affinity between direct cosmic belonging and withdrawal religion, and between indirect cosmic belonging and nature religion.

In *direct cosmic belonging*, which is the traditional emphasis of Islam and of protestant and pietistic Christianity, the believer relates directly and individually to the ultimately-real...

Because the principle of belonging lies within the individual, this mode of belonging tends to be associated with societies which place a premium on social or geographical mobility. Overall it is a brittle form of belonging for, while it

tends to keep one in, if one moves out, one is right out, there is nothing left. It can also become that sort of ultra-demanding, face-to-face relationship which finds expression in that line of hymnody, "Oh what a worm am I".

The principle of belonging is usually what is called faith. It necessarily includes belief, but also the elements of trust and obedience.

When it is left like that, those of tender conscience never know whether they were being trusting or obedient enough. The need for a sense of assurance presses a tradition community toward formalizing the requirement of obedience in a prescribed behavior pattern, and the requirement of trust, as either a prescribed belief or a prescribed inner experience. Faith understood in these terms, particularly in the case of prescribed belief, can become dogmatic and as divisive between groups as it is cohesive within them.

In *indirect cosmic belonging*, which is the traditional emphasis of Judaism and of the catholic forms of Christianity, the believer relates to the ultimately-real by relating to that which is already so related ... God is seen to have established upon earth an institution which belongs to Him and in belonging to that the individual belongs to God. For the Jew, this institution is the elect people into which one is born ... In the more catholic end of Christianity, it is the Church which is the divine institution, the extension in the world of the presence of Christ. To be initiated and retained in the Church, therefore, is to belong to God.

This is a much less brittle form of belonging than the direct cosmic mode. ... those born or initiated into the divinely related institution have a sense that the divine has a hold upon them at times when they feel unable to hold onto the divine.

This mode of belonging is also more comfortable in the sense that it is less face-to-face and limits are set to the sense of demand, the individual conscience being partially integrated within the institution. The institution is likely to be more realistic in its expectations than many an individual conscience and one can more easily feel assured that the minimal requirements for acceptance have been met.

A danger of this mode of belonging lies in the potentially corrupting power that is vested in an institution set between the individual and God. It can also, less dramatically but just as seriously, undermine personal responsibility.

It is not, of course, necessary that the bridge institution be as large as a church or a nation, in fact one other person will do if he or she is believed to be specially related to God. This is the significance of the charismatic figure who emerges particularly in times of turmoil and of the tendency for new departures in religion to manifest this direct relation in charismatic features.

This mode of belonging, being corporate, tends to maintain the societal status quo. All must change or nothing changes.

In the absence of a cosmic sense of belonging, intensive belonging to a small, tightly knit, clearly delimited and manageable group, can provide a substitute sense of belonging. The group will have reduced its reality to virtually the group itself, all the rest of experience being understood to be bad, transient, or at least markedly inferior.

It is *reduced reality belonging* which generates sectarian groups. Those whom it attracts, those for whom a more cosmic sense of belonging is unobtainable, could be the bulk of a population in times of major socio-cultural disturbance.

It will attract certain psychological types at all times. In practice it probably constitutes a part of most adherents' sense of belonging.

Representing as it does a deliberate withdrawal from the rest of experience, it will not satisfy the integrative nature of most people when socio-cultural conditions stabilize.

What matters in this type is, not so much what is believed or practiced, but the intensity with which it is believed or practiced. Religious beliefs are not cashed in terms of their meaning in everyday life, but become symbols which operate as flags. These "flag beliefs" serve to unite the group all the better because they are unrelated to the chaotic world outside.

Marks for inclusion and exclusion become important, dress, hairstyle, food laws, rejection of dancing, cinema, television, alcohol, etc., the social or ethical significance of which is assumed rather than justified.

The important elements are the fervor with which the symbols are affirmed, and the rigidity with which the marks, of who belongs and who does not, are complied with. These are the source of the sense of belonging.

The divine becomes a rescuing power with minimal personal characteristics.

This defensive solution, which closes down on experience, is not to be confused with the situation in which experience itself is limited. That is, when either the adherent's world-out-there is experientially small but open to expansion, or when depth in one area of experience has been preferred to breadth, for both of these situations can remain cosmic in spirit.

Reduced reality belonging is not, I think, orthodox within any of the Abrahamic family of faiths, for it overly diminishes the creator aspect of divinity in favour of the saviour aspect. Clearly the sense of belonging is gained at the cost of breadth and, one supposes, of the possible richness and

meaningfulness of experience. One would not propose it as the long term solution within this type of religion, but it may be for many in times of crisis, always for some, the only available mode of belonging.

Reduced reality belonging usually rejects the possibility of humanity improving the creation, so the kingdom is seen as the result of divine intervention, even as a new creation, that is, as discontinuous with human history.

In direct cosmic belonging, or in indirect cosmic belonging where the institution is not of great secular significance, if the individual's daily involvement with his or her world out there is to have ultimate significance, then it must be seen to contribute to a community, which is understood to contribute to some wider purpose, ... which in turn is understood, however subliminally, to be part of the divine purpose. ... This may be in the form of what has become known as a civil religion.

The mode of belonging may operate very much at the affective level but when belonging is threatened it is likely that the need for cognitive support will make the logic of belonging more apparent. Cumpsty summarizes these logics as follows:

Logics of Belonging (p.298)

The logic of direct cosmic belonging requires:

- i) a knowledge of the ultimately-real, (God)
- ii) belief in the act of God which established the means by which individuals might belong to Him,
- iii) the conditions of such individual belonging, and
- iv) assurance that one has fulfilled and is fulfilling such conditions.

The religious institution will proclaim (i) to (iii), and those who have met the conditions in (iii) will insist that these conditions are preached to them, in order to establish (iv). For example, those who have experienced conversion, will (strangely to the casual observer) insist that the need to be converted in order to be saved be preached to them over and again.

Assurance, that is (iv), is most easily attained in the case of a prescribed ritual behavior; progressively less easily, in the case of required ethical behavior, right belief, right spiritual experience, and trust.

The temptation of insecurity, to make a work out of faith and to ask if one is trusting enough, will tend to move the criteria of belonging back up this scale toward right belief and prescribed behavior. It also makes desirable the support group which can testify to the individual that his or her beliefs, or inner experiences, are such as to meet the conditions of belonging. All this in spite of the fact that the logic of direct cosmic belonging would suggest that the institution should constantly seek to render individuals self-sufficient and independent of itself.

The logic of indirect cosmic belonging requires:

- i) a knowledge of the ultimately-real, (God)
- ii) a belief in the act of God which established the institution or "bridgehead" in the world,
- iii) knowledge of the identifying features of the institution,
- iv) knowledge of the conditions for individual belonging to the institution and
- v) evidence that these conditions are fulfilled.

The religious institutions will proclaim (i) to (iv). (v) will follow automatically to the extent that it is a fulfilled ritual behavior pattern, otherwise assurance must be gained as in direct cosmic belonging.

The logic of reduced reality belonging requires:

i) a knowledge of the ultimately-real, (God and frequently personified evil),

ii) belief in the cosmic act which established the "good group" and the cosmic event which established the badness of the rest,

iii) knowledge of the identifying features (symbols) of the group,

Beliefs will almost certainly be expressed in apocalyptic imagery, because the flight from the rest of experience necessitates the conceptualization of a radical gulf between this historical time and "the blessed future". This inhibits the use of literal discourse.

iv) the terms on which one may belong to the group and

v) evidence that these terms are being fulfilled.

In reduced reality belonging, the terms of belonging (iv) and evidence that one belongs (v), will coalesce in a *gnosis*, that is, in a recital of the group's apocalyptic mythology and in such "marks of belonging" as dress and food laws, rejection of dancing, television, alcohol etc..

The elements in belief required by these three logics are not negotiable and are therefore stable as long as one remains in a particular mode, although their symbolic expression may change.

In my view, much of the power of Luther's "by faith alone" doctrine to grasp its 16th century hearers lay in its logic. For when the image of the church as a divinely constituted entity (in belonging to which one belonged to God) had

waned in the face of nominalism and other corrosive factors, there remained the question of how the individual should understand his or her belonging. Europe awaited either an individual and direct model of belonging or a revival of the corporate and indirect one. The reformation offered the former, the counter reformation achieved much toward the latter.

The Pathways of Belonging (p.302)

In addition to these two logics of belonging familiar in the Abrahamic family and the sectarian alternative, Cumpsty suggests that there is the third pathway, mentioned above, which is that of "relating to the ultimately-real side-by-side, by relating to the Real *sub specie aeternitatis*."

This relationship with the real may have a number of different emphases. It can be cognitive, in a consuming desire to understand it; practical, in the desire to engage with it in a manner that is efficient and fruitful; ethical or political, in the desire to improve it; affective, in an outer mysticism; or aesthetic, in the drive to appreciate it.

Belonging may be modelled in an infinite variety of ways comprised by rejection or acceptance or any degree of emphasis on these three paths. If one includes a description of the balance between cognitive and affective emphases then all possible modes of belonging, within the secular world affirming type, can be located in this schema.

The Quality and Intensity of Belonging (p.308)

If the character traits of the Ultimately-Real, considered earlier, are brought into combination with the modes of belonging, the two have major consequences for the

quality of belonging, and therefore for the role that religion plays in the experience of the individual.

Cumpsty says that:

... an indirect corporate belonging to an Ultimately-Real perceived to be high in sovereignty and love, is likely to be a very supportive relationship; while a direct and individual belonging to a divine perceived to be high in sovereignty and righteousness must be very demanding. The least demanding would differ from the most accepting in that sovereignty would also be low. The least accepting would differ from the most demanding in the same manner, a situation in which even the demand has no support. Between these extremes lie a whole spectrum of possibilities."

Demand and acceptance seem to pull in different directions and therefore to be in need of existing in some balance, but they are not contradictory, as any observer of the parent-child relationship knows. Both are necessary in a healthy upbringing.

If demand and acceptance are both low there is hardly any content to the relationship. If demand and acceptance are both high the relationship is intense. Thus while demand and acceptance should be in some balance, the level of the presence of both is a measure of the intensity of the relationship. This is important to the pastor. It is relatively easy to determine what someone believes, it is much more difficult to assess the intensity with which they believe it. The level of the individual's resulting sense of demand and acceptance is a way to assess this.

The Construction and Integration of a Self to Belong to the Ultimately-Real (p.319)

In this next aspect of his theory Cumpsty finds support in Clinebell (1984). For both, belonging is achieved only within the framework of self-integration.

Integration within oneself alone, however, is not enough for health or well-being. Clinebell parallels Cumpsty in this and calls for a wide holistic scope, including the person's relationship with nature as well as "significant institutions in one's life". Clinebell believes that the individual person cannot be separated from society, wholeness cannot be individually oriented. He emphasizes wholeness in the context of community. He insists upon the importance of:

Wholeness Within Oneself: which involves the unity of all dimensions of the personality such as body, mind and spirits. There should be an integration of the self, which undergirds the first dimension of wholeness.

Relational Wholeness: refers to the integration of relationships. Health or well-being is nurtured in relationships. The Hebrew concept, "Shalom", and the New Testament concept, "Koinonia", could be recognized here. The quality of relationships provides an environment within which persons are encouraged to develop their unique individuality. Thus, in a crisis situation, especially in terminal illness, this nurturing of relationship is helpful.

Ecological Wholeness: is integration into the ecosystem which fosters respect for and stewardship towards all of creation. It is the biblical attitude towards creation which is communicated in mythic wisdom of the first of the two creation stories in Genesis. The phrase "and God saw that it was good" is the affirmation of Gods' treatment of creation as the ecological wholeness.

Thus it is essential for a pastor to analyze the patient's sense of belonging to his or her own world-out-there. Questions like, how intimate are relationships with family, the surrounding community, are they weak or strong, must be probed. For example, in the Indian community, the caste system is very strong. The pastor can help the patient to maintain his/her identity by strengthening the system that is immediately available. Any attempt on a pastor's part of to make a Hindu sever

his or her connection with the extended family would only create major tension. In the case of Christians the worshipping community, "the body of Christ" can be converted into a "caring community"

Cumpsty puts it rather differently, saying that for any adherent of religion, there can be some sort of a sense of identity without a sense of belonging, but there can be no sense of belonging without the sense of self to belong. In the pastoral context, when one understands religion as belonging, integration within oneself must be promoted.

The world-out-there, in providing the details of the individual's identity, gives substance to the other actor, the "this" which is seeking to belong to "that", the self which would relate to the ultimately real. (1995(b))

It is this which gives rise to the need to deal with the question "who am I?" which presses towards a unified identity. Belonging is about both the ultimate and the immediate levels. The relation between identity (the individual) the world-out-there (the real) and the ultimately real (God) in a dualistic tradition is a complex and often circular one.

Like Clinebell, Cumpsty proposes a more integrated and holistic approach.

According to him, because the transcendence gap of the Secular World Affirming Paradigm bifurcates the adherents' world-out-there, it sets a scene with three actors - the individual, the real and the Ultimately-Real. Religion of this type is concerned with the re-relating of these three. (p.294) There has to be a "Thou", there has to be an "I" and there has to be an authentic means of holding them together. It is with the formation and integration of the "I" that we are presently concerned.

According to Cumpsty, adherents of a religious tradition are not to be seen simply as "individuals relating to the ultimately real, and the constituent parts of the real.

They are social beings constituting and constituted by participation in any number of societies." (p.319)

These groupings he refers to as "aggregations".

Belonging to an indentifiable aggregation, necessarily means espousing a set of values which are felt to be significant for the survival of that aggregation. An aggregation is simply a perceived shared values grouping.

Thus an individual, on the secular front, might belong to a family, a peer group, a local community, a nation, a community of nations, humanity and the whole ecological order; and on the "religious" front might consciously participate, at one and the same time, albeit with varying intensities, in different aggregations such as the local congregation, the district, the national church, the international communion, the protestant grouping, the Christian faith, the Abrahamic family of faiths and perhaps beyond to all "spiritual people". Each of these levels representing to some extent a distinct tradition community, but with each level subsumed into the levels above.

If the individual is to have a sense of integration, the values and aspirations of the aggregations to which they perceive themselves to belong, hierarchically or on the same level, must be integratable.

The pastor must be seeking not only the integration of the aggregations to which individuals perceive themselves to belong, but also the integration of the theological concepts of God's attitude to each level of aggregation otherwise one ends up with a schizophrenic God and that is not credible. The individual's perceived integration of God's attitudes to all aspects of life is the basis of pastoral theology - God's attitude to all the real things in life is the basis of both coherence (the possibility of a totality to belong to) and of any system of religious ethics.

Cumpsty's understanding of aggregations which constitute the greater part of the self can be further enriched for the pastor by relating it to Eric J Cassel's understanding of the ways in which aggregations may be related to. ⁷

Cassel writes about aggregations such as the family and various groupings including the working or professional ones, and sometimes he implies aggregations in speaking of the manner of relating to them. For example, when he speaks of the political self he implies a whole range of communities from the local to the international.

Cassel's major contribution, however, is his recognition that the individual relates to almost any aggregation through the past, the present and the future. The past, in memories and acquired experience; the present, in terms of multiple roles and, less consciously, established behaviours; the future, in terms of goals, hopes and even dreams. In serious illness many of these "bits of the self" may get stolen away. The past may become the only remaining bastion for identity.

He also speaks of "Meaning and transcendence offer(ing) two additional ways by which the suffering associated with destruction of part of personhood is ameliorated", that is, in relation to what Cumpsty calls by the more general term "Ultimately-Real", and attributing a meaning to one's suffering in that light.

Both Cumpsty and Cassel deal with aggregations in the dualistic Secular World Affirming context, but the former means us to understand that they are also important within a Nature Religion tradition, as is much Hindu tradition, but then they are no longer hierarchical aspects of a secular realm in a dualistic reality but rather parts of the grand pattern of a concentric, monistic reality. That is, each aggregation will be regarded as an aspect of the Ultimately-Real. In the eyes of an observer from a Secular World Affirming tradition, however, this may not be seen as religious because it does not deal with a transcendent

Ultimately-Real, rather it divinizes family, community or nation.

The monistic variety further confuses outsiders because it is possible to relate to significant aggregations, and to lesser aspects of the world-out-there, in the three perspectives, Actual Life-World, Total, and Symbolized Life-World, set out above.

The Corporate Aspects of Religion as Belonging (p.391 p.412)

Cumpsty distinguishes what he calls the three faces of corporate religion:- the *Institution*, which is self defining in public terms, and only of indirect concern here; the *Aggregation Significant in Identity*, as conceived by the individual belonging to it, with which we have just dealt; and the *Tradition Community*, defined by the processes going on within it and to which we now turn.

For present purposes it is sufficient to note that a tradition community's "processes" keep the members for the time being in relation to the received tradition and vice versa. The important pair of processes are:- 1) that which seeks to *incarnate* the received tradition from the "centre" in the local communities of the periphery and, in the end, in the individual life, where alone it can be lived and tested; and 2) that which seeks to *distil* and reintegrate with the received tradition, the experience of living the tradition, before that is once again sent out. Institutions are usually quite good about (1) but notoriously bad about (2). From a pastoral point of view, however, (2) is at least as important as (1). If individuals are to have the sense of participating in the hierarchy of aggregations which comprise their Church (or other religious body) and in whatever lays beyond it, they must feel themselves to be heard, or somehow to count, in the "livingness" of the tradition community.

The relevance of the sections of Cumpsty's general theory which have been selected for inclusion will become clear when we discuss the religious location of individuals, what ministry they need in their particular circumstances and how much of that a Christian minister might offer.

PROBABLE PROFILES AND THE CHOICE OF FIELDWORK METHOD

We have seen that Cumpsty's General Theory of Religion suggests that there are three paradigms for, or ways of modelling, a reality to which one would belong and that these give rise to necessary consequential symbols generating three types of world-views or tradition. Then there are certain sub-types of these three, associated with different pathways or logics in belonging; and then possible mixes of these, creating points of difference along a spectrum between the types or sub-types. This theory throws light upon the complexity of India's living traditions.

These theoretical considerations, together with a general background knowledge of India, lead to the identification of various categories, or what we shall be calling "profiles", into which people in India fall or to which they might be related.

There are a few Hindus who may be identified as rejecting all coherence in the world-out-there and understanding experience as chaos, and thus falling into what Cumpsty speaks of as the "only non-religious position" because there is nothing to which one would or could belong. They find it impossible to hold on to anything worthwhile. For the rest, the profiles are identified in relation to the different consequential variables, in Cumpsty's three types, which have particular relevance to India. Christians and Moslems, of course, will approximate to the Secular World Affirming type.

Leatt (1996) comments on the religions cradled in Indian, that there is a dance between the types which Cumpsty calls Nature Religion and Withdrawal Religion,

or as she prefers to see it, in its own terms, as swings between an emphasis upon Dharma, manifesting as social responsibility, and Moksha, understood as individual release. Most Hindus could be identified as lying within either of these communal or individual emphases.

Another discriminating factor in Indian traditions is whether reality is perceived as personal or impersonal. Reality is impersonal, according to Cumpsty, when it is understood as a closed system of cause and effect, where neither chance nor new beginning are possible. Rather, there is an explanation for all that happens and every action must have its effect. Thus is 'Karma Marga'. In principle, life's events can be predicted and controlled.

It can be the case, however, that a view of reality is impersonal even though there are gods in the system spoken of in personal terms. If reality can be controlled by ritual or magic and there is no true volition in the gods then the system is in fact impersonal. The position of the "Tribal" traditions in India seems to be a communal version of this.

If reality is personal then much hinges on the character of the Divine. There is a spectrum, at one end of which the Divine it is predictable and to some degree controllable and at the other end it is irresponsible, bordering on chaos. For example, at one end we have "Bhakti Marga" which portray deities as well disposed and approachable so that their courses of action are partially predictable and partially controllable. At the other end is, another position deeply entrenched in Indian tradition, "Leela". All misfortunes in life are attributed to the god's Leela (frivolity) which can only be accepted. It is neither predictable nor controllable. Reality is spoken of in personal terms, but it is not seriously predictable nor controllable. Better, perhaps, to believe that there is something there which might be beneficial at some whim of its own, or might just be persuaded, than to consider all experience as chaos.

Just from the theoretical base and some little understanding of the Indian context one can already discern a number of profiles into which the population might be discovered to fall or in relation to which they can be placed.

It is now perhaps appropriate to summarize what we mean by "profile".

A profile refers not in the first place to people but to logically coherent combinations of the variables described above. Sometimes these profiles are such that individuals fall very clearly into them, for example, the Karmic position with its emphasis on an individual closed system of cause and effect. Whereas, while some people may fall clearly into the Bhakti or Leela positions, what we have with these two recognizable positions within a personal view of reality, is a spectrum along which many people can be located.

It is these characteristic positions to which individuals might relate, suggested by bringing together the theory and experience of India, that we called profiles.

Having established these potential positions we recognized, of course, that not all the types possible within the theory were necessarily common in practice (as a fully coherent Withdrawal profile would not be) and that we had not necessarily perceived all the possible characteristic positions which might lie within the theory. The next stage, therefore, was to undertake a field study to further refine understanding of the profiles; to discover which existed in practice and whether there were others existing which our consideration of the theory and the Indian context had not revealed. We would not be attempting (with our limited time and resources) to achieve an overall picture of Indian or even just Madras society, simply to check the existence of, and refine our understanding of, these profiles.

Before turning to the design of the pilot study it is appropriate to summarize what are the variables which potentially define the profiles, the combinations of which we

want to test in the field. These are, apart from the Chaos position, the three basic paradigms for reality and their consequential variables contained in Cumpsty's table. In particular whether reality is personal or impersonal (closed system or not) whether the focus is individual (Moksha) or communal (Dharma) and the degree to which the system is controllable or uncontrollable, predictable or not predictable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clinebell, H. *Basic Types of Pastoral Counselling* (Nashville, Abingdon, 1984)

Cumpsty J, Hofmeyr J and Kruss G, Religion, "The Integrated Expression of Social Values and Processes of Social Change" *Religion, Intergroup Relations and Social Change in South Africa*, G.C.Oosthuizen, J.W. de Gruchy *et al* (eds) (Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council, 1985)

Cumpsty, J S. *A Replication in South Shore, Illinois, U.S.A. of Certain Aspects of the Project "The Role of Religion in Motivating or Inhibiting Socio-Political Action in the Lower Socio-Economic Group and Ensuing Counter Influences upon the Religious Group." which was undertaken in Greater Athlone, Cape Town 1983-84.* Report submitted to the South African Human Sciences Research Council 1988.

Cumpsty, J S. *Religion as Belonging: A General Theory of Religion*, (Lanham MD, University Press of America, 1991)

Cumpsty J.S. (a) "The Importance of Starting from Both Ends. An Appreciative Response to Michael Pye's Keynote Address" *Religion and the Reconstruction of Civil Society* J.de Gruchy and S. Martin (eds) (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1995)

Cumpsty J.S. (b) " 'Types' and Processes in Religion: A Bridge into African World-Views" *Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences: Council for the Problems of Africa, 1995.*

- Cumpsty J.S. (c) "Development and Divided Identity in South African High School Pupils: Research in Progress Report" *Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences : Council for the Problems of Africa*, 1995.
- Cumpsty J.S. *Some Thoughts from Africa and the Scientific Study of Religion upon the "Compelling Manifest Function" of Work, and on Cultures of Unemployability in the "Jobless Future"* 1996 Unpublished paper
- Cumpsty J.S. *Work as a Sacrament of Participation in the Faith Reality of "Western" Implicit Religion*. 1997 Unpublished paper
- Buber, Martin, *I and Thou* (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1970)
- Buijs, G. *A Study of Indian Pentecostal Church Membership with Reference to a Model of Religious Change*. (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1985)
- Leatt, Ann-Marie. *Intrinsic Patterns in the History of Religious Change from Early Hindu Traditions to Contemporary Mahayana Buddhism : An Application of Cumpsty's Theory of Religion*. M.Soc Sci. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1996
- Msoni, Vivian. *Pastoral Counselling in Southern Africa with Special Reference to the Zulu*. (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992)
- Pye, Michael. "Shinto and the Typology of Religion", *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* vol 1.2, 1989
- Pye, Michael. "Religion and Identity: Clues and Threads", Keynote address to the inaugural meeting of the South African Academy of Religion, *Religion and the Reconstruction of Civil Society*, J.de Gruchy and S. Martin (eds) (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1995)
- Rümke, H C *The Psychology of Unbelief* (Lond, Rockliff, 1952)
- Takayama, K Peter, "The Revitalization Movement of Modern Japanese Civil Religion", *Sociological Analysis*, vol 48, No 4, 1988 p.328.

Tutu, Desmond M. "Some African Insights and the Old Testament" *Relevant Theology for Africa* (Mapumulo, Missiological Institute, 1973)

Whitehead, A N. *Religion in the Making*, (Cleveland and New York, The World Publishing Company, 1960)

ENDNOTES

1 All quotations from here onwards are from Cumpsty 1991 unless otherwise stated.

2 Cumpsty's note on this reads as follows:

Whitehead expressed this as "If you were never solitary, you were never religious".(1960 p.16) For Rümke, if you had not become an ego, that is individual, you could not begin upon religious experience.(1952 p.xvi) For Buber, to pass from relating to the bits and pieces of life, to relating to the whole, was the great divide in experience, for the "Whole" is "seamless and neighbourless".(1970 p.59) (Cumpsty 1995(b))

3 He points out that the two parts of the definition are not circular. One cannot cancel out the term "ultimately-real" without losing the sense of a totality to which one would belong.

4 See Michael Pye, 1989 and 1995

5 The details of these non-negotiable consequences may be found in Cumpsty (1991) p.173-214

6 See the debate sparked by Robin Horton's paper on African and Scientific world-views "African Traditional Thought and Western Science", *Africa* XXXVII (1967)

7 Cassel, Eric J. "The Nature of Suffering and the Goals of Medicine", *The New England Journal of Medicine*, Vol 306 No 11.

CHAPTER 3

OPERATIONALIZATION

FIELDWORK METHOD, CHOICE OF SAMPLE, DESIGN OF QUESTIONNAIRE

FIELDWORK METHOD:

For this study the use of an elaborate questionnaire was out of the question. The population to be investigated consisted of illiterates as well as literates and people whose attention span is quite short. An interview technique which could be relatively formal or informal as the situation required, was therefore inevitable. In order to achieve consistency in the interviews, however, we needed to structure them. It was decided, therefore, that we would use a short questionnaire to guide the interviewer and trigger a conversation around a particular point, rather than that the structure should be apparent to the people interviewed. This in any case would have to be its form when we came to apply it to the terminally ill. In the longer term, even the questions in the short questionnaire would have to be prioritized so that the interview process could be shortened for the debilitated.

CHOICE OF SAMPLE

The choice of individuals to make up the sample for the survey had to include the principal religious traditions we were investigating, namely Christianity, Islam and the predominant forms of Hinduism, but it also had an adequate representation of men and women, young and old, well educated and illiterates, economically deprived and affluent, and people belonging to the different castes.

For our purposes it was not critical that representatives of each category balance each other but only that each was adequately represented. Because of the greater variety of traditions which we needed represented within Hinduism we decided that our sample would be weighted in that direction.

The size of the sample had to depend upon time and resources. We were not, as has been said, seeking to investigate a feature of Indian society, but rather, on the one hand, to discover whether our questions were meaningful to all to whom we addressed them and whether they produced discrete categories; and, on the other hand, to discover whether our theoretically arrived at profiles existed in practice and whether there might be other common profiles.

In the end it was possible to include in the Pilot Study 70 Christians, 50 Muslims and 80 Hindus. Further moves to make the sample representative were undertaken when the main survey was undertaken and will be discussed at that point. The sample for this purpose, as we have said, needed neither to be *random* nor *paired* but only as *representative* as time and resources would allow.

The variables we have been discussing could not be the immediate source of questions to structure an interview. They need to be operationalized, and the next stage of the project was to consider how these variables manifest in the society which we were going to investigate.

DESIGN OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The variables discussed in the last chapter are, as Cumpsty shows, interdependent and not all of them, therefore, have to be tested in order to locate an individual respondent. For the purposes of the short questionnaire a choice had to be made of which variables to test having regard to their appropriateness in the context; and the form, or vehicle, in which the questions would be asked would depend upon how the chosen variable "outcropped" in Indian society. Obviously one would choose

variables of which the sample population would be conscious in some way, and formulate the question in terms of elements in their own experience.

Although this is an almost hidden and unrecordable part of any research project of this type it is also the most important. It has to be right, however long it takes, because everything else depends upon it. Bringing together the theory and the context, selecting the variables to test, then proposing and modifying questions to test them, which, whether direct or indirect, must always be meaningful to the likely sample, takes long hours of imaginative coming and going. That, in this case, the investment of time was worth while will be seen from the minimal changes which had to be made after this pilot study questionnaire was tested.

VALIDATION OF THE QUESTIONS

Whether a question is meaningful to the respondents in their context will emerge in the interviews, does it focus the ensuing discussion on the appropriate issues is what matters. Beyond that, the validation of a question depends upon the coherence of the answers that it produces with responses to other questions in the group. The world-view elements of Cumpsty's ideal types are interdependent so that overall responses to questions about each of them, as well as to multiple questions about one of them, must be coherent, or it must be shown why that is not so in particular situations, otherwise the question is invalidated.

RATIONALE FOR QUESTIONS INCLUDED IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

The questions which follow are presented in English which is sometimes a little strange, as it seeks to be both a literal translation but also to convey accurately the meaning of the Tamil language in which they were formulated.

In the first place, and in quite general terms, we wished to test how far people had been influenced by the "Modern" world-view, that is by the Secular World Affirming (Take hold and shape) paradigm or its post-enlightenment equivalent. Our assumption, which we believe to be justified, is that the style of public

education offered in India belongs in that "Modern" paradigm. Thus our first question was formulated as follows:

If you have a child at school and you are not satisfied with the type of education that the child is receiving what would you do?

This question was inevitably overlaid with other issues such as a sense of determinism and the level of affluence, but nevertheless it is a question uppermost in many people's minds.

-*-

The second variable we wished to test was that of chance or freedom of action versus determination of experience. The question was formulated as follows:

Do you think an employee should seek for promotion or should he or she just wait to be promoted?

-*-

The third variable we wished to test was that of the nature of the Ultimately Real and of the nature of the relationship of the individual with that Ultimately Real and in particular how personally or impersonally was the Ultimately Real conceived. The question was formulated in very broad terms as follows:

What is your reason for worshipping God (or Supreme Being where appropriate) or performing a ritual?

-*-

The fourth variable we wished to test concerned the individuals' experience of their immediate world out there, whether the respondent has any possible sense of religious belonging however minimal. That is to say, whether he/she perceives a sufficiently coherent reality to which he/she might belong or whether it is all chaos or, at best, just an accidental coming together of many bits and pieces. The question was formulated as follows:

How do you see life? Is it just a series of accidents or do you see any purpose in it? In other words, is there any coherence in all the events, or are they just

bits and pieces?

~*~

The fifth variable we wished to test was that of Chance versus Determinism. The objective was to test whether the respondent's experience in life was understood as a closed system where every event must have both a cause and a consequence, or whether there is a possibility of new beginnings or of chance. The question was formulated as follows:

If a person faces much misfortune in his or her life what advice would you give him or her?

Questions 2 and 4 above potentially offer information on this topic but it was felt that this was likely to be such an important discriminator that a further question in the area of whether reality is perceived as a closed system of cause and effect or whether there is any degree of chance in the system was justified. This question, unlike the other two, sharply focuses on the area of suffering.

~*~

The sixth variable we wished to test was which model would be in operation if the respondent believed in survival after death, would they remain in this reality as an ancestral spirits, be reincarnated, or go to heaven. This is, of course, a distinct difference between the three ideal types. The question was formulated as follows:

Is death the end of life or does life continue in some way?

~*~

The seventh variable we wished to test was the general quality of the respondent's mode of belonging to the ultimately real which would effect how they felt about life as a whole. The question was formulated as follows:

How do you look at your future? Are you afraid? If yes, why? If not, why?

The sense of security about the future would depend upon the nature of what the

respondents saw themselves as belonging to, the nature of their belonging to it, and the intensity of that belonging. Although these factors can be overlaid by each other the interviewer would have to decide where the strengths and weakness lay.

The eighth variable we wished to test was that of the view of time. The objective was to test the degree to which a sense of linear time and the importance of its best use, controlled the respondent's world view. The question was formulated as follows:

Is punctuality important in life?

*

The ninth variable we wished to test was that of the social feature Individual/Universal versus Communal. This we expected to be a very discriminating variable in the Indian context. It was decided, therefore, to assess it in three ways, the first at the more cognitive and public level of the world of work, the second at a more affective and personal level, the third at an affective level but concerning the sense of community.

In context, the procedure for the first would be to test the importance of extended family responsibilities (communal preference) over against that of the good of the wider society (all individuals the same). The question was formulated as follows:

If you get a chance to become an appointing authority would you feel obligated to employ your Dear Ones (extended family) or the most efficient?

The second level would seek to test whether the respondent's personal feelings were dominated by an extended family sense or by individualism. This question was formulated as follows:

Do you need to depend on others to make your life happy and meaningful?

The third approach was to test the degree to which there existed an extended family sense about the community, as against an individual or nuclear family sense. The question was formulated as follows:

If you find a neighbour whom you respect punishing your child for some good reason what would be your reaction?

-*-

The final questionnaire for the pilot study was therefore as follows:-

1. If you have a child at school and you are not satisfied with the type of education that the child is receiving, what would you do?
2. Do you think an employee should seek for promotion or should he or she just wait to be promoted?
3. What is your reason for worshipping God (or Supreme Being where appropriate) or performing a ritual?
4. How do you see life? Is it just a series of accidents or do you see any purpose in it? In other words, is there any coherence in all the events or they are just bits and pieces?
5. If a person faces much misfortune in his or her life what advice would you give him or her?
6. Is death the end of life or does life continue in someway?
7. How do you look at your future? Are you afraid? If yes, why? If not, why not?
8. Is punctuality important in life?
9. If you get a chance to become an appointing authority would you feel obligated to employ your Dear Ones (extended family) or the most efficient?

10. Do you need to depend upon others to make your life happy and meaningful?

11. If you found a neighbour whom you respect punishing your child for some good reason what would be your reaction?

-*-

In deciding upon the variables to test and the appropriate questions to structure our interviews we already had in mind certain profiles of typical respondents in the Indian context which we wished to distinguish. We didn't want these to be too apparent in our questions. These profiles will begin to clarify as the pilot survey results are discussed in the next chapter but, short of much repetition, they can only emerge in detail in the analysis of the total responses given to both the pilot and main surveys.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE PILOT STUDY

The pilot study was conducted in Madras during the months July to December 1994. Interviews, structured by the 11 question questionnaire, were had successfully with 80 Hindus, 70 Christians and 50 Muslims. The findings from these questions are given below:

Clearly, respondents used their own words, which were recorded in summary by the Interviewer. In each set of responses certain positions emerged, sometimes only one, sometimes three or more, these positions are expressed in words chosen by the Interviewer to reflect as faithfully as possible the opinions being expressed.

Q1: To assess how far people have moved towards the mode of engagement associated with the Secular World Affirming paradigm.

If you have a child at school and you are not satisfied with the type of education that the child is receiving what would you do?

Among 80 Hindu's, 65 said they would either change the school or make arrangements for extra coaching and 15 said they could not do anything. Out of 70 Christians 55 said that they would wish to change the school and 15 said they would have to wait. Out of 50 Muslims 37 were in favour of changing the school and the remaining 13 said they would not readily do so.

The answers point to the fact that the majority are not passive to this type of life event, by just accepting it but wish to rise above the occasion to take hold and shape it. Theoretically speaking, one would expect the traditions that come under the

Abrahamic world view, namely Christianity and Islam, to exhibit such a character. The fact that the majority of Hindus also exhibited the same characteristics may suggest that in India, in education and in areas of life calling upon education, the paradigm which dominates in the educational system (linear time, goal oriented, individualistic) has come to be accepted by the large number of people associated with it. There was evidence from the start that for some people financial concerns entered into their answer to this question. The phrase "assuming that there are no financial constraints" was therefore inserted to limit the possibility of poverty clouding the issue. ¹

Q2: To test the sense of freedom of action verses a determined experience.

Do you think an employee should seek for promotion or should he or she just wait to be promoted?

Out of 80 Hindus, 74 said there would not be any use in seeking promotion, if there is to be any promotion it will come on its own. Only 6 said they would seek for it. Out of 70 Christians, 56 felt it is not good to seek, rather leave it to God's will and patiently wait for His time. 14 said they would seek for it. Out of 50 Muslims, 45 said one should not seek if he or she has strong faith in God, rather wait for the right time. The remaining 5 said one should seek for it.

The answers suggest that the majority of both Christians and Muslims while recognizing the possibility of freedom of action have handed it back to God as part of their Christian or Muslim faith. This, however, is at the cognitive level. Their willingness to do so may have more to do with a deep seated Hindu fatalism at the affective level.

The majority of Hindus manifest a very deterministic view of life. They are not worried about delay in promotion, not believing that they can influence it. The

minority of Hindus have moved to a position which allows for such freedom of action. See comment on responses Q1.

Q3 : To test the nature of the relationship of the individual to the ultimately real.

Personal/Impersonal

What is your reason for worshipping God (or Supreme Being where appropriate) or performing a ritual?

Out of 80 Hindus, 60 said they worship God mainly to appease Him, 17 said it is their duty as Hindus to do so and 3 said they worship God in order to enjoy prosperity. Out of 70 Christians, 40 of them said they worship God in order to enjoy blessings and 15 felt it is their duty to do so, while the remaining 15 said they worship God in order to enjoy fellowship with fellow Christians. Out of 50 Muslims, 46 said they worship in order to enjoy material blessings, security and happiness, while the remaining 4 said they worship God for the sake of identity with fellow Muslims.

The majority of Hindus seek to keep on the right side of their God/gods/Supreme Being without very much positive expectation. Interestingly, the majority of Christians gave a similar response but with more positive expectations. Though the response of the majority of Muslims was similar to those of both Christians and Hindus, one might see here an emphasis on the sovereignty of Allah. In all the three groups only the minority show a concern with a sense of belonging to community and where appropriate, to God. At least in the Christian case, this must surely be an overlay of Hindu culture.

Q4. To test at whether there is coherent reality to which the respondent can belong.

How do you see life ? Is it just a series of accidents or do you see any purpose

in it ? In other words, is there any coherence in all the events or are they just bits and pieces ?

This question was differently understood in different contexts. The interviewer had to decide in each context how it was being understood. The question tests, at one level, that which was intended, namely whether the respondent had a world-view coherent enough to be religious, but at another level, the question determined to what extent experience is understood as a closed system of cause and effect or to what extent there is a high degree of chance in the system.

Out of 80 Hindus, 46 said that life is the expression of God's Leela and there is no purpose in it.

The term "Leela" refers to the game personal gods play with human beings. Some Hindus attribute all the crisis in their lives to the malignant will or to the irresponsible character of the deities. The deities are believed to be using human beings like puppets in their hands for their own pleasure, and this can only be accepted.

The remaining 34 said the deeds of their previous Karma determine it.

The term "Karma" refers to the doctrine of Karma which remains basic to Hinduism. To a Hindu it means that the deeds of one's previous life influence the present life and deeds in this life will influence the future life. It is a closed system of cause and effect.

Out of 70 Christians, 65 said everything takes place according to God's will and nothing can be altered. Five, however, said it is accidental and there is no purpose at all. Out of 50 Muslims, 47 said there is purpose in it and Allah is in direct control of it, but three said that there is no purpose in it.

The majority of Hindus in this sample affirm Leela so strongly that they come close to saying that there is nothing out there coherent enough to belong to. The minority

being strongly Karmic, affirm the closed system of cause and effect.

A small minority of those labeled Christian appear to be nominal because they perceive life as just a series of accidents and that there is no purpose in it. Such a position cannot be orthodox Christianity. These respondents seem to go beyond even the Hindus who affirmed Leela, to a position that there is nothing coherent out there. The majority response, on the other hand, seems to be over deterministic. One would have expected more sense of freedom and therefore human responsibility in relation to God. The majority of Muslims again manifest with a strong sense of the sovereignty of Allah.

Q5: To assess to what degree experience is perceived as a closed system, especially in the area of human suffering.

If a person faces much misfortune in his or her life what advice would you give him or her ?

Out of 80 Hindus, 52 said in order to change the course of events one would have to do good things. (good Dharma, e.g. alms for the poor) The remaining 24 said there is nothing that one could do. He or she must simply accept it and 4 said that misfortune in life could be overcome through rationality. These last belonged to the Humanist movement. Out of 70 Christians, 52 said every failure becomes an opportunity to come closer to God. Submission to God will make things all right. The remaining 12 said "dark clouds" are not there permanently and waiting patiently would bring a good result. Out of 50 Muslims, 34 said one should examine oneself and discover the shortcoming that was the reason for the misfortune. Once the fault is rectified all will be well. 16 said one should simply accept it because one cannot understand God's will.

The minority Hindu response could be interpreted either as the influence of an underlying belief in a closed system (Karmic) or as Leela verging on the chaotic. In

the light of the previous question it can be seen that it is the Leela group that are responding in this way. The majority response (Dharma) is within the Karmic tradition.

In the answers given by the Christians, they appear to be making the orthodox response, but one has to read the majority view in the light of the answers given to the previous question. Their response to the previous question suggests a greater fatalism. (It is fatalistic in the sense that, on being confronted with the threat of chaos they seek to overcome it by submission to the will of God. We do not detect either a belief in freedom of action nor of human responsibility in these Christians. What one misses here is present both in the Hindu Karmic response and in the majority of Muslims, namely an element of self-examination. That this is missing in both responses to this question and in the previous question suggests a very widespread fatalism.

The majority Muslim response seems a little Dharma-Karmic for orthodox Islam, where demand for submission to the Sovereignty of Allah would suggest a response more in line with the minority opinion.

The minority Muslim response reflects absolute submission to the sovereignty of Allah. Though the importance of freedom of action is recognized, it is handed over to God as part of Muslim faith.

Q6. To test which model is in operation if there is belief in survival after death.

Is death the end of life or does life continue in some way ?

Out of 80 Hindus, 44 said life continues by rebirth into this world and 32 said they never thought about, while 4 said death is the end. Out of 70 Christians 64 expressed their belief in going to heaven or hell and 6 said they did not think about life after death, it is less important to them than this life. Out of 50 Muslims 46

expressed their belief in going to Allah's presence, 4 confessed that they never thought about the idea of death.

The answers suggest that only the minority in all the traditions have any problem with belief in life after death, or in conceptualizing life after death. The majority of Hindus are orthodox, reflecting the monistic individual world view. Christians and Muslims talk about moving towards God by using expression like "going to" which suggests that they recognize the existence of the transcendence gap. The greater number of non-affirmative opinions expressed difficulty with conceptualizing life after death, a position which would not be incompatible with a cosmic trust. Only 10 respondents in total said that they positively did not believe in life after death.

Q7: To assess the nature of what the respondent belongs to, the nature of his/her belonging to it and the intensity of the relationship.

How do you look at your future? Are you afraid? If yes, Why? If not, Why not?

Out of 80 Hindus, 48 said they were afraid of Karma, 32 said they were afraid of uncertainty about the future. Out of the 70 Christians, 62 of them said they were not afraid because God is in full control of their lives. The remaining 8 expressed a fear of uncertainty about the future. Out of 50 Muslims, all the 50 said they were not afraid of their future since Allah had control over it.

The majority of Hindus have a strong belief in Karmic reality which leaves most of them afraid of the future. From the rest of the Hindus we get different expressions of the uncertainty associated with the Leela tradition.

The majority of Christians and Muslims responded in the orthodox style.

Q8: To assess the degree to which a sense of linear time and the importance of its best use, controls the world view.

Is punctuality important in life ?

Out of 80 Hindus, 52 said punctuality is not at all important and the remaining 28 said it is important for making progress in life. Out of 70 Christians, 51 said it is impossible to be punctual because of lack of facilities and it is possible only in First World countries. The remaining 19 said it is important to be punctual in order to improve the quality of living. All 50 Muslims said it is important because it improves the quality of living.

For the minority of Hindus, the linear sense of time has permeated the world view. If this question is taken in conjunction with the answers to the question about life after death it is clear, as would be expected, that some Hindus are participating in two incompatible world views. For the majority of the Christians, the view expressed owes more to the Hindu culture than to the Christian world view. Stewardship of time is important in Christian tradition but it seems to be missing in this response. All the Muslims responded in a way which suggests a linear sense of time in which the moment is valued.

Q9: Social Feature : Individual v Communal (World of Work)

If you get a chance to become an appointing authority would you feel obligated to employ your Dear Ones (extended family) or the most efficient?

Out of 80 Hindus, 65 said they would employ their Dear Ones and the remaining 15 said only the most efficient applicants. Out of 70 Christians 60 said they would employ only the efficient and the remaining 10 said only the Dear Ones. Out of 50 Muslims, 45 said the choice would be strictly based on efficiency and the remaining 5 said they would choose only Dear Ones.

The answers given by the Hindus suggests that the majority of them have a strong extended family sense. It is perhaps worth noting that 50% of those responding in this majority style come from a Dalit (oppressed) background. With regard to Christians and Muslims, the majority of them seem to be in favour of equality in the wider society rather than the extended family system.

Q10. Social Feature : Individual v Communal (Personal Feelings)

Do you feel a need to depend upon others in order to make your life happy and meaningful ?

Out of 80 Hindus, 41 expressed a feeling of need for dependency and the remaining 39 did not. Out of 70 Christians, 66 felt the need to depend upon others and only 4 did not. Out of 50 Muslims, 45 expressed the need for dependency, 5 did not.

The answers given by the Hindus show that the majority have an extended family sense that we associate with Nature Religion. The individualism of the other half (39) could arise from the influence of the Withdrawal paradigm or from the influence of the over individualistic Western handling of the solidary Abrahamic traditions.

The very large majority of Christians who expressed the need for dependence is containable within Christian orthodoxy but perhaps reflects roots in Tribal, Nature Religion, It may, of course, be the natural response of a relatively deprived minority community.

The need for dependency affirmed by the massive majority of Muslims could be due to exposure to the Nature Religion aspects of Hindu culture or it could be an effect of their being a threatened minority. Having regard to the way in which Islam seeks to create its own culture it is more likely to be the latter than the former.

Q11. Social Feature : Individual v Communal (Community Sense)

If you found a neighbour whom you respect punishing your child for some good reason what would be your reaction?

It is taboo in India to ask if a person has children, not to have children is a stigma. The question assumes that the respondent can think his/her way into the position of one having children.

Out of 80 Hindus, 73 said they would feel good and only 7 said they would not be happy. Out of 70 Christians 60 said they would expect the neighbour to inform them about the child's misbehaviour instead of punishing the child and 10 said they would feel good about it. In the case of Muslims, out of 50, 31 said they would feel good about it and 19 said they would expect to be informed about the child's misdemeanour.

For the Hindus, extended family sense is very great; only a small minority expressed nuclear family sense. For the Christians, the situation is reversed, a very small minority manifest an extended family sense of community. A significant majority of Muslims manifest an extended family, communal sense even though they are living as a minority in the wider culture. It is an argument from silence, but it does seem significant that in all cases the respondents refrained from saying that they would be angry, only that the incident would have been better reported to the parent. There is clearly a pervasive, residual extended family influence even among the Christians. (See responses to previous question)

It might also be noted that there is in traditional Indian society, as in some others, an authorization view of the relationship between the generations. That is to say, there is a sense of belonging to an age or generation group which can override family boundaries so that any older person may assume authorization to deal with a child's transgressions on behalf of the parent.

SUMMARY OF THE PILOT STUDY.

The responses suggest that in most cases (the exceptions will be dealt with below) the questions were understood by the respondents without difficulty. This was probably the case because care was taken to operationalize the variables in terms familiar in the culture and translate the questions into the local language of people in Tamilnadu.

All the questions except the first, seemed to clearly distinguish the variables in which we are interested. The first question, however, places nearly all respondents in a mixed world-view situation, that represented by the educational system and then their own more traditionally Indian one. We did not feel that it discriminated too clearly. Nevertheless it was familiar ground for most Indians and served to break the ice. It serves well to grab the respondent's attention because it refers to an issue that is close to the respondent's heart. It was decided to retain it as a warm-up question with the slight modification noted above to exclude the financial consideration.

Patterns in the responses indicate that the various profiles suggested by the theory emerge from the data but discussion of these will be left until the total survey results are analysed in chapter 5.

MODIFICATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The analysis of the pilot study suggests that in most cases the questions were understood as intended, only Q4 was understood by the respondents in different ways. It was, however, decided to retain the question in this form because it was not difficult in the interview to decide how it was being heard and it functioned well within each context. So it was decided to retain all 11 questions with the above mentioned addition to question 1 of the phrase "assuming that there are no financial constraints"

Four questions were added:

Q6 attracted many responses "I have never thought about death". It was decided, therefore, to include a more direct question to test transcendence v. immanence [Q12].

Q8 on time, was sometimes confused by the contextual impossibility of punctuality. So it was decided to add a question on time more abstracted from the context [Q15]. It was decided also to add a question on the social coercion variable [Q13] and one to test whether the form religion took was individual/mystical, proclamation or social concern [Q14]. The additional questions were:

Q 12. To test more directly transcendence v. immanence, that is, dualistic v monistic world-view:

Where do you think God (Supreme Being) is?

Q 13. To test the Social Coercion variable, that is, to determine how the motivators "fear" or "greed" find expression in the respondent's world-view when "love/altruism" fails:

What do you think is the best way for a society to operate, whether to punish those who do not contribute good to the society or to reward those who do contribute good to the society?

Q 14. To test whether the form religion took was individual/mystical, proclamation or social concern:

Is it more important to know the truth about God or is it better to serve your fellow beings? Consider these accounts of three peoples lives and say who you think is more religious?

a) Mohan is a very quiet and meditative person. He works in the Factory the

whole day and goes straight home in the evening. He is not one who seeks pleasure in recreation of any kind. He does not have significant vices. He is very much known for his good conduct. He always spends his leisure time in prayer, scripture reading and meditation. He is very regular in his religious observances such as fasting every Friday. As he is always busily engaged in personal devotion, it is very difficult for anyone to meet him. People would hardly find him available if they needed his help but he is no doubt very pious and gentle by nature.

b) Ravi is a very out-going person. Though he has faith, he does not exhibit externally any sign of being pious. He finds fulfillment in life by being with others in time of need. He seldom goes to temple\church. He is a social worker. Because he is always serving others he has no time for religious observances. He believes that service to the people is more important than observation of religious rites and rituals. He is always known as a "man for others".

c) Prem is concerned to know the truth about God's purpose and invests a lot of time and energy not only seeking that truth in scripture reading and other study but also in seeking to share his faith with other people. He worries about those who do not have right belief that they will lose out both in life now and life after death.

Q 15. To test the view of time in a manner more abstracted from the context:

a) Time is not moving towards a goal. Everything in the Cosmos has its own time and place constituting a grand pattern and therefore if I diminish anything I diminish all including myself.

b) Time moves towards a goal. In order to have a full life I need to participate in moving things towards that goal.

c) Time is an illusion. There are only significant moments in the individual's experience of following the path.

Which of the above statements is nearest to the truth?

THE PILOT SAMPLE AND ITS MODIFICATION FOR THE MAIN SURVEY

The majority of the Muslims interviewed were merchants and businessmen. They were owners of hotels, meat shops and other general stores. A majority of them were recent converts from the Hindu scheduled caste. Some of them had tertiary education although none were graduates. As with most Muslims in India they lived in a Muslim community. All those interviewed came from one such major community.

It was felt, after the pilot study, that Islam tends to impose a firm and monochrome Muslim culture and that the Muslim sample was more representative of that position than either of the other groups were of any single position. The second survey among Muslims, therefore, would simply be the application of the extended questionnaire to a small additional group. As it turned out the second survey included some further recent converts.

Regarding the Hindus, the majority of those interviewed in the pilot survey came from the scheduled caste who receive special privileges from the government because of caste oppression. Among these there were rather more who were affluent and better educated than the average for the local society. Therefore in the second survey a deliberate attempt was made to include more Hindus from less prosperous and less educated backgrounds. So in the second survey, a majority were drawn

from the forward caste which included orthodox Brahmins. Though they belong to the forward caste they are economically disadvantaged because they do

not receive any favour from the government for the fact that they belong to the upper caste.

The pilot sample of Christians represented the Lutheran church, the Church of South India, the Methodist and Baptist churches. There were a few from the "free" (largely Pentecostal) churches, and there was also a small group of Christians who did not currently identify with any church. The sample included some Christians who have formal membership in the Church of South India but felt compulsion to worship in the Catholic church because of their job placement in Catholic institutions. They may manifest Catholic influence.

The majority of the Christians in the pilot study came from a Dalit Christian community and included many who were less prosperous and less educated. Quite a number of them were living below the poverty line, but a few were from lower middle class society. An attempt was made in the second survey, therefore, to include more from the more prosperous and more educated end, which inevitably meant more respondents from the main line churches.

ENDNOTE

1 A study by John Cumpsty and Jacques de Wet on Black High School pupils and Junior Black Managers, indicates how people can shift their world-views as they pass through the school or, later, factory gates. There are, of course, tensions involved. One Manager said "When I come through the factory gates I leave myself outside."

For the High Schools see J S Cumpsty, Project Report on "Symbols, Commitments and Development in South Africa" submitted to the Human Sciences Research Council, July, 1994.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES FROM THE TOTAL SAMPLE

Following the additions made to the questionnaire on the basis of the findings of the pilot survey, a second survey was conducted in India during July to October 1995 among the general population, adding 35 Hindus, 30 Christians and 20 Muslims to those interviewed in the pilot study. For all but the 4 additional questions therefore, the sample now consisted of 115 Hindus, 100 Christians and 70 Muslims.

ANALYSIS

The final questionnaire consisted of an ice breaker question, the 10 other original questions and the four additional questions. 115 Hindus, 100 Christians and 70 Muslims responded to the original 10 questions; 35 Hindus, 30 Christians and 20 Muslims responded to the 4 additional questions.

The responses were as follows:-

Responses for the ice breaking question were not recorded.

Q2 Do you think an employee should seek for promotion or should he or she just wait to be promoted?

Responses fell into just the two clear categories,

- a. one should seek for promotion
- b. one should wait to be promoted

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot Survey	Second Survey	Pilot Survey	Second Survey	Pilot Survey	Second Survey
a.	6	27	14	2	5	4
b.	74	8	56	28	45	16

Comment:

Answering the question on promotion a majority of Hindus in the pilot survey responded negatively, saying that one should not seek for promotion. The background information indicates that the majority of these respondents were from the Scheduled caste. As such, they well know, being officially favoured, that they have a better chance of promotion if they just keep quiet. The Scheduled caste status gives them a margin over others.

In the second survey a majority of Hindus responded positively to the idea of seeking promotion. Their background reveals that they are from the Forward caste which is very much underprivileged in the present social context. It points to the fact that unless they push themselves they will never move up in life. Some of them were even willing to pay a large sum of money as a bribe in order to be promoted. This was confided in the interviews.

A considerable number of Christians in the pilot project, i.e. 14 out of 70, sought for promotion. The background information indicates that out of that 14, 11 are working in private organizations where caste is not taken into account but the merits of the individual. So they have a hope that they would be promoted if they could impress the authorities by their merits. 56 of the 70 Christians favour the passive position. Most of them are from a Dalit Christian background. Because they are Christians, they are twice alienated. On the one hand they are alienated from the society at large because of their caste background and on the other hand they are denied the privileges which the Hindus of their same caste enjoy from the Government. It has left them with very little hope for promotion. None suggested giving a bribe. The only alternative is to "leave it to God's will".

Of the 30 Christians in the second survey, the great majority responded negatively to seeking promotion. Many of these also came from a Dalit Christian community but included more who had prospered and received some education.

Among the Muslims in the pilot survey, of the five who advocate seeking promotion, two completed school education only, the other three went on to graduate from a university. In the same way, of the four Muslims who would seek promotion in the second survey, three were graduates. This suggests that in the Muslim community there are some who have an urge to advance themselves by education and have no problem with seeking promotion. The majority of Muslims, however, educated or not, while recognizing the possibility of freedom of action, have handed this over to God as part of their Muslim faith.

Q3 What is your reason for worshipping or performing a ritual?

Responses to Q3 fell into 5 identifiable categories.

- a. to appease God (Personal gods, Supreme Being)
- b. for duty's sake
- c. for material benefits
- d. for fellowship with others
- e. no belief in worship

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a.	60	14	-	9	-	-
b.	17	15	15	3	-	4
c.	3	-	40	18	46	12
d.	-	-	15	-	4	4
e.	-	6	-	-	-	-

Comment

The difference in the samples between the pilot and second surveys is reflected in the results, but overall 74 Hindus say that their purpose for offering worship or performing a ritual was to appease the gods. Most gave the impression that they would live in fear if they did not offer such worship. They seek to keep on the right side of their gods without much positive expectation. Of the 32 who responded "for duties sake", although some were clearly not very different to the first group and would expect the worst if they did not make the offering, the majority meant that

they were born in the tradition and must, therefore, fulfil it. It was as though their identity was at stake. Particularly was this the case, but not exclusively, with the 9 out of 17 and the 6 out of 15, who were Brahmins. The Brahmins always claim that they are the ones who are called to perform puja in worship. Conducting worship is always considered to be the prerogative of the Brahmins. Therefore they perceive worship as duty.

With regard to the Christians both in the pilot and second survey, a majority said material benefit was the reason for worshipping God. The background information shows that in the pilot survey 23 out of 40 were living below the poverty line and 17 were from the lower middle class. In the same way, in the second survey, out of the 18 who talked about material benefits, 16 seemed to be living just above the poverty line.

This overt concern with material benefit may seem strange to a Western Christian. It is not that Western Christians are not motivated in their worship by material concerns, especially those of health, but that they should be willing to freely admit to it. In a world-view with a closed system of cause and effect whether individual or communal, it makes very good sense to consider the effects of one's actions and to perform those rituals which would have positive effects. What we are seeing in the Christians in this sample is an overlay of Hindu culture. While these Christians are not very different from those of equivalent social status in Western society this overt concern with material benefit would be far less likely to be expressed in the Western world with its long established dualistic sense of reality and therefore highly personal view of God.

Among the Christians in the second survey are nine who responded, "to appease God" (which has a suggestion of wrathfulness) which is almost certainly Leela influence. The 18 in the two surveys who responded "duty" are also influenced by a somewhat mechanistic, if not totally closed system, view of reality.

Coming to the Muslims, in the pilot project, out of 50, 46 were motivated by material benefits. Out of this 46 no less than 31 had been recently converted from the Hindu Schedule caste. They are attracted by Islam because there is no caste system among the Muslim community but in their responses also one could see an overlay of Hindu culture.

Q4 How do you see life? Is it just a series of accidents or do you see any purpose in it? In other words, is there any coherence in all the events or they are just bits and pieces?

Responses to Q4 fell into 5 identifiable categories.

- a. life is determined by gods' Leela
- b. life is determined by Karma/forefathers' deeds
- c. life is determined by Gods' will
- d. life is determined by planets
- e. life has no purpose at all.

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a.	46	5	-	-	-	-
b.	34	22	-	6	-	-
c.	-	-	65	24	47	20
d.	-	6	-	-	-	-
e.	-	2	5	-	3	-

Comment:

9 out of 34 and 11 out of 22 Hindus who said "Life is determined by Karma" represent the Forward caste which includes Brahmins. They expressed their belief in Karma which indicates the orthodox Hindu position. Being Karmic they strongly affirm the closed system of cause and effect.

The majority of Hindus in the pilot survey who said, "Life is determined by the Leela of the gods", came from the Backward caste and were therefore less privileged by Government than Scheduled caste but less privileged in traditional status than the Forward caste. Their doubly underprivileged status in the society had perhaps caused them to come closer to saying that here is nothing out there coherent enough to belong to, that it is chaos.

Interestingly, there are 6 Christians in the second survey who responded in a way which was clearly influenced by the concept of Karma (Seeing life as determined by their forefathers' deeds rather than their own deeds in previous lives). These 6 Christians came from a number of the smaller Pentecostal churches. These "Free" churches in India believe in the transmission of blessing or curse from one generation to another based on their deeds. In the pilot survey, five Christians said life has no purpose at all, which response suggests that they are really nominal Christians.

There is no difference between Muslims in the pilot and second surveys. The majority manifest the sovereignty of Allah, three, however, declared that life has no purpose.

Q5 If a person faces much misfortune in his or her life what advice would you give him or her?

Responses to Q5 fell into 6 identifiable categories.

- a. one should do dharma/make vows to God
- b. one should actively submit to God's will
- c. one should ask pardon from God for sin
- d. one should use rationality
- e. one should rebuild the house/performing ritual to the planets
- f. one should passively accept it.

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a.	52	16	-	18	-	-
b.	-	-	58	12	16	20
c.	-	-	-	-	34	-
d.	4	-	-	-	-	-
e.	-	9	-	-	-	-
f.	24	10	12	-	-	-

Comment:

The background information on the majority of Hindus who believed that misfortune in life could be overcome by doing Dharma, shows that 35 out of 52 in the pilot survey and 12 out of 16 in the second survey came from the more affluent

end of society though they belonged to the Scheduled caste. From a Karmic point of view it makes good sense to invest one's self and one's money in alms to the poor in order to be free from rebirth.

It is interesting to note that all 24 Hindus in the pilot survey who said "one should accept misfortune passively" emphasized the Leela of the gods in the previous question. The four Hindus who emphasized rationality belong to the humanistic Rationality Movement.

In the answers given by Christians both in the pilot and the second survey, quite a number appear to be making an orthodox response when they say, "misfortune could be overcome by submitting to God's will". Nevertheless one should not exclude the influence of a determinism here, individual or communal.

In the second survey there are 18 Christians who stand out distinctly. They believed that misfortune in one's life could be overcome by making vows to God. (e.g. resolving to give a large sum of money to the church or donating articles for religious purposes) Out of these 18 Christians 16 of them are those working in Catholic schools as teachers. It suggests that they are influenced by their interaction with the Catholics who tend, in India, to emphasize that miracles happen when one makes vows to God in the time of crisis.

Out of 50 Muslims in the pilot survey, 34 believed that misfortune in one's life could be overcome by asking pardon from Allah for their sins. Like the Hindu Dharma/Karmic response above, this response indicates an element of self examination. The commercial context of this particular sample could generate a sense of imperfection and have contributed to this response. But it must also be remembered that the majority of this sample were recent converts from Hinduism. The rest of the pilot sample and all the second survey sample gave the more orthodox response.

Q6 Is death the end of life or does life continue in some way?

Responses to Q6 fell into 4 identifiable categories.

- a. belief in rebirth
- b. belief in heaven
- c. never thought about death
- d. death is the end

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a.	44	28	-	-	-	-
b.	-	-	64	30	46	18
c.	32	7	6	-	4	2
d.	4	-	-	-	-	-

Comment:

A majority of Hindus in both the pilot and second surveys expressed their belief in rebirth. That is, they responded in an orthodox style reflecting a monistic individualistic world-view.

On the other hand 32 Hindus, 6 Christians and 4 Muslims in the pilot survey and 7 Hindus and 2 Muslims in the second survey confessed that they never thought about the idea of death, suggesting perhaps that psychologically, they are not prepared to face the reality of death rather than that they were too busy. This is the situation in which many Indians find themselves. Their traditional world view has been challenged and found wanting, not so much by missionaries, as by the coming of technology and the Western pragmatic world-view. They live in an effective world-view vacuum.

Christians and Muslims talk about moving towards God by using expression like "going to" which suggests that they recognize the existence of the transcendence gap.

Four Hindus in the pilot survey seem to have no belief in life after death. These four Hindus are the ones who said in the previous question, misfortune in life could be overcome through rationality.

Q7 How do you look at your future? Are you afraid? If yes, why? If not, why not?

Responses fell into 3 identifiable categories:

- a. anxiety about Karma
- b. fear of uncertainty
- c. no fear because God is in control

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a	48	28	-	-	-	-
b	32	7	8	8	-	-
c	-	-	62	22	50	20

Comment:

A majority of Hindus in both the pilot and second survey expressed a strong sense of Karmic reality which made them afraid of the future.

There is another group of Hindus, 32 in the pilot survey and 7 in the second survey, which expressed their fear of uncertainty about their future. The Hindus were the same as those who said that they have not thought about death in Q6. It suggests that those who were not certain about life after death were also not certain about their present life. In other words, the fact that they are not able to face the reality of death makes it all the more difficult for them to face the reality of life. With regard to Christians, eight in the pilot survey and eight in the second survey expressed the fear of uncertainty. All the eight in the pilot survey belong to the Forward caste. It suggests that they were quite uncertain about their future because they were underprivileged by the Government. The majority of Christians and all the Muslims responded in the orthodox style.

Q8 Is punctuality important in life?

Responses were simply yes or no.

- a. it is important
- b. it is not important

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a.	28	16	19	24	50	14
b.	52	19	51	6	-	6

Comment:

A significant minority group of Hindus in both the pilot and second survey emphasized the importance of punctuality. The background information show that 19 out of the 28 in the pilot survey and 14 out of the 16 in the second survey were more highly educated. It suggests that the linear sense of time has permeated the world-view through education and participation in the technology world which may follow it.

For the majority of Christians in the pilot survey i.e. 51 out of 70 and the small group of Christians and Muslims in the second survey i.e. 6 out of 30 Christians and 6 out of 20 Muslims, the view expressed owes more to Hindu culture than to the Christian or Muslim world-views. Also the question tends to confuse what is desirable with what is possible. Many respondents acknowledged that punctuality would be important if it were possible to achieve it in their context. Sometimes these persons ended up saying punctuality was important but many said that it was not.

Q9 If you get a chance to become an appointing authority would you feel obligated to employ your Dear Ones (extended family) or the most efficient?

- a. "Dear Ones"
- b. efficient ones.

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a.	65	28	10	7	5	12
b.	15	7	60	23	45	8

Comment:

A majority of Hindus in both the pilot and second survey responded in favour of "Dear Ones" suggesting a strong extended family sense. 42 out of the 65 and 14 out of the 28 came from a Dalit background. In the same way six out of ten Christians in the pilot survey and all seven in the second survey who responded in favour of "Dear Ones" are from Dalit background.

A majority of Christians and Muslims seem to transcend the extended family in favour of the wider society.

Q10 Do you need to depend upon others in order to make your life happy and meaningful?

- a. there is need to depend upon others
- b. there is no need to depend upon others

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a.	41	6	66	25	45	14
b.	39	29	4	5	5	6

Comment:

A majority of Hindus in the pilot survey affirmed dependency and extended family sense. When it comes to the second survey the situation is reversed. Out of 35 Hindus, 29 were not in favour of dependency. The background information shows that out of 29 Hindus 26 have come from the Forward caste which includes Brahmins. The Forward caste in India would never mingle with others, especially over matters concerning social customs. They always like to maintain their own identity. Perhaps that is what is reflected here.

A majority of Christians in both pilot survey and second survey have expressed the need for dependency which perhaps reflects the natural response of the deprived minority community in the multi-cultural context.

A majority of Muslims in both pilot survey and second survey have expressed the need for dependence, which could be an effect also of their being a threatened minority community in a wider culture.

Q11 If you found a neighbour whom you respect punishing your child for some good reason what would be your reaction?

Responses fell into:

- a. I will approve
- b. I will not approve

Responses	Hindus		Christians		Muslims	
	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second	Pilot	Second
a.	73	32	10	24	31	16
b.	7	3	60	6	19	4

Comment

A majority of Hindus in both the pilot and second survey responded positively, again showing that the extended family sense among them is very high.

When it comes to Christians, the pilot survey position of 60 out of 70 responding negatively, which might have been expected, is reversed in the second survey, 24 out of 30 responding positively. This is almost certainly due to the fact that a majority in the first survey came from poor social urban conditions in which they do not live close to family members and where their neighbours are transient, frequently undesirable, and probably little known.

In the 2nd survey however there were more Christians living in relatively prosperous areas where neighbours have become substitutes for extended family members and the more traditional dependence upon the community has reestablished itself.

A majority of Muslims in the second survey follow those in the pilot survey in affirming a community sense.

No one in either survey expressed anger at the neighbours intervention.

Q12 Where do you think God (personal gods, the Supreme Being) is?

Responses fell into four categories:

- a. God is seen in nature
- b. God is everywhere
- c. God is in heaven
- d. No belief in God

Responses	Hindus	Christians	Muslims
a.	23	-	-
b.	10	-	-
c.	-	30	20
d.	2	-	-

Comment:

A majority of Hindus affirmed the immanence of God in nature reflecting the Nature Religion paradigm and a sizable minority a more abstracted sense of immanence, reflecting the Withdrawal Paradigm. The two who testified to no belief in God might also be in the Withdrawal tradition or simply non-believers. All the Christians and Muslims emphasized the transcendence of God essential to the Secular World Affirming paradigm.

Q13 What do you think is the best way for a society to operate, to punish those who do not contribute good to the society or to reward those who contribute good to the society .

- a. reward those who contribute good
- b. punish those who do not contribute good

Responses	Hindus	Christians	Muslims
a.	28	9	2
b.	7	21	18

Comment:

Strikingly, more Hindus preferred rewarding those who do good to the society.

This second survey sample of Hindus included more who were less prosperous but they were also Forward caste. As the response "punish those who do not contribute" supposes a more egalitarian vision for society, this might be the expected response. Of the Christians and Muslims the majority of the sample were not from the very poorest but nor were they from an upwardly mobile class and they manifested a more socialistic attitude which is quite acceptable within their religious traditions.

Q14 Is it more important to know the truth about God or is it better to serve your fellow beings? Among Mohan, Ravi and Prem who do you think is the most religious?

Responses to Q14 were as follows

Responses	Hindus	Christians	Muslims
Mohan	4	27	3
Ravi	30	-	-
Prem	1	3	17

Comment:

A majority of Hindus identified with Ravi. He very well depicts the nature of the contemporary Hindu mission in India. There are lots of Hindu religious movements in India seeking to revive Hinduism by adopting early Christian missionary strategies such as establishing free dispensaries and other charitable institutions. The Hindus in this second survey sample seem to have been strongly influenced by this movement.

The majority of Muslims identified with Prem, showing zeal in the spreading of right belief, which one expects in the Secular World Affirming paradigm.

Surprisingly, a majority of Christians identified with Mohan who manifests a strong mystical individualism. This mystical individualism is to be found in the

more Catholic end of Christianity, and, of course, in Hindu religious culture. In more recent times the influence of Pentecostalism throughout Christianity in India has also found expression in an emphasis on individual experience and personal piety.

- Q15 a. Time is not moving towards a goal. Everything in the cosmos has its own time and place constituting a grand pattern and, therefore, if I diminish anything, I diminish all, including myself.
- b. Time moves towards a goal. In order to have a full life I need to participate in moving things towards a goal.
- c. Time is an illusion. There are only significant moments in the individual's experience of following a path.

Which of the above statements is true?

Responses :	Hindus	Christians	Muslims
a.	6	6	2
b.	2	24	18
c.	27	-	-

Comment:

With regard to the question on time, a majority of Hindus, Christians and Muslims responded in their appropriate orthodox style. The response of the small minority of Christians and Muslims suggests that they are still strongly influenced by Tribal Religion or similar background of the Nature Religion type.

The Hindus responded in what is Withdrawal Religion style which might be expected from those of the Forward caste. The rest might have been expected, as they do, to prefer the first statement.

Whether the preference of the majority of Hindus for the third option reflects the Withdrawal Religion paradigm, or is because of life experience and so of

time, is governed by Leela and near chaos, is not clear, but probably both are present.

MODIFICATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE TERMINALLY ILL

The 15 questions which we have been discussing above are based on the variables in Cumpsty's three types of religious traditions introduced in Chapter 2. As the variables are interdependent, it was decided that we should keep the questionnaire relatively short by concentrating on the variables which would be likely to sharply distinguish the different world views. When dealing with sick and terminally ill patients it would be necessary to further reduce the number of questions so as not to overload the respondent. For this reason it would be necessary to prioritize the questions according to which had proved the most effective in classifying respondents by world-view and, of course, to cover the areas of concern. We would need to know which questions we should ask if we could only ask three, five, seven or more questions. We are now in a position to say which are the most effective questions in distinguishing aspects of world-view. Until we have discussed the profiles that have emerged we will not be able to say which are the areas of main concern. We will return to this prioritized list of questions, therefore, in chapter 8.

In testing the questionnaire with the terminally ill we decided that we must with patience and gentleness persist with all the questions, with all the respondents, and this we did with the support of the patients over a number of visits.

CHAPTER 6

SUGGESTED PROFILES

We can now identify multiple general positions, what we have called "profiles" amongst the Hindus, amongst the Muslims and amongst the Christians, each of which might call for a different approach in Pastoral Care.

We will begin with the Hindu sample because, on the one hand, we may meet such people in their own right in a terminal illness situation which would not allow for a missionary outreach approach but where we are nevertheless obliged to do our best regardless of the different faith commitments. On the other hand, we are going to begin with an examination of these profiles in detail because most of them represent the pure cases of the influence, of what we can only call "Indianness", which lie behind the profiles identified in the Christian sample.

We will deal with the Muslims separately because their faith, manifesting as it does as a legal code consisting of prescriptions for action for almost every aspect of life, places them in a sort of cultural cocoon. There were, however, two small groups of Muslims which were different; the one, comprising new converts, were also strongly influenced by Hindu tradition and we will be dealing with them separately. The other group, which was fewer in number, were really quite bitter, rejecting any sense of order and were in what we will be calling the "chaos" position. In fairness to Islam, we have to recognize that this little group are nominal Muslims just as those in this position calling themselves Hindus and Christians would be regarded as nominal by members of those faiths.

Our sample, while attempting to balance the participation of different ages, genders, education and socioeconomic groups, is not claimed to be representative of the

HINDU PROFILES					
IMPERSONAL	IMPERSONAL BUT OVERTLY PERSONAL	PERSONAL	COMTEMPORARY		
*P & C	P and so avoidable not C	C not P	Partly P Partly C	Not P Not C	
Karmic	Astrology	Planets	Tribal	Bhakti <-----> Leela	Humanist Chaos
H6	H5	H4	H3	H2	H1 H8 (13, C6)
*P = Predictable	C = Controllable				
ISLAMIC PROFILES					
Orthodox	Nominal				
	New Converts	Chaos			
I1	I2 (H6)	I3 (H8, C6)			
CHRISTIAN PROFILES					
Orthodox	Monistic	Contractual	Social	Fatalistic	Nominal
Personal God	Closed system	Diminishes personal	Communal	(Leela)	Chaos
Transcendence	cause-effect	in God	Congregation as		
Balance Creation			extended family		
Salvation					
C1	C2(H6, H3)	C3	C4(H3)	C5(H3)	C6(H8, I3)

Indian or even Madras population. Nevertheless, the sample does represent the sort of cross section of local society which the Pastor is likely to meet in a hospital situation. The information which it contains, therefore, concerning what profiles are likely to be most common, the degree to which people fit cleanly into a profile or retain aspects of other profiles, the places where unexpected responses occur, may provide guidance when we come to deciding how to prioritize our questions in the terminal illness context.

We will, therefore, hold over the question of how the sample itself related to the profiles which it served to confirm or reveal, until we come to the point of prioritizing the questions. For the moment we return to the description of the profiles.

HINDU PROFILES

We begin by describing the eight profiles which we have isolated theoretically and in the Hindu sample or from our knowledge of the Indian context. The adjacent table sets out these profiles.

Description of the Table and the Overall Categories

The analysis of the responses from the total sample has enabled us to identify the eight positions shown in the table.

Not all of the Hindus in the sample perceive reality in the same way. Primarily they divide into two broad categories on the basis of whether reality is perceived as personal or impersonal. Each of these categories further divides into a number of identifiable positions on the basis of how predictable and/or how controllable reality is perceived to be.

Between the Personal and Impersonal categories on the table we have placed another

category entitled Impersonal but Overtly Personal. Those who adhere to Tribal religion would fall under this category. This style of religion approximates Nature Religion. They have a tendency to personify aspects of the natural order yet, operating within a closed system of cause and effect as they do, the gods have no real volition and cannot be regarded as truly personal.

On the right hand end of the table are set two profiles having a contemporary existence which do not exhibit the traditional Hindu characteristics.

The first non-traditional position is labelled as Chaos.

Chaos in this context means that there is nothing coherent out there to which one could belong, only accidentally related bits of experience.

The other non-traditional position is that labelled Humanist.

Each position has been given a number preceded by H for the Hindu profiles, C will be used for the Christian profiles and I for the Muslim ones. Where there is interrelation they are cross referenced.

Each of these positions will be discussed in detail in what follows:

We begin with an examination of the two profiles which we discovered to have contemporary existence but could not regard as traditionally Hindu.

EIGHT HINDU PROFILES:

i) THE TWO NON-TRADITIONAL POSITIONS

Chaos H8:

The Hindus who answered (e) to questions 3 and 4 and (d) to question 12 were assigned to the Chaos profile.

These respondents viewed life events as chaos. They were unable to see any pattern or purpose in day-to-day experiences. There is nothing coherent out there to which one could belong, only accidentally related bits of experience. There was no sense of an Ultimately-Real. This chaos response, according to Cumpsty, is "the only non-religious one", (1991:172).

Because they find it difficult to hold on to anything out there as worthwhile, they invariably suffer from non-integration and non-acceptance of the self. We found a lot of anger, bitterness and, strangely, guilt in the respondents who fall into this group.

It is fair to note that this group did not claim membership of any recognizable Hindu tradition. They were Indians who had not elected to consider themselves part of any particular tradition nor showed any of the characteristics of the Secular World Affirming paradigm. In this they were different from those in much the same position, whom we have called nominal Christians C6, and Muslims in the Chaos profile I3, because they called themselves such.

Humanist H7:

The Hindus who answered (d) to questions 5 and 6 are assigned to the Humanist group.

Humanism, it is said, is a pattern of thought and an attitudinal perspective rather than a specific belief system. Many kinds of Humanism exist in the contemporary world. The varieties and emphasis of naturalistic humanism include "scientific", "democratic", "religious" and "Marxist" humanism.

Humanists usually think that there are laws governing in the cosmos. There is some order within the system and perhaps therefore a coherent "something" to which one might belong and this, therefore, is a religious position. On the other

hand they may never have stood back from the bits and pieces which science interrelates and asked "What is it all about?", then it would be a pre-religious if not an anti-religious position.

EIGHT HINDU PROFILES:

ii) THE SIX TRADITIONAL POSITIONS

Responses made by Hindus which affirmed their sense of belonging to the Ultimately-Real in terms recognizable within the traditional community are referred to as the Hindu Traditional Positions. The primary distinction between them is that some perceived reality in personal terms and some in more impersonal or, perhaps better, in ways that are neither personal nor impersonal.

Beyond that primary distinction, they are divided on the basis of how predictable and/or how controllable they perceive reality to be.

With the exception of what we will call the *karmic* and the *bhakti* positions, all the positions owe more to Nature Religion than they do to Withdrawal Religion in Cumpsty's ideal types, but Hinduism has long been a dance between Nature Religion and Withdrawal Religion, between Dharma and Moksha.

It will be remembered that Nature Religion has to be mythopoeic because, not having a divide in experience built into it as the other types do, it has to deal with each threat to its affirmation of present experience as the real *ad hoc*. A threatened Nature Religion tradition must respond to the threat by seeking to hold its experience of reality together and probably by seeking further ways of confirming belonging to that reality. This produces a variety of myth and a variety of rituals. Nature Religion, like nature itself, embraces both creativity and destruction. Destruction does not threaten the paradigm but irrationality does. Everything must be explained. Chaos is not acceptable. To understand seeming chaos as the

responsibility of irresponsible gods, however, is to explain it and therefore to contain it.

On the spectrum, for such it is, running from "Leela" to "Bhakti", predictability of experience depends upon the predictability of the divine character and controllability depends upon the benevolence of the divine and the quality of one's relationship with it. At the Leela end, which does attempt to contain the threat of chaotic experience by understanding it as the irresponsible behaviour of the all-too-human divine beings, experience is neither predictable nor controllable. At the Bhakti end, however, there is a considerable level of felt predictability and indeed felt controllability emerging from the perceived character of the divine.

Along this spectrum lie the whole variety of Hindu cults in which reality is in some sense perceived as personal.

Of the responses which understand reality in an impersonal manner, "Astrology" views reality as predictable and therefore one may "take nature at the flood" and also "avoid its downside" but it is not otherwise controllable. The "Planets" position understands reality to be controllable (particularly by ritual) but not otherwise predictable. The "Karmic" position understands experience to be fully explained, if not in the individual life, that is, in principle to be both predictable and controllable. We will qualify a number of these statements when we come to discuss the individual types.

The "Tribal" position, like the "Karmic", perceives reality as a closed system of cause and effect. It, therefore, leaves no room for volition in the gods while speaking of them in personal terms. The "Tribal" position understands reality in a less individualistic way than the "Karmic" and therefore reality is less predictable on the individual level.

We will now consider what Cumpsty calls the "logic of belonging" for each of these six traditional positions.

We begin with those positions with a personal view of reality and with the "Leela" position.

Profiles in which Reality is Personal

Leela H1: Experience Unpredictable and Uncontrollable.

The Hindus who answered (a) to Q4, (f) to Q5 and (b) to Q6 fall under the Leela profile.

A popular saying in India speaks of three hundred million and thirty three thousand deities worshipped by three hundred million people (NIKHILANANDA 1982:162). In spite of the truth which lies behind this statement (the evidence for it is visible in a multitude of temples and shrines) Hindu religion is essentially monistic. Whatever deity or aspect of reality is worshipped, the deities are only part of an ultimate reality. Therefore the frequent henotheism or limited polytheism of the Hindus does not exclude other gods. What differs most markedly is the character ascribed to the gods who control the immediacies of human life.

There are Hindus who believe that the behavior of such deities can never be predicted nor controlled. In other words, they attribute all the crises in life, all failure, disappointments and illness, to the malignant will or the irresponsible character of the deities. (compare Cumpsty 1991 p.250 on the Gilgamesh Epic) The deities are understood to be using human beings as puppets for their own pleasure. This game, that the deities play with human beings is called 'Leela', which would include ill will, but more often the wild dance or irresponsible exuberance of the gods reflects the character of the natural order itself. All misfortune is attributed to the Leela of the gods, and can only be accepted. The

irrational is explained but it cannot be comprehended by the human mind, and rituals addressed to the deities cannot be relied upon to produce good results.

On the other hand the deities are not always proved to be cruel. It is possible to have the experience of receiving blessings from them. There is a great amount of uncertainty. It is the chaos position with something to blame, something to account for the unacceptability of life.

Bhakti H2: Experience Relatively Predictable and Controllable on Basis of Divine Character.

All Hindus who answered (a) to Q3 are assigned to this profile because it supposes responsibility in the deities, even if they are not caring. See later, the response of the terminally ill to Q3, 'to achieve liberation'.

The popular worship of modern times, which has its source in the rituals of the Vedas but owes its individual and salvic qualities to the Withdrawal Religion paradigm, emphasizes Bhakti or love of God and also faith rather than reason. Hindus in this position believe in deities thought of as well disposed, readily approvable, and only occasionally frivolous. The gods behave as responsible persons might and so are, to a fair degree, predictable and controllable in the sense of responsive to human initiative. Therefore experience as a whole is felt to be for the most part predictable and uncontrollable.

Bhakti marga, "the path of devotion", enables the devotees to achieve "enlightenment" or "release" (*moksa*) by centering their lives in worship and love for one of the gods which they have chosen for an ideal. They attempt to loosen the world's grip on them by keeping the god's name in consciousness through chanting. If they would be liberated from the cycle of rebirth, they must consciously think of that deity when they take their last breath. If they fail to do this there will not be liberation and they have to continue the cycle of rebirth.

We have considered Hindu traditional positions which view reality as personal, before we consider traditions which employ personal symbols for an impersonal reality we will deal with those for which reality is more clearly impersonal or non-personal.

Profiles in which Reality is Impersonal.

If we ask about predictability and controllability in this section we find that the more traditional and, in that sense, more orthodox position holds that experience is both predictable and controllable on the basis of personal Dharma. However, there are cults which lay emphasis on predictability and accept uncontrollability. On the other hand there are those who regard experience as unpredictable but attempt partially to control it.

Karmic H6: Experience is in essence, if not completely in practice, predictable and controllable.

The Hindus who answered (b) to Q4 and (a) to questions 5, 6 and 7 are assigned to this profile.

There are many Hindus who believe strongly in the operation of Karma. The doctrine of Karma has become basic to Hinduism. To a Hindu, it means that the deeds of one's previous lives influence the present life and deeds in this life determine future lives. The ideas of rebirth and of Karma are mutually embedded.

Karmic Hinduism teaches that evil is one's own responsibility because one has the ability to shape one's destiny. It is due to a remediable ignorance that one is imprisoned in race, gender and caste. The inevitable results of each individual's actions are added up during their lifetime and after death are visited upon them in the shape which of their next incarnation. Sooner or later everyone may work

themselves through successive incarnations and into the Brahman caste and from there one can escape the cycle of rebirth and finally merge with the absolute. So it is a closed system of cause and effect.

Astrology H5: Experience Predictable but Uncontrollable

Those who answered Q4 with life is controlled by the stars would be placed in this profile, and perhaps in response to Q5 there would be advice to avoid misfortune by seeking to know the auspicious moments. Those believing that the astrological system governs the whole of their lives is a significant category of Indian society but not a large one. We did not come across any in our sample.

In Astrology, a limited style of Nature Religion, there is only prediction and avoidance or perhaps taking action at the propitious moment, there is no control. The astrologers are responsible for advising people on what are auspicious and what are inauspicious times, marriage partners, jobs, functions etc so that they can best relate themselves in those matters.

One needs to be aware that among those answering that there is little or nothing to be done about life in Q4 could also be believers in astrology.

Planets H4: Experience Unpredictable but Partially Controllable.

The Hindus who answered (d) to Q4 and (e) to Q5 are assigned to this profile.

Some Hindus understand life to be under the control of "Planets". This is not the same as Astrology where the whole astral system is involved but rather a limited number of impersonal centres of power which directly govern life events. These events cannot be predicted but can perhaps be controlled by the right rituals. All the bad and good happenings in one's life are attributed to these "Planets". Again its a limited form of Nature Religion.

"Planets" occupy an important position in traditional Hinduism. In the Saivaite temples one can see little statues standing in their variety and order, none looking face to face with another for such a gaze is understood to be dangerous. These statues are called the Tables of Planetary Powers (Shaw 1986:33). The popular saying is "if one does not believe in `Grahangaal' (Planets) he cannot believe in the gods." The gods in various senses are understood to be subordinate to the planetary influences.

It is said that there is a "tribe of gods" exerting good influence as contrasted to the "tribe of Asuras" exerting evil influence, but above both of these are the planetary forces. `Siva' is the moon and `Vishnu' the Sun but the Planets are impersonal realities although they have personal names. Because of their importance, sacrifices have to be made to the planetary powers in every significant ceremony. This is known as the worship of the "Remover of Obstacles". However, a sacrifice is made for each planetary influence. As the people who belong to this position approach the powers in an impersonal sense they are generally unaware of the characters of these powers. The only hope in a crisis situation is to perform ritual to the planets.

The ritual is performed in order to control their future but the result is not assured because there is an element of Leela in the planets without suggesting that they have personal qualities.

Finally we come to those Hindus who employ personal symbols for an impersonal reality.

Personal Symbols for an Impersonal Reality

Tribal H3:

Hindus who answered (a) to questions 9, 10, 11 & 12 were assigned to this group.

By Tribal profile we do not mean the religion of India's tribal people but a world-

view which has all the major characteristics of what Cumpsty calls the Nature Religion type. This may of course have its roots in actual tribal religions (hence the name). This profile is an emphasis on Dharma in a communal closed system of cause and effect.

It is not impossible that a Pastor should in fact have to minister to someone from the Tribal People who might well locate in this profile so something must be said about tribal religion which is generally less familiar to outsiders than say Karmic or Bhakti traditions.

The tribal religious position in India is described by Murray (1978) as a form of animism in which nature, spirits and gods are worshipped. The spirits here include elemental spirits and also spirits of dead members of the extended family (ancestors). The gods are regarded as harmless, especially the ones in the lowest heaven and thus closest to humankind. So there is no need to appease the gods. More serious are the spirits of both types who inflict illness on men and women, *detain* their souls causing long sickness, even death. There are evil spirits who introduce foreign matter into the body of those trespassing their jurisdiction. The mediatory or reconciliation work is done by socially recognized professionals, medicine men, shamans (frequently women)

When the spirits detain a person's soul causing long sickness the person consults the medicine man or the *soul-caller* for the village who would do his or her best to help, but when the situation is so complicated that he or she cannot help, the sick person is referred to another, higher, act of purification or appeasement, a traditional rite. There are also occasions when the living members of the family are required to consult the spirits of recently dead or even long dead members. In this case the mediator is usually a shaman who mediates between the spirits of the dead and the living. The shaman also prescribes certain rituals willed by the spirits with a view to revoking their ill-will towards the living.

This falls clearly into the style of religion which Cumpsty calls Nature Religion. It lacks the characteristic elements of withdrawal and need for individual *moksha* (liberation) which is present in the more typical Hindu type. It affirms immediate experience as real and therefore has a strong community sense. It shares with *karmic* orthodoxy the sense of a closed system of cause and effect albeit of a corporate kind. If a ritual is properly performed and no one is working a stronger ritual against it, then what is sought must come to pass. The true test of whether the deities are personal is whether or not they have real volitions when ritual is performed.

Gods or spirits of unpredictable character set between the adherent and the Ultimately-Real account for ambiguities in experience and maintain the sense of a closed system of cause and effect.

-*-

MUSLIM PROFILES

The Muslims in India have a strong sense of being a community and, where possible, live in small enclaves, frequently related to their employment. They embrace Islamic faith and its legal prescription for every aspect of life, which places them in a sort of cultural cocoon. Not all the Muslims responded in the same manner, however.

There is a minority pattern manifest in the responses made by the Muslims in both the pilot project and main survey. Some respondents were new (perhaps expedient) converts to Islam and did not manifest an orthodox position, some others were in a similar position as that described for Hindus and labeled Chaos and have to be regarded as nominal although they claimed to be Muslims.

We begin with the first and largest group who manifested an orthodox approach.

Orthodox Approach I1:

The Muslims who answered (b) to Q5 fall under this group.

The great majority of Muslims emphasized submission to the will of Allah in the event of crisis. There is a somewhat deterministic emphasis on the sovereign will of Allah. In this approach the nature of the relationship of the individual to the Ultimately Real is one of absolute submission. Though the importance of freedom of action and individual responsibility is recognized it is, as it were, handed back to Allah in an act of faith.

Nominal I2: new and perhaps expedient conversions

The Muslims who answered (c) to Q3 and Q5 fall under this group.

There were a few Muslims who indicated that they were motivated to worship Allah by material benefits and there was also a tendency to emphasize that misfortune in one's life could be overcome by seeking pardon from Allah for sins.

It is to be noted that these Muslims were very recent converts from Hinduism and also that the life context of this particular group of Muslims could also have made their conversion materially and socially expedient.

The questions to be asked here is does this self critical and materialistic response reflect the continuing influence of Hindu belief that reality is a closed system of cause and effect (whether individual or corporate) or does it reflect a sense that Allah is rewarding their efforts which would be relatively orthodox?

Chaos I3:

The Muslims who answered (e) to Q4 fall under this group.

A further group of Muslims, very few in number, manifested a similar bitterness and rejection of any sense of order, as found in those described as the Chaos group in the Hindu sample. While they responded to certain questions in an orthodox

style, they perceive life events as chaos. They were unable to find any meaning in day-to-day experience. There was nothing coherent out there to which one could belong, only accidentally related bits of experience.

-*-

CHRISTIAN PROFILES

Compared with Hindus and Muslims, Christians in India are a small minority community and as they have been living together with Hindus as one community from the beginning, their cultural roots and their continuing interaction with them has led to the inheritance of Hindu ideals indistinguishable from their 'Indianness' and, as we said earlier, this gives a particular slant to Christianity in India.

Even the view that there is no Ultimately Real but only chaos, is to be found here, as it was among Hindus and Muslims. Here also we will see the view, modifying Indian Christianity, that reality is a closed system of cause and effect and its consequence that everything must be paid for. We also find an emphasis on the importance of the extended family which is not excluded by Christianity but is not usual either.

There are patterns to be found in the responses made by the Christians in both the pilot project and the main survey, establishing clear profiles manifesting the influence of this "Indianness". On the basis of their approaches to the crisis situation they divide into five groups and there is, theoretically speaking, a sixth type which was not unequivocally present in the sample. This is an ideal "orthodox" type over against which the Hindu biases, in the five types represented, manifest clearly.

We have labeled the six types, as in the adjacent table, as Orthodox C1, Monistic C2 (related to H6 & H3), Contractual C3, Social/Communal C4 (related to H3), Fatalistic C5 (related to H1), Nominal C6 (related to H8 & I3).

C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6
ORTHODOX	MONISTIC	CONTRACTUAL	SOCIAL\ COMMUNAL	FATALISTIC	NOMINAL
Personal God, Trans- cendence Balance between Creation and Salv- -ation	Closed system of cause and effect. Related to H6 & H3	Diminishes personal in God.	Congrega- -tion as extended family. Related to H3.	Related to Leela H1.	Related to Chaos H8 & I3

Orthodox C1:

Answering Q3 in more orthodox style (one might even say Bhakti style) would categorize Christian respondents under this group. There were none in our sample.

The characteristics of this ideal type will emerge further as we consider the particular biases of the groups represented in the sample. For the moment it is sufficient to say that it manifests a strong sense of transcendence and therefore of the personal in God, over against the inevitably impersonal nature (because lacking in volition) of the closed system of cause and effect. It will also manifest a balance between creation and therefore communal and material responsibility, and salvation beyond this world. That is in Hindu terms between *dharma*, understood as fulfilling one's communal responsibility and *moksha*, individual release from *samsara*, the cycle of rebirths. One would hope to find reference to love, at least to awe or, perhaps, gratitude.

Monistic C2:

The Christians who answered (c) to Q3 were assigned to this profile.

Those who fall in this profile demonstrate a monistic understanding of reality, that is as a closed system of cause and effect, whether corporately (see Tribal H3) or individually (see Karmic H6) understood.

A majority of Christians both in the pilot project and the second survey emphasized that they worshiped God because they hoped for material benefits. The nature of the relationship of the individual to the ultimately real was on the "investment of spirituality for material benefits to be received" basis. There was no feeling that this was inappropriate. There was an expressed attempt to keep on the right side of God, but for them, it is clear, the relationship was not truly personal, rather reality was a somewhat impersonal closed system of cause and effect. It reflects the position of the quasi-personal relations with gods we found on the spectrum from Leela to Bhakti, perhaps nearer the Bhakti end.

In a world that is in a closed system of cause and effect, it makes very good sense to consider the effects of one's actions and to perform those deeds and rituals which would have positive effects. It is normal and natural in Hindu tradition, as in any closed system of cause and effect, to have this approach, but it is not normal and natural within what we have called the orthodox Christian tradition.

Therefore, what we are seeing in the response of the Christians is an overlay of Hindu culture.

Contractual C3:

The Christians who answered (a) to Q5 were assigned to this profile.

There are Christians who believed that misfortune in one's life might be overcome by making vows to God, such as the promise of large sums of money to the church or donating articles for use in ministerial acts. It is a position which seems to exist particularly as an overlay of the Indian Catholic tradition which emphasizes that miracles happen when one makes vows to God in the time of crisis.

It appears to be a slightly different manifestation of the materialistic style that we have just been dealing with in the monistic forms of Christianity.

One must be careful, however, not to rush into the above judgement. The response may be the result, not so much of a closed system belief but of a more Christian mystical or Bakti position, exhibiting the desire to do something for God. To express one's belonging to God by some personal act or deprivational discipline is not "cause and effect" thinking but is done simply because the adherent feels happier. They need a way of saying something to God from deep down inside themselves and self disciplined deprivation is something which they feel "I can give up for God". Such would not move them out of the position of justification by faith alone. They may still believe that their salvation is entirely in the hands of God and He gives it to them as a gift. If they are in fact simply expressing their feelings to God a pastor has to confirm it.

So again, when these patients are dealt with pastorally, one needs to separate out, with similar questions, what on the surface is a single phenomenon, those for whom it is an overlay of the Karmic or Tribal Hindu tradition and those for whom it is a particular manifestation of personal Christianity. In so far as it is monistic what has been said above would apply here also.

Social Communal C4:

The Christians who answered (d) to Q3 and (a) to Q10 were assigned under this group.

There were Christians who said that they worship God for the sake of having fellowship with other Christians. The style of relationship with God in this type is not based on material benefits but in the benefits of community. Here again this may be understood in a number of different ways.

It can be that belonging to the congregation with its mutual support, is a substitute for belonging to a God in whom there is a weak faith or no faith at all.

Within the fold of belief it could be, in the extreme, what Cumpsty calls "Sectarian Reduced Reality Belonging" in which reality is virtually reduced to the congregation itself and an intense belonging to that compensates for the lack of a more cosmic sense of belonging. In this case, however, there would be a stress on and markers for, who is in and who is out of the group.

A little more likely would be what Cumpsty calls "Indirect Cosmic Belonging" in which the individual belongs to God by belonging to an institution which itself already belongs to God. In the Jewish case this is the elect House of Israel, in the Catholic case it is the Church as the Body of Christ. Every Church with a relatively high ecclesiology, however, has this sense along with a more Direct Cosmic Belonging on the face-to-face, faith principle. Perhaps it is only at the Brethren end of Protestantism that the Direct Cosmic Belonging exists in its purity. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the majority of those who responded in this manner would fall into this group, making no reference to God or even material benefit in the reason for worship but speaking only of fellowship.

It is most likely that what we have here is another overlay of Hindu tradition, this time of the Tribal, Nature Religion kind in which one does belong to the Ultimately-Real by belonging to the immediate community. The importance of the extended family in the rural areas and its loss in the urban areas, could well lead to a sense of the congregation as an alternative extended family whose significance goes beyond mutual support, important though that may be, to being the means of belonging to Reality itself.

Fatalistic C5:

The Christians who answered (f) to Q5 and (b) to Q7 were assigned to this profile.

A large number of Christians emphasized that misfortune in life should be met by submitting to the will of God. In this profile, the response to misfortune's threat of

chaos is a fatalistic attitude. There is a tendency to throw the fears upon God and try to escape from the reality which could be dehumanizing. It comes close to the concept of 'Leela' in Hindu tradition where there is no possibility of freedom of action and therefore human responsibility. In this position chaos is overcome by explaining it in terms of God's will.

A passive submission to God's will is the religious world view of this profile, a positive embracing of it is the hard to achieve ideal. These need to be distinguished.

Nominal: C6

The Christians who answered (e) to Q4 were assigned to this profile.

There were among the Christian sample, as among the others, those who felt that life is just a series of accidents and that there is no purpose in it. This response goes even beyond the Leela tradition to a position that there is nothing coherent out there to which one might belong. All life events are viewed as chaos.

As these Christians do not indicate any of the basic characteristics of Christian faith they are categorised as nominal.

Having considered all the profiles it is perhaps appropriate to return to the assertion that a strong Indianness presses itself upon ways of being Christian, and in some cases Muslim, in India. The presence of a few people in the Chaos position in each group and what we called the quasi-personal relations with God (similar to the Leela-Bhakti spectrum) among the Christians, as well as a widely pervading monism and related fatalism and sometimes of the strong communalism, all point in this direction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cumpsty, J S. *Religion as Belonging: A General Theory of Religion*, (Lanham MD, University Press of America, 1991)

Murray, Ezamo, *The Practice of Pastoral Care in the Context of Nagaland*, M.Th. thesis submitted to the Senate of Serampore, India, 1978.

Nikhilananda, Swami, *Hinduism*, (Madras, Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1982)

Shaw, Ellis O, *Rural Hinduism*, Madras, Christian Literature Society, 1986)

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 7

ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES OBTAINED IN INTERVIEWS WITH THE TERMINALLY ILL

Having examined patterns in the various responses made by the "healthy" respondents to our structured interviews and noted the profiles into which most respondents fell, we conducted a survey among a necessarily small group of terminally ill patients in India during October to December 1995.

THE SURVEY AMONG THE TERMINALLY ILL

The terminally ill patients interviewed were either cancer or full-blown AIDS patients one of the latter being a Haemophiliac. The cancer patients comprised eight Hindus, four Christians and three Muslims (15 in all) the AIDS patients seven Hindus, three Christians and two Muslims (12 in all).

As we said earlier, while in general it would be necessary to prioritize the questions and simplify the questionnaire for use with the terminally ill; in this first testing of the questions with the terminally ill, we decided to persist with the whole questionnaire as it was used with the healthy. We took time over the interviews sometimes spreading them over a number of interviews, in which the patients graciously cooperated.

The specific purpose of this stage of the research was to check the questionnaire, which now appeared satisfactory in the "healthy" sample, among the terminally ill for whom it was intended. It was not intended to draw any conclusions about the

terminally ill population, for which purpose a much larger sample would have been required. Nevertheless, some interesting indications appear about how terminally ill patients differ in world-view from the "healthy" and how the AIDS patients and cancer patients differ from each other. These are presented below but we are not insensitive to the size of our sample and do not claim more than that there are indications for which there might be some logical support once they have been revealed.

FINDINGS

For the questions on issues relatively untouched by impending death there were no significant differences in the responses between the terminally ill and the "healthy". Responses by the terminally ill to just some of the more discriminating questions for locating people in different profiles (see the next chapter) and which cover a range of issues are set out below. In these they were for the most part identical with the "healthy" people interviewed. In certain matters, however, they differed sharply and explicably from the healthy because terminal illness had become a dominant factor in their lives.

In addition, if one examines the patterns manifesting in the responses of the terminally ill then there are clear similarities and dissimilarities between the cancer patients and the patients infected with AIDS. The dissimilarities were not a looked for finding but an important bonus nevertheless. Certainly, it further indicated the sensitivity of our instrument to shifts in world-view.

Responses to questions 4, 6, 12 and 15 are shown below:

Q4 How do you see life? Is there any coherence or just bits and pieces?

Responses

- a) Life is determined by the gods' Leela
- b) Life is determined by Karma (past deeds)
- c) Life is determined by one's own deeds (present) *
- d) Life is determined by God's will
- e) Life is determined by the planets
- f) Life has no purpose at all
- g) I do not know

Responses	Pilot			Second			Cancer			AIDS		
	H	C	M	H	C	M	H	C	M	H	C	M
(a)	46	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
(b)	34	-	-	22	6	-	5	-	-	1	-	-
(c)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	2
(d)	-	65	50	-	24	20	-	4	3	-	-	-
(e)	-	-	-	6	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
(f)	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(g)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-

Q6 Is death the end of life or does life continue in someway?

Responses

- (a) belief in rebirth
- (b) belief in heaven
- (c) never thought about it
- (d) death is the end

Responses	Pilot			Second			Cancer			AIDS		
	H	C	M	H	C	M	H	C	M	H	C	M
(a)	44	-	-	28	-	-	8	-	-	7	-	-
(b)	-	64	46	-	30	18	-	4	3	-	3	2
(c)	32	6	4	7	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
(d)	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q12 Where do you think God (the Supreme Being) is?

Responses

- (a) God is seen in nature
- (b) God is everywhere
- (c) God is in heaven
- (d) no belief in God

Responses Pilot Second

Q15 Concerning Time

Responses

- (a) Time is not moving towards a goal
- (b) Time moves towards a goal
- (c) Time is an illusion

Responses	Pilot			Second			Cancer			AIDS		
	H	C	M	H	C	M	H	C	M	H	C	M
(a)	-	-	-	-	6	6	5	-	-	6	-	-
(b)	-	-	-	-	2	24	-	4	3	-	3	2
(c)	-	-	-	27	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-

Inspection of the above tables shows that the terminally ill patients for the greater part espouse the same world-views and fall under the same identified profiles as do the healthy. The response "present deeds" to Q4 by the AIDS patients is explicable. We will return to it below.

Questions 13 and 14 also fall into this "no significant difference" category. The questions on time show a marked difference.

The Terminally Ill and the Value of Time

Only in the matter of time, and that explicable, do the terminally ill differ from the "healthy". Thompson emphasizes this aspect when he says, "For a person who lives under the threat of serious illness, his time is the most precious thing that he has.

We all too easily assume that the seriously ill person has all the time in the world; in fact he has less time than others and it is therefore more precious to him and to be treated with respect". (Thompson, M. 1976, p.16)

Responses to Q2 and Q8, which test attitudes towards the management of time, indicate that both the Cancer and AIDS patients want to utilize their given time to the best of their ability:

Q2 Do you think an employee should seek for promotion or should he or she just wait to be promoted?

Responses	CANCER	AIDS
a) should seek for promotion	11	11
b) wait to be promoted	4	1

Q8 Is punctuality important?

Responses	CANCER	AIDS
a) It is important	12	9
b) It is not important	3	3

These responses show that both the cancer patients and the AIDS patients, while dealing with the inevitability of death, have developed a sense of the importance of life. Even for those cancer patients who seek to withdraw from community terminal illness has made time very precious. When answering the question on promotion, they express their desire to do something about it. When asked about the importance of punctuality they affirm it strongly. Even in this small sample one recognizes a marked desire to make an impact upon the world before leaving it. Time now being short, it is felt that it is right to make the best use of it while it is available. The world-view has shifted. This is the only observed difference between the terminally ill as a whole and the "healthy". See p.94 and p.100 for the "healthy" response.

Similarities and Dissimilarities - Cancer and AIDS

If we now look at the patterns which emerge out of some other responses made by the terminally ill patients, showing their attitudes to four chosen markers - towards God, and towards death, towards the illness itself, towards society, then there are clear similarities and dissimilarities between the cancer patients and the patients infected with AIDS.

The similarities appear in what follows:

(1) Attitude towards God

The responses to Q3 and Q5 show that both the cancer patients and the AIDS patients were fearful that their illness was evidence of divine retribution, and therefore of further suffering during or after death. It is shown in the table below:

Q3 What is your reason for worshipping or performing a ritual?

Responses	CANCER				AIDS			
	H	C	M	Tot	H	C	M	Tot
a) Appeasing God	7	-	-	7	4	-	-	4
b) Die at peace with God/Moksa	1	4	3	8	3	1	1	5
c) For fellowship with others	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3

Q5 What advice would you give to a person facing much misfortune?

Responses	CANCER				AIDS			
	H	C	M	Tot	H	C	M	Tot
a) Doing dharma	6	-	-	6	2	-	-	2
b) Submission to God's will	-	1	3	4	-	-	-	-
c) Asking pardon from sin	-	1	-	1	-	2	2	4
d) Learning experience	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
e) Ritual to the planets	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
f) Passive acceptance	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	6

The responses to the Q3 and Q5 indicate that both the cancer patients and the AIDS patients are confronted with the issue of divine retribution in their illness. They expressed in different ways, a need to appease God, to ask for God's forgiveness, or achieve liberation or a better rebirth, or simply submission to God's will. One was frequently confronted with a feeling of guilt in their responses. Both the cancer patients and the AIDS patients showed the tendency to feel that God's hand was upon them in punishment, and a disease like Cancer or AIDS had come upon them as a curse of God.

(2) Attitude towards death

The responses to Q7 show that both the cancer and AIDS patients exhibit a fear and anxiety about death.

Q7 How do you look at your future? Are you afraid? If yes why? If not, why not?

Responses	CANCER				AIDS			
	H	C	M	Tot	H	C	M	Tot
a) Anxiety about Karma	5	-	-	5	1	-	-	1
b) Fear of process of death	3	3	3	9	6	2	2	10
c) No fear, God in control	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1

The responses to the Q7 shows that a majority of the patients expressed a fear of the dying process in terms of physical suffering and pain and anxiety about death is in terms of entering into an unknown realm. Some patients said that they fear dying more than they fear death. It is true that dying represents weakness, pain, dependency, loss of control, change in body image and loss of contact with others although it would not necessarily be thought of in that way. The expression of fears of dying may also be seen as a defence against the actual expression of a fear of death as the unknown. Fear of death, with the possible finality of ceasing to be, may be intensely frightening and any way of diverting the thought be acceptable. The patients involved in this study exhibited both types of fear.

Thus far we have highlighted the similarities between the attitude of cancer patients and AIDS patients now we turn to the differences.

(3) Attitude towards the illness:

The responses to Q4 and Q5 indicate that the attitudes of the cancer and AIDS patients towards their illness are not the same.

Q4 How do you see life? Is there any coherence or just bits and pieces?

Responses

- a) Life is determined by the gods' Leela
- b) Life is determined by Karma (past deeds)
- c) Life is determined by one's own deeds (present)*
- d) Life is determined by God's will
- e) Life is determined by the planets
- f) Life has no purpose at all
- g) I do not know

Responses	Cancer				AIDS			
	H	C	M	Total	H	C	M	Total
(a)	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
(b)	5	-	-	5	1	-	-	1 ⁺
(c)	-	-	-	-	4	2	2	8*
(d)	-	4	3	7	-	-	-	-
(e)	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
(f)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(g)	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	3

⁺ This was the Haemophiliac

Q5 If a person faces much misfortune in his or her life what advice would you give him or her?

Responses

Responses	Cancer				AIDS			
	H	C	M	Total	H	C	M	Total
Doing dharma	6	-	-	6	2	-	-	2
Submission to God	-	1	3	4	-	-	-	-
Asking pardon for sin	-	1	-	1	-	2	2	4
Learning experience	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
Ritual to the planets	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
passive acceptance	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	6

The responses to Q4 indicate that the cancer patients perceive the cause of illness in something other than themselves. They show the tendency to throw the blame upon God, Karma (Past deeds) or planets. In other words, owning any responsibility for their illness is absent. They are not able to accept the fact that illness is part of human life. They look at it as something which is being imposed upon them. This inner struggle makes it difficult for them to accept the crisis of terminal illness as a challenge to spiritual growth as Louw suggests it can be. (Louw 1994)

The responses of the cancer patients to Q5 shows also that there is a strong

resistance against the illness. They do not seem to be accepting the illness passively. Irrespective of their faith-background all the respondents try to deal with it actively. The Hindus resort to doing Dharma (good deeds) or performing ritual to the Planets, the Christians struggle to overcome the illness in expectations of Divine intervention and healing while at the same time seeking to accept their position as God's will for them, while the Muslims hand it over to the sovereign will of Allah in an active sense, but nevertheless looking for Divine intervention. Everyone is trying to participate actively in the ongoing battle, as Kübler-Ross says, hope does not die easily. (1969 p.123)

Coming to those patients infected with AIDS, the responses to Q4 indicates that they perceive their illness as being their own responsibility. They are convinced that they have contracted the disease because of their misconduct. They feel themselves to be directly responsible for the crisis. Owning the responsibility appears to be dominant in their reaction to the illness. They do not look at the illness from the Karma (Past deeds) point of view. As indicated above and unlike the cancer patients, they look at their illness as the consequence of their present deeds. The background information shows that, except for one, they have contracted the disease through heterosexual contact. The only patient who attributed the sickness to the effect of Karma (Past deeds) was a haemophiliac, an innocent victim. The question became almost diagnostic at this point.

The responses to Q5 show that for those infected with AIDS the possibility of accepting their illness is greater than for the cancer patients. There is a more passive acceptance of the crisis. They do not appear to be battling against the disease like cancer patients. Pastorally, it suggests that they should reach Kübler-Ross' stage of acceptance more easily than the cancer patients provided their guilt can be taken care of.

(4) Attitude towards the community:

Responses to the questions 9, 10, and 11 indicate that the attitude of the Cancer and AIDS patients toward community are very, in fact surprisingly, distinct. This is shown in the table below:

Q9 would you feel obligated to employ your Dear Ones or the most efficient?

Responses	CANCER	AIDS
a) "Dear ones"	2	9
b) Efficient ones	13	3

Q10 Do you need to depend upon others to make your life happy and meaningful?

Responses	CANCER	AIDS
a) There is need to depend	2	9
b) There is no need to depend	13	3

Q11 a neighbour punishing your child

Responses	CANCER	AIDS
a) I will approve	1	11
b) I will not approve	14	1

The responses to these questions suggest that the Cancer patients exhibit a diminished interest in family and local community whereas the AIDS patients come down strongly on the extended family/community side.

The cancer patients show a strong tendency to withdraw from communal interaction while the patients infected with AIDS show a desire for family and community support. This is no doubt linked to the fact that the latter are ostracized by family and society, certainly in the Indian context, but the roots may lie deeper. The one Haemophiliac AIDS patient, who must experience much of the same communal rejection, comes down in all three questions in the same position as the cancer patients. In Q11 he is the sole AIDS patient to do this.

With this one exception, one could see in the AIDS patients a desire for a healthier

CHAPTER 8

THE EFFECTIVE USE OF THE TESTED QUESTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF TERMINAL ILLNESS.

Having established the profiles which emerged on the basis of the various responses made by the Hindus, Christians and Muslims, the present task is to provide the Pastor to the Terminally Ill with the *least* number of the tested questions with which to *sufficiently* locate the patient for counselling to proceed. Clearly all 14 of the active questions have the potential to add some further understanding of the patient but to persist too long, in terminal illness, can be highly undesirable and the aim is to prioritize the questions so that the Pastor can balance the cost of asking extra questions against the potential advantage.

Priority will, in general, depend upon how much profile discriminating information a particular question will provide, but there are also some other considerations such as a logical flow to the ideas, and a preference for beginning with questions which are about the life-world which the Pastor shares with the patient and only then proceeding to questions related to the religious world-view which they may not share. Then there are certain questions which discriminate, not between profiles generated by religious considerations, but between attitudes which seem to be more strongly determined by the nature of the illness than by the religious profile.

	H6	H5	H4	H3	H2	H1	H7	H8
	KARMIC	ASTROLOGY	PLANETS	TRIBAL	BHAKTI	LEELA	HUMANIST	CHAOS
Q4: How do you see life? Is it just a series of accidents? Or do you see any purpose in it?	<i>Life is determined by Karma</i>	-	<i>Life is determined by Planets</i>	<i>Life is determined by Karma/Leela/Planets</i>	<i>Life is determined by God's Leela</i>	<i>Life is determined by God's Leela</i>	<i>Life is determined by its own course/ Karma</i>	<i>Life has no purpose at all</i>
Q12: Where do you think God is?	God is in Nature/ everywhere	-	God is in Nature/ everywhere	<i>God is in Nature</i>	God is everywhere	God is everywhere	God is everywhere	<i>No belief in God.</i>
Q5: If a person faces much misfortune in his/her life what advice would you give him/her?	To do dharma/ To perform ritual to planets/passive acceptance.	-	<i>To perform ritual to planets</i>	To do dharma/ passive acceptance.	To do dharma/ passive acceptance	Passive Acceptance/ to do dharma	<i>One should use rationality</i>	Passive acceptance
Q10: Do you need to depend upon others to make your life happy and meaningful?	No need to depend	-	No need to depend	<i>To depend upon others</i>	No need to depend	No need to depend	No need to depend	No need to depend
Q3: What is your reason for worshipping God (or Supreme Being where appropriate) or performing a ritual?	<i>Material benefits/ for duty sake/ To appease God</i>	-	To appease God	Material benefits/ To appease God	<i>To attain liberation</i>	To appease God/ for duty sake	For duty sake	<i>No belief in worship</i>

THE SUGGESTED ORDER (I):-

The Primary Group of Questions on the Basis of which Respondents are Assigned to Each of the Profiles.

The adjacent charts suggests an order which should be followed in a pastoral care situation. The justification for the choices is set out below.

Being empirically the most discriminating question with regard to profile, the first question we would ask, after establishing to which religion the patient claims to belong, would be Q4 *How do you see life? Is it just a series of accidents?* This is the most suited question with which to begin, not only because it is the most discriminating but because it deals with the common life situation and so serves as an approach to people belonging to different faith backgrounds.⁴

Q4 serves as a key to identify most of the profiles (H6, H4, H1 and H8) on the total Hindu spectrum as well as providing basic information for the Christian and Islamic sample.

The responses `Life is determined by Karma, by Planets, by the leela of the gods' directly locates the respondent in a commonly understood profile (H6, H4, H1) while `Life has no purpose at all' locates in what we have called the Chaos profile H8.

If there is any doubt on the matter of transcendence, Q12 *Where do you think God/Supreme Being is?* might then serve to confirm the distinction between Hindus and those of the Abrahamic faiths, and perhaps also to indicate a location in the "Tribal" profile H3.

Of the next three questions (Q3, Q5, Q10) we would prioritize Q5 *If a person faces much misfortune in his or her life what advice would you give him or her?* because it is a second question dealing with the life world of the respondent. The question

serves to further test positions identified in Q4 and also has the potential to bring out a response equivalent to "One should use rationality" which is the characteristic feature of the profile Humanist[H7].

After this we would ask the second question which examines the life-world of the respondent, Q10 *Do you need to depend upon others to make your life happy and meaningful?*. This becomes appropriate in order to discover how strong is the communal sense of the respondent. The response "need to depend upon others" suggests that the respondent has an extended family (or its urban social equivalent) sense which could point to the Tribal profile [H3].

Finally, Q3 *What is your reason for worshipping God (or Supreme Being) or performing a ritual?* overtly focuses on the religious world-view of the respondent.

Hindus who answered "appease God" to Q3 would be assigned in or near the Bhakti profile [H2] on the Leela - Bhakti spectrum because the response supposes responsibility in the deities, even if they are not yet of the kind with which the devotee would be seeking mystical unity. The response "to attain liberation" as the reason for worship (see the terminally ill survey), can be read as an aspiration for mystical union with a personal deity and firmly within the Bhakti profile.

The response "for material benefits" might confirm location in the Karmic profile H6.

When we come to Christians and Muslims, the appropriate first four questions are not different to the Hindu case but might be asked in somewhat different order.

Also the inclusion of Q12 *Where do you think God is?* is more firmly recommended. This question is included with the intention of testing whether the respondent, although claiming affiliation with an Abrahamic faith, does indeed have an understanding of God as transcendent, or whether the strong sense of immanence common in India still prevails.

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	I1	I2	I3
	ORTHO DOX	MONISTIC	CONTRACTUAL	SOCIAL	FATALISTIC	NOMINAL	ORTHODOX	NOMINAL	CHAOS
Q3: What is your reason for worshipping God (or Supreme Being where appropriate) or performing a ritual?	-	For material benefits For duty sake	For material benefits	For fellowship sake	To appease God/ For duty sake	For duty sake	For fellowship sake	For material benefits	For material benefits
Q4: How do you see life? Is it just a series of accidents? Or do you see any purpose in it?	-	Life is determined by God's will/ Forefather's deeds	Life is determined by God's will	Life is determined by God's will	Life is determined by God's will	Life has no purpose at all	Life is determined by God's will	Life is determined by God's will	Life has no purpose at all
Q5 If a person faces much misfortune in his/her life what advice would you give him/her?	-	Submission to God's will/ making vows to God	Making vows to God To ask for God's forgiveness	Submission to God's will	Passive acceptance	Passive acceptance	Submission to God's will	To ask for God's forgiveness	Submission to God's will
Q10: Do you need to depend upon others to make your life happy and meaningful?	-	-	-	Need to depend upon others	-	-	-	-	-
Q12: Where do you think God is?	-	God is in heaven	God is in heaven	God is in heaven	God is in heaven	-	God is in heaven	God is in heaven	God is in heaven

In the case of Christians and Muslims, Q3 *What is your reason for worshipping God (or Supreme Being) or performing a ritual?* serves as a key to identify many of the profiles, in particular C2, C4, C5, I1 and I2.

The response 'For material benefits', suggests the Christian Monistic profile C2, 'For fellowship with others' suggests the Christian Social profile C4, 'To appease God' suggests the Christian Fatalistic profile C5. 'For fellowship or brotherhood with others', in the absence of more direct evidence of the lack of transcendence, would suggest the Islamic Orthodox profile I1 rather than Nominal, and 'For material benefits' suggests Islamic Nominal I2.

Q4 *How do you see life? Is it just a series of accidents?* leads to the potential response "Life has no purpose at all" which would locate an individual in the Islamic sample in the Nominal I2 or perhaps, if he or she has no hold on anything, the Chaos profile I3, and in the Christian sample in the Nominal profile C6.

Question 5 *If a person faces much misfortune in his or her life what advice would you give him or her?* gives rise to the potential response, "to make vows to God" which could assign to the two Christian profiles, Monistic C2 and Contractual C3.

Before deciding which profile the respondent falls under, one has to understand under what circumstances the respondent uses the expression "To make vows to God". If the respondent believes that "Life is determined by their forefathers" deeds [see Q4], then the vow he makes falls within the Monistic world view, with the emphasis on a closed system of cause and effect. If he believes that "Life is determined by God's will" [see Q4], then the vow he makes suggests that he is entering into a contractual relationship with God.

The question 10 *Do you need to depend upon others to make your life happy and meaningful?* potentially brings out the response "Need to depend upon others" which suggests the Social profile C4.

The Next Step:

While these four questions (or five if we include Q12) relate to the defining characteristics of particular profiles, the remaining questions are such that they reveal characteristics which are common to a number of the profiles and, while not as directly profile discriminating, serve both to confirm the profile identification and to enrich understanding of the respondent's position.

It is possible, though not very likely in the terminal situation, that some of the responses to the first set of questions might be what the respondent thinks the interviewer wants to hear. More significantly, in a multi-cultural situation, one would not expect too high a level of consistency (identity integration) in respondents. Particularly one might find in terminal illness people who are recent converts returning to their roots, or people who find no help in what they grew up with grasping at something new. The remaining questions (where there is time to use them) offer some assessment of how consistent, and therefore how integrated, a particular respondent is.

The order in which the remaining questions might be asked will depend upon which profile the respondent has been located in as a result of his or her response to the primary group of questions.

What follows, therefore, offers a priority listing of the remaining questions for each profile on the understanding that the purpose is to confirm the profile assignment which would, of course, also offer some assessment of integration or, alternatively, of profile conflict if the latter exists. It should also become clear what questions might be employed if further particular information on the respondent is required.

A suggested priority listing for the remaining questions will be set out for each profile, together with a note of what each question is expected to achieve. This will be followed, when appropriate, with the supportive information about how those in

the three surveys who were assigned to the profile concerned, responded to that particular question, and some suggestions about the reasons for seeming conflicts.

THE SUGGESTED ORDER (II) :-

For the Remaining Questions According to the Preliminary Profile Assignment

The first profile will be considered in some detail and we will return to the same detail wherever necessary but, in order to avoid repetition, we have moved as far as possible towards simply a priority listing where the purpose of the questions are clear.

We begin with the Hindu profiles.

HINDU PROFILES

KARMIC PROFILE H6

(Impersonal, in universal terms predictable/controllable)

(62 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q2, Q8, Q15, Q9, Q11, Q13 and Q14.

Q 7. How do you look at your future? Are you afraid? If yes why? If not, why not?

This is most suited as the first additional question because it indicates the consequences of the respondents' conceived nature of the Ultimately Real and their felt relation to it. In this profile one might expect the Ultimately Real to be impersonal and the relation to it a matter of constant concern.

Of the 62 persons in the total sample (including the terminally ill) who were assigned to the Karmic profile, 58 expressed "anxiety about Karma", the remaining four "fear of uncertainty". None expressed a lack of anxiety.

The responses of the minority group of four suggested some possible misunderstanding or else a lack of integration in the respondents. If there are indications of this sort, then Q6 "Is death the end or does life continue in some way?" may serve to confirm this as it did in our sample. The same four, having said that life is controlled by Karma said that they believed death to be the end. This made it clear that "Karma" in their usage referred to the determined quality of experience, but determined by the powers-that-be not by their own behaviour in previous lives.

Q2, Do you think an employee should seek for promotion or should he/she wait to be promoted?

This question, to test freedom of action v a belief in a closed system or simply resignation, is chosen next.

The majority response in the sample "wait to be promoted" (37 out of 62), suggested that there is no freedom of action, what is experienced is already determined, which is the characteristic feature of the Karmic profile. The remaining 25, however, suggest a tension between a Karmic and "Modern" world-view. In order to test this one might ask Q12 of this group (transcendence v. immanence) to see if they have been influenced by a Secular World Affirming Tradition or simply by aspects of the "Modern" world-view, the latter being further tested by Q8.

Q 8. Is punctuality important in life?

The majority response of those assigned to this profile "punctuality is not

important" (41 out of 62) confirmed the cyclical or rhythmical time of a monistic world-view. The affirmation that punctuality was important (21 out of 62) further suggested that some of those assigned to this profile had a conflict in world-views.

- Q 15 a. Time is not moving towards a goal
 b. Time moves towards a goal.
 c. Time is an illusion.

This question on time in the abstract, was not asked of the pilot sample. It also relates to the possible tension between a "Modern" world-view and a more traditional one influenced by a sense of *Maya*. The majority (19 out of 28) affirmed that time was an illusion, the remaining nine affirmed the compromise position that "time was not moving toward a goal", neither of which positions are inimical to the Karmic profile. None of this smaller second survey sample affirmed that "time was moving toward a goal" which might have been expected of those who affirmed the importance of punctuality in the previous question.

The questions:

Q9 Would you feel obligated to employ "dear ones" or the most efficient?

Q11 a neighbour punishing your child

and

Q13 the best way for the society to operate, to punish or to reward

can be employed in the Karmic profile to discover how individual or how corporate is the understanding of the operation of Karma, that is, whether we are dealing with a closed system at the Nature Religion (corporate) end of the spectrum, and therefore close to the Tribal profile, or at the Withdrawal Religion (individual) end. This will be compounded with the individualism contained in the "Modern" world-view if the respondent has been influenced by that.

In Q9 the majority (37 out of the 62) opted for the extended family position "Dear ones". In Q11 the majority (48 out of 62) opted for the communal "I would approve". In Q13 the majority (18 out of 28) opted for the individualistic "reward". The import of the first of these questions would be clear to most respondents and the second only a little less so, the personal import of the last question would not be clear to most. One is operating at the level of instinctive feelings and here it seems the "Modern" world-view or simply the urban, large scale society has had the greater influence.

Q 14. who do you think is more religious, Mohan (mystical/pietist/ritualistic), Prem (evangelistic activist) or Ravi (social activist)?

The majority (22 out of 28) opt for Ravi, five for the individualistic mystical position and only one for the evangelistic position. This probably reflects the influence of the currently, very strong Hindu Mission movement with its social activism.¹

This question, however, seeks the current feelings of the respondent and, in the terminally ill situation, should enable one to distinguish between those who have withdrawn into a personal world and those who are still anxious to leave a mark, or earnestly wish that they had left a mark, upon the world they are departing.

ASTROLOGY PROFILE H5

(Impersonal, predictable/not controllable)

(No respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, (Q2, Q8, or Q15) Q6, Q14, (Q9, Q11 or Q13)

Q 7. "How do you look at your future... ?" as it indicates the felt nature of the respondent's relation to the Ultimately Real, is again the best question to begin

with. As the world-view of this profile suggests that nothing is controllable but only predictable and so hopefully avoidable, one might expect a high level of anxiety about the future.

Because "times" are very important in this world-view, as being auspicious or inauspicious, one or other of the three questions related to time (Q2, Q8 and Q15) might draw this out to confirm their location in this profile.

Q2 "To seek promotion or wait .. ?" might indicate whether there is any human initiative possible other than seeking to operate at auspicious times.

Q8 "Is punctuality important ?" Is chosen next as it tests the sense of linear time in the sense that it is valued. This should be absent from this world-view, the respondents believing in the cyclical nature of time as it brings its good and bad moments. Punctuality should not be important other than as it relates to auspicious or inauspicious moments.

Q15 "Time is ...?" Again, anyone in this world-view would not believe that time is moving toward a goal but probably not that it is illusion either.

Q6 "Is there life after death?" is chosen next as it deals with the eternal aspect of world-view. Respondents of this profile may not contemplate the issue of eternity as their emphasis is more on success or failure in the "here and now" situation. We have no evidence how they would react in the terminally ill situation, but we are aware that times of entry and exit to and from hospital and, of course, the timing of an medical intervention must be auspicious. This profile frequently appears mixed with others, not infrequently Christian ones, and might be regarded as an aspect of the dominant Indianness which was referred to earlier, but it also appears as a strongly dominant one, from below which a more traditional position might reappear in terminal situations.

Q14 "Mohan, Ravi or Prem?" the only likely response to this question in this

particular profile is "Ravi" with his social concerns. Much of the concern for auspicious moments in this profile is in any case related to social functions.

The questions on individual v communal outlook (Q9, Q11 and Q13) are hardly appropriate to this profile but would serve to identify the individual's position for pastoral purposes.

PLANETS PROFILE H4

(Impersonal, not predictable but partially controllable)

(8 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q2, Q8, Q15, Q9, Q11, Q13 and Q14.

Q7 "How do you look at your future .. ?" remains the first question. It confirms the impersonal view of the ultimately real and the felt anxiety about Karma which is embedded in this world-view and which these respondents seek to redress through offerings to the Planets. There is fear of uncertainty because nothing is predictable with the Planets. Five of the eight in this profile expressed anxiety about Karma and three, fear of uncertainty. When the level of uncertainty in this profile is high it borders on the Chaos profile and Q6 ".. life after death?" would test whether allegiance to the Planets position is an attempt to improve this life only. One of the eight assigned to this profile expressed the belief that death was the end.

Q2 "seek for promotion or not" is chosen next as it clarifies further the effective world-view of the respondent.

Contrary to karmic orthodoxy, the majority (6 out of 8) of those in this profile expressed the desire to seek promotion which reflects a desire to control life which is an aspect of the Planets profile.

Q8 "Is punctuality important", would serve to test the influence of the "Modern" world-view. In the sample, all eight of those assigned to this profile affirmed that punctuality was not important, suggesting a very traditional view but also, perhaps, the lack of predictability associated with this profile.

Q15 "Time is .." also serves to test the influence of the "Modern" world-view. In the sample, all eight said "Time is an illusion" confirming the *Maya* world-view of the "Planets" profile set, as it is, between the Nature Religion and the Withdrawal Religion types.

Questions Q9, Q11 and Q13, communal v. individual, remain important here because the "Planets" profile is very much an individual option, indeed respondents may be subject to other membership pressures from a family which does not embrace it. In the sample the response was, communal to individual, Q9 (5 to 3), Q11 (6 to 2), Q13 (5 to 3).

Q 14. The sample responded 6 for social activism and only 2 for Mohan. See comments on this question under Karmic profile.

TRIBAL PROFILE H3

(Personal Symbols for an Impersonal Reality)

(No respondents in sample)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q9, Q11, Q13, Q14, Q6, Q15, Q2, Q8, Q7.

The individual v communal questions Q9, Q11 and Q13 clearly serve to test the presence of a strong extended family/ communal sense central to this profile and the consequent desire for a relatively egalitarian society.

Responses to Q14 identifying with Ravi would also manifest this communalism,

while identification with Mohan could also be compatible with the ritual emphasis within the "Tribal" profile.

Q6 "Life after death?" One would look for an indication of a belief in becoming some form of ancestral spirit as confirming this profile, while belief in reincarnation would be a measure of the influence of main line Hinduism.

Q15 "Time is .. ?" One would look for time to be real but not moving toward a goal as confirming this profile. "Time moving toward a goal" would be an indicator of "Modern" world-view influence and "illusion" an indicator of the influence of main line Hinduism.

If there does seem to be "Modern" influence, then responses to Q2 "seek or not seek promotion?" and Q8 "is punctuality important?" would serve to confirm or reject the suggestion.

Q7 "How do you look at your future" becomes in this profile a question directed only to the present state of mind of the individual. It is unlikely that anyone located in this profile would be so influenced by main line Hinduism as to make reference to Karma, Leela etc.

BHAKTI PROFILE H2

(personal, predictable/controllable)

(2 respondents, terminally ill survey)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q6, Q7, Q14, Q9, Q11, Q13, Q8, Q15, Q2

In this profile, Q6 (Life after death?) is given first priority because a response which expresses a hope for "liberation" from the cycle of rebirths and mystical union with the deity would be a central concern in this profile.

Q7 "how do you look at your future?" is chosen next as it must reflect the view of the Ultimately-Real and the mode of belonging to it. While someone on the fringes of the Bhakti position might have a fear of uncertainty the more they feel that they have progressed along the path the more this uncertainty would fall away as confidence in the grace of the Ultimately-Real grew.

Q14 "Mohan, Prem or Ravi" The expectation would be a preference for Mohan but the influence of the Hindu Mission might also be felt here, as might the consequences of a terminal situation in which individuals wished to stamp their influence on the world before leaving it.

The Bhakti movement, in contrast to Leela, by its very nature tends to be communal in the seeking of individual goals and this could be reflected in responses to the individual v communal questions Q9, Q11 and Q13

The questions on time, Q8 and Q15 might reveal the influence of the "Modern" world-view if it is present, otherwise one would not expect punctuality to be important and one would expect time to be held to be an illusion or at least not moving toward a goal. On the other hand the possibilities for freedom of action and control of one's personal situation in this profile might well lead to a response that one should seek promotion in answer to Q2.

LEELA PROFILE H1

(personal, not predictable/ not controllable)

(52 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q14, Q2, Q8, Q15, Q9, Q11 and Q13.

This being, at its extreme, the nearest profile to "Chaos" it is characterized by uncertainty and a relatively passive acceptance of whatever the gods offer. We

would begin therefore with questions aimed at testing these characteristics.

Q7 "How do you look at your future ..?". probes into the consequences of the Ultimately-Real believed in, and the nature and intensity of the respondent's belonging to it. Here we would expect uncertainty to cloud the world-view of the respondents. It points to the "unpredictable and uncontrollable" nature of experience in the "Leela" profile.

In the sample the majority (37 out of 52) expressed "fear of uncertainty" and the rest (15), probably those further along the spectrum toward its Bhakti end, expressed "anxiety about Karma".

Q6 ".. life after death?" also opens up the possibility of expressing the near chaotic position of the Leela profile.

In the sample the majority (32 out of 52) said that they "never thought about death" also suggesting that the religious world-view of the respondents was clouded by uncertainty. The remainder (20) expressed the traditional belief in re-birth.

The near chaos of the Leela position leads also to an individualistic survival mode which would be nearest to the ritualistic preoccupation expressed by Mohan in Q14. In the sample, the majority (second survey only) (8 out of 10) did opt for Mohan, the remaining two opting for the social activism of Ravi.

The passive acceptance, because there is no freedom of action, of this profile is tested in its different aspects by Q2 "Wait to be promoted or seek it?" and Q8 "punctuality is important?".

In the sample 42 out of 52 said "wait to be promoted" and a sizable number (20) said punctuality is not important, a majority (32), however, said that it was important. This last group could include those nearer the Bhakti end of the Leela position, those terminally ill of whom we noted that time had become more

important for them, and those influenced by the need to survive in a "modern" world-view environment.

On the issue of time, Q15 "Time is .. ?" would not be expected to produce the result "moving toward a goal" and in fact the majority of the sample (6 out of 10) opted for "illusion" and the remainder for "not moving toward a goal"

In responses to the questions designed to test communal v individual sense (Q9, Q11, Q13) we find the same divergence as that noted under the Karmic profile above. In Q9 and Q11 there is an affirmation of the communal which could be Tribal profile (51 out of 52 for both) while all ten of those in this profile who answered Q13 opted for "reward". Again it seems the "Modern" world-view or simply the urban, large scale society had greater influence on their instinctive reply than had their conscious world-view.

HUMANIST PROFILE H7

(Contemporary, non-traditional)

(4 respondents, all in pilot survey)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q6, Q7, Q14, Q2, Q8, Q15, Q9 and Q11 and Q13.

Q6 "Life after death?" examines whether the respondent has any residual religious world view. The response "death is the end" confirms the non-traditional, for India, world-view of this profile.

Q7 "How do you look at your future .." is preferred next because responses to it are consequential upon the sense of reality, and mode of belonging to it, of the respondents.

In the sample all four respondents assigned to this profile expressed an anxiety

about Karma which underlines the fact that though Karma is not part of the world-view one associates with "Humanist", "Indianness" it is still deeply embedded in these respondents.

Q14 (Mohan, Ravi or Prem?" The response "Ravi" would tend to confirm their Humanism but as we have seen it is become a widespread response following upon the Hindu Mission.

The next group of questions would be those capable of testing the degree of influence from a "Modern" world-view, Q2 "seek or wait to be promoted", Q8 "punctuality", Q15 "Time is ...?" Q9 "obligated to appoint "Dear ones"

In the sample all four responded with "wait to be promoted", "punctuality is not important", "appoint Dear ones"; whereas one might expect that a humanist would take the initiative, and embrace efficiency in different ways.

The two other questions (with Q9) testing individual v communal outlook (Q11 "punishing the child" and Q13 "to reward or to punish?") are not directly related to this profile but serve to locate the individual. There is a tendency for people in this position to be individuals somewhat cut off from the wider traditional society but in Q11 they produced a unanimous affirmation of a communal rather than individual sense, which is not impossible, but unlikely, in humanists.

This little group of "Humanists" seemed to be living between world-views.

CHAOS PROFILE H8
(Contemporary, non-traditional)
(2 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q6, Q7, Q14, Q8, Q15, Q2, Q9, Q11 and Q13.

Q6 "Life after death?" is preferred first because it examines whether the Respondent has any religious world view at all. The response "death is the end" would indicate that they are not appropriately part of any of the traditional religious profiles.

Q7 "How do you look at your future..?" is chosen next because in general it examines the consequences of the mode of belonging (or the lack of it) to the Ultimately Real and the nature of that Ultimately Real. The response "fear of uncertainty" or similar, suggests either that the Respondent does not have an established sense of belonging or the reality to which they belong is not trustworthy (c.f. Leela). For this profile, of course, it would be both, for there is no Ultimately Real to belong to.

Q14 "Mohan, Ravi or Prem?" The response "Ravi" suggests that the respondent might have a positive attitude to life, despite the seeming inner struggle.

The two respondents who were assigned to this profile both opted for Ravi but the question was closed. Had it been open they might well have rejected all three positions.

The next set of questions, two on time (Q8 and Q15), one on initiative (Q2), one on efficiency (Q9) test the influence of the "Modern" world view as a possible source of the Chaos position.

In the sample both respondents affirmed that punctuality was not important, that time was not moving toward a goal. Both, however affirmed that they would seek for promotion and that they would appoint the most efficient.

The communal v individual outlook questions, other than Q9 above, are not necessarily relevant to profile location. In the sample both affirmed individuality in response to Q11 "punishing the child?" but both preferred the egalitarian society option of "punish" in Q13.

The "Chaos" profile is such that one would not expect a sense of extended family responsibilities and with no providence active on their behalf one might expect some personal initiative, on the other hand life is not going anywhere so time is not valuable.

MUSLIM PROFILES

ORTHODOX PROFILE 11

(Emphasis on the Sovereignty of Allah)

(18 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q15, Q8, Q14, Q2, Q9, Q11, and Q13.

We would begin with Q7 "How do you look at your future..?", and then Q6 "..is death the end?" if there were any doubt about the orthodoxy, otherwise the answer to Q6 could be assumed.

Out of the 18 who were assigned to this profile, however, there were two who said that they "had not thought about death" in response to Q6, and five who said that they feared dying in answer to Q7, both of which raise questions about location in the orthodox profile. It must be said however that the five expressing fear of dying, rather than of death itself, were terminally ill.

The questions of time also test orthodoxy and would follow.

In the sample, in answer to Q15, twelve out of the fourteen in this profile from the second survey, affirmed that time was moving to a goal and the other two that it was not.

In answer to Q8, 14 of 18 affirmed the importance of punctuality.

Finally, Q14 also tests expectations, if not orthodoxy, in Islam. In the sample,

twelve opted for the evangelist Prem, two for the mystic Mohan, which is about what might be expected.

In this profile, the rest of the questions serve to reveal personal preferences which might be of pastoral significance.

Thus, Q2, testing individual initiative, might follow.

In the sample 12 of 18 affirmed that "they should seek promotion" suggesting a sense of freedom of action. This, of course, might be expected in Secular World Affirming traditions.

Then might follow the questions testing individual v communal outlook (Q2, Q9 and Q13).

Those assigned to this profile were almost equally divided with a slight edge toward the communal. In response to Q9, nine opted for "Dear Ones", nine for efficient ones; in response to Q11, fourteen of eighteen opted for "I will approve punishment of the child"; in response to Q13, eight opted for "punish" , six opted for "reward".

NOMINAL PROFILE I2

(Material benefits as reason for worshipping God)

(54 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q2, Q9, Q11, Q13, Q15, Q8, Q14.

This profile, which in the sample was represented by a largish group who were recent and, one has to suggest, expedient converts to Islam is characterized by its unashamed admission of the purpose of worship being the quest for material benefits. This suggest that there remains a strong sense of an impersonal closed system of cause and effect. It would be this which one would want to test after the two "orthodoxy" questions Q7 and Q6.

All 54 in this profile affirmed the orthodox answer to Q7 "no fear, God is in control", and 53 of the 54 that they believed in heaven, the other one stating that he "had not thought about it".

Q2 "wait for or seek promotion" which tests the presence or absence of individual initiative might indicate a closed world view. In the case of Islam, particularly, it might also indicate the handing back of individual freedom to Allah. In the sample 53 out of 54 said that they would wait to be promoted. That this is more likely to be closed system is indicated by the "orthodox" profile response to the same question in which 12 out of 18 opted for seeking promotion.

The communal v individual questions might follow. In the sample and in the overt question, Q9, 46 of the 54 opted for efficient ones, in the less overt questions 32 of the 54 opted for the communal "I will approve punishing the child" in Q11, and all eleven, who were assigned to this profile in the second survey, opted for the communal "punish" in Q13.

In the time questions Q15 and Q8; all eleven opted for the overt orthodox answer "Time is moving toward a goal" in response to Q15, and 52 of the 54 respondents affirmed that punctuality was important in response to Q8.

In response to Q14, 8 opted for Prem and 3 for Mohan.

The majority responses to most questions, both overt and indirect, suggests that those who were assigned to this profile are quite orthodox in most respects. It is only the unashamed "material rewards" reason for worship, the almost total passive response to seeking promotion, and the very strong communal sense in the less direct questions, which suggests that there are two world-views in competition here. Which is the stronger would require further investigation but the overall picture justifies the assignment to the profile "Nominal".

CHAOS PROFILE I3

(All life events as chaos)

(3 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q15, Q8, Q2, Q13, Q9, Q11 and Q14,

This profile reflects a bitterness about life which sets questions against the claimed Islamic faith. The world-view of the respondents assigned here was little removed from the "Chaos" group which we included in the Hindu sample simply because they were Indian. The only difference is that these claim to be Muslim.

We would begin with Q7 ".. how do you look at life?" and Q6 "is death the end?" again in order to see if there is any force in their claim to Islamic faith. In the sample all three assigned to this profile made the orthodox affirmation that they "did not fear because God was in control" but then affirmed that they never thought about death in response to Q6 which suggests that there is little serious faith.

The next questions would be all those which might indicate a belief in purpose or at least in order, so the questions about time might follow. We would ask Q15 "Time is.." looking for some indication of belief in a transcendent purpose and then Q8 "..punctuality". In the sample all three in this profile were in the pilot group and affirmed that punctuality was important, they were not called upon to answer Q15.

Q2 "seek or wait for promotion" might indicate sufficient sense of order to make it worthwhile to take initiatives. In the sample, however, all three declared that they would "wait to be promoted".

These individuals were not asked to respond to Q13 "reward or punish?", but they unanimously opted for the communal responses to Q9 "obligation to appoint "Dear Ones" and Q11 "..punishing a child", which could mean either that there was at

least a human order out there or that in their desperation they needed other people.

Q14 (Mohan, Ravi or Prem) if it were an open question would, we think, lead to a rejection of all three positions, being closed it would almost certainly have resulted in an opting for Ravi with his social concern.

CHRISTIAN PROFILES

ORTHODOX C1

(No respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q2, Q8, Q15 Q9, Q11, Q13 and Q14.

Necessary, but not sufficient, to location in this profile would be a response equivalent to "No fear, God is in control" to Q7, and expression of a belief in heaven in answer to Q6. So these question would be asked first if there was any doubt about the situation, remembering that in the terminal situation the literalness of words like "heaven" are frequently challenged and need to be interchanged with "cosmic trust". This profile is an ideal one (though it could, of course, exist in India) in the sense that it is defined more negatively, once Christianity is claimed, by the absence of any strong overlay of Indian culture or any other modifying pressure, than by positive considerations.

The group of questions which in the Hindu profiles were used to assess the influence of a "Modern" world-view, become, in the Christian and Muslim profiles, a way of testing belief in freedom of and responsibility for, individual action rather than that life is a closed system (Q2), and testing whether the moment has value in linear time (Q8) and that time itself is heading for a goal (Q15). This, of course, because the "Modern" world-view has its pre-enlightenment roots in the Secular World Affirming world-view.

The remaining questions have little to do with location in a profile and more to do with establishing the outlook and preferences of the individual for pastoral purposes.

The first group of questions for this purpose might be those establishing the individual v communal outlook, Q9 "'Dear Ones' or efficient", Q11 "punishing the child" and Q13 "reward or punish".

The last question might be Q14 "Mohan, Ravi or Prem?" each of which position could be held within this profile.

MONISTIC PROFILE C2

(Quasi-personal, closed system of cause and effect)

(52 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q2, Q8, Q14, Q7, Q6, Q15, Q9, Q11, Q13 and Q14.

As with all Christian and Muslim profiles, save the Nominal or Chaos ones, Q7 "how do you look at your future" and Q6 "life after death?" enable responses which are necessary, but not sufficient, to location in the profile and would be asked first, but only if there is any cause for doubting the location.

In the sample all 52 affirmed belief in heaven and responded "no fear, God is in control" which suggests that though the respondents are assigned to the "Monistic" profile they have a positive and probably personal view of the Ultimately Real, which suggests that they are Christian first but strongly influenced by a monistic tradition.

The question which tests freedom of and responsibility for individual action, Q2 "Seek promotion or wait?" is given next priority because the absence of these things tends to confirm location in the "monistic" profile.

The majority response (44 out of 52) "wait to be promoted", showed, having answered "for material benefits" to Q3, that they felt themselves to be in a closed system where there was no individual freedom of action, rather than that they had handed their freedom back to God.

Of the questions about time, the direct question Q15 "Time is ..?" might be expected to produce the orthodox response "it is moving toward a goal" while the indirect question Q8 "is punctuality important" might, in this profile, reveal a less positive position about time.

In the sample this was the case. The majority response (8 out of 9) to Q15 was "time is moving to a goal", but the majority response (37 out of 52) to Q8 was punctuality is not important.

We then come to the questions which would test what sort of monism is influential here, communal or individual. These are Q9 "obligation to appoint Dear Ones?", Q11 "punishing a child?" and Q13 "reward or punish".

In the sample the majority opted for the individualistic position in each question. In Q9, 48 out of 52 opt for "efficient ones", in Q11, 37 out of 52 opt for "I will not approve" and in Q13, 7 out of 9 opt for "reward".

This suggests a monistic influence which owes as much to Withdrawal Religion as it does to Nature Religion, it is strongly individualistic while it seems to be somewhat experience affirming.

Again, Q14 is a personal preference rather than a profile location question but the fact that all nine respondents opted for "Mohan" tends to confirm the individualness of their outlook.

CONTRACTUAL PROFILE C3

(vows to God, perhaps closed system, perhaps expressive)

(12 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q15, Q8, Q2, Q9, Q11, Q13 and Q14.

For reasons expressed in the previous profiles Q7 and Q6 would have priority if it was judged that they were needed at all. In the sample all 12 expressed "No fear, God being in control" and "belief in heaven".

As the practice of making vows to God in situations of adversity can suggest either a rather impersonal contractual relation with a rather impersonal Ultimately Real, which amount to a closed system of cause and effect, this needs to be distinguished from the orthodox Christian position in which the vow is made and kept, "a self-disciplined deprivation" offered to God, not in expectation of reward but as the only means of expressing a feeling of love and gratitude that the respondent needs to express. Between these two positions are all sorts of mixtures of the two which the Pastor needs to tease out.

If time is linear and the moment valued we are unlikely to be dealing with a closed system. Therefore the next priority would be given to Q15 "time is ... ?" and Q8 "is punctuality important?"

In the sample all 12 opted for "time is moving toward a goal" which could be just conceptual but also for "punctuality is important" in the less direct Q8, which suggests that they really are operating with a linear view of time.

The next test of the presence of a closed system would be Q2 "seek or wait for promotion" relating to freedom of action.

In the sample all 12 opted for the passive "wait to be promoted" which again suggests a closed system.

The remaining questions would be more concerned with personal preferences than profile location but in this sample there is such uniformity of response, save from the one terminally ill cancer patient that the responses must say something about the profile.

The individual v communal group of questions (Q9, Q11 and Q13) seem to add to the confusion because in Q9, all 12 opt for the individualistic "efficient ones" but in Q13 11 out of 12 opt for the communal "punish" and in Q11, 11 out of the 12 opt for the communal "I would approve". But as we have said earlier Q9 is overt in its purpose while Q11 and Q13 are more covert. While the claims of the extended family may be rejected in the realm of business there remains a strong communal sense under the surface.

In Q14 all opt for the mystical individually performed piety of Mohan, which reflects their "contract" position.

In all of these one sees an influence closely related to the Tribal profile (Nature Religion) described above, perhaps supported by the way in which Catholic Christianity with its "Indirect Cosmic Belonging" has developed in India.

The individual v communal confusion in this profile is perhaps understandable. It is the point not only where people with a closed system background meet with the "Modern" world-view, but also the place where Nature Religion and Secular World Affirming Religion have most affinity to each other, where one belongs to the Ultimately Real by belonging to a community, a belonging maintained or celebrated in ritual. Only in so far as it tips over into an impersonal closed system does it cease to be a possible orthodox form of Christianity.

SOCIAL PROFILE C4

(Fellowship religion)

(18 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q14, Q9, Q11, Q13, Q2, Q15 and Q8.

The emphasis in this profile is strongly communal, arising as it does out of the strange affirmation that the reason for worship is fellowship with the congregation rather than relation with God, as though membership of the congregation has taken the place of belonging to God. Nevertheless the response does not immediately suggest a closed system although that is one possible influence. Another possible influence is the quest for a "Sectarian Reduced Reality" belonging among those for whom a cosmic sense is not attainable but, more likely, it is a genuine social need or concern which begins with the congregation. This being the case we would begin with Q7 and Q6 in order to confirm their orthodox Christian position and then our next question would be Q14.

In the sample 17 out of 18 affirmed that they "had no fear, God being in control" and all 18 believed in heaven, making it clear that we were not, here anyway, dealing with a form of Social Humanism. The three people in this profile who were asked Q14 all responded "Ravi" tending to confirm that this is a genuine social position and not a form of reduced reality belonging.

To test whether there was a passive attitude, whether because of a closed system influence or because action had been voluntarily surrendered to God, we would ask Q2 "wait for or seek promotion". In the sample fifteen of the eighteen said that they would wait. Which does not suggest social concern but rather social need.

The questions (Q9, Q11 and Q13) testing individual v communal outlook would be

next. In the sample 17 out of 18 opted for the communal, "Dear Ones" in Q9; and all 18 for the communal, "I would approve" in Q11, while two of the three in the second survey opted for the individual "reward" in Q 13. With a small counter suggestion in the tail, this also suggests a strongly held communalism.

Q15 and Q8 to test whether there is a genuine linear sense of time might follow.

In the sample all three respondents said that "Time is moving to a goal" and 16 out of 18 affirmed the importance of punctuality.

The respondents in this sample seem to have a genuine, and quite cosmic communal sense manifesting in their strong attachment to their immediate congregation. In general however this profile opens up the possibility of individuals seeking to satisfy social needs as distinct from religious ones, or religious needs emanating from "Tribal" roots. The unorthodoxy in the nature of their belonging would hardly manifest in health when the congregation was available. It becomes more of a problem when they are sick and isolated from the congregation.

NOMINAL PROFILE C6

(claiming to believe in God but near to "chaos")

(5 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q15, Q8, Q9, Q11, Q13, Q2 and Q14.

To this profile are assigned those who claim to be Christians but who are strongly related to the Leela profile if not to the Chaos one. We would begin, therefore, with Q7 "How do you look at your future?" and Q6 "Is death the end?" as suggested for previous profiles where orthodox Christian faith was in doubt.

The five persons assigned to this profile all responded to Q7 with "fear uncertainty" and to Q6 with "never thought about death"

The questions on time would be the next priority. Q15 was not asked of this group but the response could not be "moving to a goal", to Q8 they all said "punctuality was not important".

The questions on individual v communal might follow. Those assigned to this profile did not answer Q13 but in Q9 they opted for the communal "Dear Ones" and in Q11 "punishing a child?" they opted for the communal "I will approve"

Then Q2 to test whether there is any sense of individual initiative. In this profile all respondents opted for "wait for promotion".

Q14 if open would hardly be relevant in this profile, being closed this group could only have opted for Ravi had they been asked.

FATALISTIC PROFILE C5

(A passive leaving all to God - close to Leela)

(20 respondents)

The proposed order of questions for this profile is Q7, Q6, Q2, Q15, Q8, Q9, Q11, Q13, and Q14.

Again, and for the same reasons we would begin with Q7 and Q6. In the sample fifteen opted for "fear of uncertainty" and five for "no fear, God is in control" in response to Q7, and nineteen opted for belief in heaven and one for "never thought about death" in response to Q6. The majority response, "fear of uncertainty" suggests that these respondents do not have a strong sense of belonging, but it also suggests a fatalistic attitude.

Then, because we want to know about the possibility of individual initiative, we would ask Q2. In those assigned to this profile this question nearly divides the respondents equally, eleven opting for "wait for promotion" and nine for "seek promotion".

Then, to test the significance of time in general but also as again reflecting the possibility or otherwise of individual initiative, Q15 and Q8

None of the sample answered that time was an illusion but eight out of thirteen said that time "was moving to a goal" and five that it "was not moving to a goal".

Fifteen out of twenty said that punctuality was important.

The individual v communal questions (Q9, Q11, Q13) are hardly relevant in this profile and we find confusion. Thirteen out of twenty opted for the individual position at the overt conscious level "efficient ones". At the less direct and intuitive level 17 out of 20 opted for the communal, approving the punishment of the child, and 12 out of 13 opted for the individual, "rewarding".

Q14 is here a matter of personal preference but it again almost equally divides the respondents, seven of thirteen identified with Prem and the remaining six with Mohan.

This is the first serious support that has been manifest for Prem, the evangelistic type, but it is a familiar combination with a quietist approach to social problems; preaching the word and leaving everything else to God. It is a common profile among sectarian groups in India as elsewhere.

There seem to be at least two varieties of fatalism here, a closed sectarian one and a more open, pietistic one which would perhaps follow Mohan in religious matters and be prepared to seek promotion and seek efficiency in business matters while being fatalistic in general social issues.

India has a long history of fatalism and a powerful overlay of "Modern" world-view; a long history of being world denying as well as being life affirming. They all seem to come together in this quite large number of respondents within this Christian profile.

-*-

If the above question sequences, or perhaps a Pastor's own sequence of questions more appropriate to his/her particular situation, enable the Pastor to enter into the patient's world-view, whether it be in a single profile or between profiles, and if the Pastor can communicate the fact of his or her understanding to the patient, then the first great step in pastoral care has been taken, much has been achieved should no more than that prove possible. What might be achieved beyond that is the subject of the next chapter.

END NOTES

1 To say that Q.4 is the most discriminating question is only to say that responses to it locate the respondents in relation to more profiles than any other question.

2 One of India's many complexities is the tension between the State and traditional Hinduism, not least over the issue of caste. Hinduism has always advocated charity, but out of a discriminatory base in the caste system. The Hindu Mission is a popular, contemporary movement from within Hinduism itself deriving social concern, even a socialism, from its own traditional roots. The title "Hindu Mission" is almost certainly to be contrasted with "Christian Mission" although its aim is quite different. There is little preaching of the religious message and much more emphasis on, and missionizing zeal for, social activities. The brochure of the Hindu Mission hospital in Madras contains a Sanskrit slogan PAROPAKARATHAM IDAM SHAREERAM, This Body is to Serve, and, from the Bhagavath Gita, ch.17, vs.20, "... charity given out of duty, without expectation of return, at the proper time and place, and to a cause considered to be worthy, is considered to be in the mode of Goodness. (author's translation)

CHAPTER 9

THE PROFILES IN PASTORAL MINISTRY GUIDELINES FOR PASTORAL CARE TO THE TERMINALLY ILL.

INTRODUCTION

In chapter 6, before we identified the various profiles, we said that it is important to be clear what we are aiming at when proposing pastoral care to people in other religious traditions, as well as in the varieties of our own tradition, and suggested that it might include asking two questions about each of the religious profiles distinguished.

The first was:

what would constitute pastoral care to people in this position within the logic of their own world-view. That is to say, what would the ideal "minister", sharing their tradition, be offering to them in their circumstances.

The second question was:

how far could a Christian minister in what we have labeled as an Orthodox Christian position move in the direction of offering that same pastoral care.

We are going to assume the most generous interpretation of the Christian Pastor's role, in relation to terminally ill people of other faiths and none, for that will force us to examine all the possibilities.

We will not enter deeply into a discussion of what that responsibility is, but just something ought to be said about what we mean by "the most generous interpretation".

For some Christian pastors, even in the most extreme situations, pastoral care will be understood to be offering salvation within the Christian fold by calling for trust in the saving work of Jesus.

It was in response to that position which he understood to be expressed in the writings of Stephen Pattison¹ that Cumpsty proposed the following definition of pastoral care:

Pastoral Care whether exercised by an individual or a community is :

seeking to help an individual to maintain, realize, establish, recover or rehearse (hopefully celebrate) a sense of belonging to whatever he or she "feels" and probably conceptualizes to be the ultimately real, and to embrace the consequences which flow from that belonging.²

For the methodological reasons stated, this is the understanding of the pastor's role with which we will be working.

Following this position, we can see, for example, that if one lays emphasis on the Creator aspect of the Christian God rather than the Saviour aspect that there could be much common ground in establishing a sense of an ordered and trustworthy reality to which to belong for those whose experience of life is chaotic.

On the other hand, there are positions which the Christian minister cannot share. These fall particularly in those areas where salvation rather than creation is the issue.

It might be felt that Christians can have nothing to do with that impersonal sense of reality which arises out of the belief that experience is a closed system of cause and effect, because Christians must testify to the possibilities of new beginnings in which the consequences of past acts can be absorbed or "washed away" by the Ultimately-Real and forgiveness becomes possible.

def p/c

Nevertheless, even here, there are those who operate out of a soteriological position which deals in transferable merit and understands Jesus to have paid a literal price for human sin. For them, on a communal basis, not on the individual basis of Karmic thinking, the closed system of cause and effect is maintained. A pastor might feel able to draw on that model, presenting Jesus as the first among many brethren and the one who achieved merit for the community, even if it is not his or her own preferred understanding, and so form a bridge into the patients world-view.

The alternative to this is a definition of the pastoral task like Pattison's own which makes *mission* normative, that is, getting the individual "right" with God, "right" being defined by a particular tradition community and being the same for all individuals. This would not suit our present purposes.

Apart from methodological considerations, Cumpsty sees this as objectifying the individual and offering a "magical" solution. It is not, he says, in a Christian context, likely to be about helping an individual to experience the personal God "alive" in her or his context. It has no relevance, other than a missionary one, outside a Christian context.³ We tend to agree with this.

In any case, what will be said about pastoral care in the various Hindu profiles also has relevance to the distinctive types of Christian which a person steeped in Indian culture might become, and therefore has relevance, even in the "Pattison position", to leading such people "home", even if we go no further.

There is one factor in the debate about pastoral responsibility which does concern us, it is the distinction which must be made between the affective and the cognitive aspects of religious belonging.

Discussion of this is to be found in Cumpsty's general theory. He begins by emphasizing that religion in the individual is located and tested in what he calls "the felt sense of reality"; he then goes on to emphasize the importance of the

"symbolized felt sense of reality". This is essential, he says, in the conceptualizing of reality and of how we belong to it, of sharing experience, and of passing from feeling to corporate action. "Truth", that is, our "logic of belonging", is particularly important when the "felt sense" needs support. (1991 p.134, p.295) In the end, however, Cumpsty returns to the centrality of what he calls "cosmic trust" rather than the acceptance of literal "truth", not least in the terminal situation.

He notes that people approaching death begin to search for a literal meaning to symbolic terms such as "heaven", "life after death", "God", which they have used happily for most of their lives without having to seek a precise referent. Words, *so necessary in developing and maintaining faith during life*, now begin to lose their power. All that can remain is a trust in what-is-out-there, that which has led them through life. For this they need to stand back from their crisis moment to get experience as a whole into perspective.⁴ We are back with Job and the Voice from the Whirlwind.⁵ Even if this is achieved in moments (or perhaps in the final stage) of acceptance it probably requires struggling for over and again.

Whether those AIDS patients and others with a sense of some responsibility for their own illness could ever achieve a sense of cosmic trust outside of acceptance of an atonement wrought for them is another question. *Cosmic certainty* there may be, for example in a Karmic view of reality, and perhaps a certainty in which present suffering may assure a better reincarnation, but not *cosmic trust* based on a new beginning in which one might actively look forward to what awaits us, whatever one's failings in this life may have been. Cosmic trust must always be the end point of the Christian pastor's quest but there is much which has to come before that.

Even within the Christian fold, it is possible to discover a tension between two models for life after death, those associated with resurrection and those associated with immortal souls. It can be argued, on the one hand, that it is helpful to take from both models as the need arises or, on the other, that a clear logic for survival

is the most supportive. Either way, neither model will really help if there is no cosmic trust.

It is not far to move from the nature of the different models of survival current within Christianity itself to the nature of the different "logics of belonging" current in Christianity and other faiths. They are symbols and symbols are important, and important in the generation of cosmic trust, but they are not identical with cosmic trust. Without in anyway diminishing the importance of offering to the living the truth as Christians have received it, the cognitive aspect of that truth becomes less relevant in the last hours of life; and the felt character and, in particular, the trustworthiness of what is out there, becomes all important. The Christian pastor might seek to offer this to any terminally ill person. Words remain important but they will be less in-house Christian words, and more like those of the Voice from the Whirlwind.

-*-

We return now to our main theme and to a consideration of what pastoral care might be offered to individuals supposing them to fall clearly into one or another of the profiles which we have distinguished. It will remain with the Pastor to decide how to combine these in those situations where there is more than one world-view at work. In the situation where there are mixed world-views perhaps one begins by offering care appropriate to each of the competing profiles, then it may be seen to which care the patient responds best. In that way the pastoral care itself becomes its own further investigation into which world-view is the most deeply entrenched.

*P: Care
Therapy*

PASTORAL CARE WITHIN EACH OF THE ESTABLISHED PROFILES

We begin again with the Hindu profiles and with the two having contemporary existence (Chaos H8 and Humanist H7) which are not part of traditional Hindu positions.

HINDU PROFILES

CHAOS H8: Nothing coherent to belong to. See also C6 and I3

If we ask what path would be open for engendering a sense of belonging in this profile we cannot ask, as was suggested above, what a "Minister" of their own tradition might offer, so nor is it appropriate to distinguish that from what a Christian pastor might feel able to offer. The approach that we are going to take toward the "chaos" profile in the Hindu context is applicable to the "nominal" Christian profile and also to the "chaos" profile among Muslims.

There is only one starting place in the quest for belonging for people in this position and that is that they gain a sense of some order existing out and beyond the chaos of their own immediate experience.

This is precisely the need of Job. They need to be helped to stand back, as Job was commanded to do by the Voice from the Whirlwind, and to CONSIDER what is the quality of all-that-out-there. They may be helped first to consider the order manifested in nature, science, technology, art and things of beauty - not to deny the chaotic quality of their own experience, but to perceive that their personal chaos lies within a greater field of order.

One might begin with the findings of medical science, but in the hospital situation they may not find any meaning or worth in the immediate medical treatment, particularly if the hospital environment has become a threatening experience for them. Nevertheless, it might provide for some an immediate evidence of some greater order.

If we can get people in this position to the feeling that there is an order out there (whether it is among the stars or inside the atom) we have got them, if not to a sense of the "wondrous works of God", at least to sharing with those in our second

profile, that of the Humanists, a sense of an ordered, largely coherent, if secular reality. Therefore we continue what we have to say about care in this profile together with what we have to say about care in the Humanist profile.

HUMANIST H7: Laws, some order in the system.

The second profile which has contemporary existence but does not come under traditional Hindu positions is that of Humanist.

People in this profile already accept that there are "laws" organizing things in the cosmos. For them, there is an already assumed order within the system. The inadequacy of that position, from our point of view, is that it can remain with the bits and pieces which science interrelates but need never stand back from those bits and pieces and ask "what is it all about?", "what is the meaning of life as a whole and how do I relate to it?" (See Ch2 p.25)

Pastoral care for the Humanist, therefore, would be to move them beyond their sense of order in the system to the point of asking about the nature of that ordered whole and how they relate to it.

If they can be moved to asking these primary religious questions they might then give one of two possible answers.

The first is that it meets them as impersonal, rather like a big machine, the second is that it meets them as in some way personal.

If it meets them as impersonal, then the next pastoral concern is to discover if they trust it.

If, on the other hand, it meets them as in some sense personal, the next question they should be led to ask would concern the character of that quasi-personal "Something". What dominates in that character? Is it sovereignty, is it

righteousness, is it love or acceptance? The balance between these will affect strongly how they feel about it. (See Ch2 p.41)

Then we come to the other aspects of belonging in Cumpsty's theory. When we have asked about *that to which one would belong*, we must ask about *that which is to belong* and then about how these two are to be put together.

"*That which is to belong*" concerns the necessity for integration in the individual, for if they have no sense of self they have no possibility of a sense of belonging. (See Ch2 p.51) "Putting the two together" is the need to relate the individual to whatever they perceive to be out there. This last, in Cumpsty's terms, is the role of ritual (including where appropriate what he calls a cognitive "logic of belonging") which serves to bring about or rehearse the sense of belonging of the individual with whatever he or she feels is the Ultimately-Real.

This last aspect of belonging is closely related to the denial, bargaining, anger, depression and acceptance described by Kübler-Ross. The "stages" will obviously affect how the individual feels in relation to what is perceived to be out there.

In summary:

The aimed at sense of belonging requires:

- (i) that the individual has come to a sense of a coherent "something" out there to which one needs to belong if one is not to exist in anomie and existential alienation.
- (ii) that the individual has come to trust what he or she feels is out there
- (iii) that the individual has come to an integrated sense of self and to self acceptance, and

(iv) that the individual has come to have a sense of being linked to, being at one with, what is out there.

If the humanists were in fact moved towards the sense of an impersonal reality determined by laws, then they would be approaching what we have called the Karmic profile.

If they move towards a feeling that what is out there is quasi-personal, then it may be possible to move them further towards what we have called the Bhakti profile there being as yet no sense of transcendence.

We will, therefore, be picking up the possible transitions from the Chaos profile via the Humanist, and from the Humanist itself, when we come to deal with the Karmic and Bhakti profiles.

Having looked at the possibility of extending pastoral care to the profiles not generally regarded as religious we now come to the pastoral care which might be offered to those falling under the six traditional Hindu profiles.

We begin with those profiles with a quasi-personal view of reality starting with the Leela profile.

LEELA H1: Chaos "explained" as irresponsible personal powers

The Leela position attributes all the crises in life to the irresponsible character, or the mysterious play, of the deities which can neither be predicted nor controlled. Leela can only be accepted. Clearly, in its extreme form, this is close to the Chaos profile.

In the logic of this position there could be no pastoral care from the position of any pastor, other than to encourage acceptance (the final stage of Kübler-Ross)

and the standing back from immediate experience to ask what is the nature of the totality which lies beyond even the deities. 1 m²
1

In our experience, the terminally ill who would be located in the Leela profile pass their days in anxiety, fear and confusion. They are not able to reach out to anything trustworthy which invariably compounds their sense of distress.

The deities may accurately reflect the near chaos of immediate experience in both the natural and social orders, nevertheless, even in this, there is a unity to reality in the Leela profile. It is this which distinguishes the Leela profile from that of Chaos. A sense of "oneness" opens the possibility of standing back from immediate experience to ask what is the nature of the totality. | cosmology

It might, for example, be recognized that while the deities have control of the immediacies of this present life, they themselves are but temporary manifestation of the ground of being with which the individual, in terminal illness, is ultimately concerned.

If the patient could be led behind the immediacies which the deities and their leela represent, to perceive the ground of their being, the supreme reality, Brahman; he or she could perhaps be helped, like Job, and in the ways suggested above, to discover the qualities of order and potential in the totality, and to name the character of that ultimately real as sovereign, perhaps just, or even caring.

If he or she cannot be helped to find anything trustworthy in and behind the deities, growing out of his or her own experience, then it only remains for the pastor to take the extreme step of denying the reality of the patient's own experience and offer his/her own testimony to another experience, rather in the mode of Ecclesiastes 11:5⁶ |)
'

That is, he/she may draw attention to God's inscrutability and to human inability to understand the mind of God: confess that he/she also wrestles with the question of

why God allows certain things to happen, and that there is usually no answer; nevertheless, experience of such things as "human birth" never cease to amaze. Human beings have no idea what God is doing now and little of what He plans to do, but can cast-off their fears and commit themselves into His hands.

This denial of the reality of the patients own experience is, however, an extreme step because, chaotic as that experience is, it is the only reality of their own that the patient has to hang on to. To deny it is to let go of the possibility of having belief find resonance in one's own experience, rather than relying upon external authorities, that desirable state of affairs which William James spoke of as "having religion in possession".

Bhakti H2: Benevolent personal powers

At the other end of the spectrum from Leela, among those with a personal view of reality, lie the Bhakti cults. A popular form of worship in modern times, which in its salvic qualities reflects the Withdrawal Religion paradigm, emphasizes Bhakti, or piety understood as love of a god, and also faith rather than reason. Hindus in this position believe in deities who behave as responsible persons might and so are predictable and also controllable in the sense of being responsive to human initiative. Therefore experience as a whole may be felt to be, in health anyway, predictable and controllable.

Bhakti marga, "the path of devotion" enables the devotees to achieve "enlightenment" by centering their lives in worship and love for one of the gods which they have chosen for an ideal. They attempt to loosen the world's grip on them by keeping the god's name in consciousness through chanting.

If they would be liberated from the cycle of rebirth, they must consciously think of their deity when they take their last breath. If they fail to do this there will not be liberation and they have to continue the cycle of rebirth. So, a terminally ill person

who belongs to this position is frequently fearful of his or her ability to pronounce the name of the deity at the time of death. Physically they may find it difficult to chant the songs which are required of them. Moreover the hospital environment may not be conducive for them to get into any form of Bhakti worship which mostly takes the form of emotional outbursts.

It has to be said that among the most orthodox followers of the Bhakti tradition will be those who are consciously monists and therefore operating with the view that ultimately reality is a closed system of cause and effect. Within that sort of tradition there are no new beginnings, no forgiveness and *Dharma* (social and ritual responsibilities of their life context) has to be fulfilled. Reality hardly personal.

On the other hand, most devotees in the Bhakti tradition have moved, or perhaps could be moved, to an emphasis on Brahman as personal, in which case an element of transcendence has entered the tradition and reality is no longer one but two. If Brahman is truly personal, that is, if it has volition, we are no longer operating in a closed system of cause and effect but new beginnings (forgiveness) have become a possibility.

Pastoral care to the latter group within the logic of their own position, if they are fearful of their ability to fulfil what is required of them, might be to help them to stand back beyond the immediate deity of their own devotion and to perceive the supreme reality, *Brahman* and its character. One of the characteristics of Brahman in Bhakti tradition is mercy. They may be helped to look at the grace of Brahman in the time of crisis so that they may be free from any kind of fear in facing death and therefore accept it.

To the Christian pastor this style of Bhakti presents as being that which is closest within the Hindu traditions to Christianity.

The former group, however, are very close to the Karmic profile and must be dealt with with what will be said below in mind.

Thus a pastor when dealing with the terminally ill in this profile needs to be aware of where within it the patient stands, whether there is really a personal sense or not. He or she might return to the question "where do you think God is?" as a way of discerning where the patient is on this issue.

Karmic H6: Impersonal, individual, closed system

Terminally ill patients in this position think of their crisis as being the result of their Karma from previous incarnations if not from this one. They feel that if it is obediently borne now, particularly if it is positively and voluntarily accepted, the next incarnation will be a better one. This kind of explanation, though appearing to be acceptable to an Karmic Hindu, does not seem to make them feel comfortable in terminal illness. Many still fight acceptance in Kbler-Ross' sense.

The logic of this position does not give any scope for pastoral care other than a sort of "reality testing", as it is a closed system of cause and effect, with no chance and no new beginnings. "Reality testing" would be to help the over scrupulous conscience to stand back and look at all that they have done to fulfil their dharma in this life and to be realistic about what they might have done and so, perhaps, feel more confident about their reincarnation or even release if that is appropriate.

If they still feel anxious about their dharma the only option left to us is to talk about Brahman in more personal terms (See Ch2 p.37) and offer advice of the kind to be found in I John 3:21 *For if our heart condemns us, God is greater than our heart, and knows all things*, translated into Hindu terms.

Astrology H5: Gnostic not salvic

Those believing that the astrological system governs the whole of their lives is a significant category in Indian society but not a large one. There were none in this

sample. It is perhaps the most difficult for the Pastor to deal with. In practice most adherents of astrology also have a belief in reincarnation which is an overlay of Indianness but Karma is not as significant for them as astrological propitiousness.

Crisis makes such people fearful of the future because it introduces uncertainty. In the time of crisis people who believe in astrology are left unsupported because they do not find anything trustworthy to hold on to. It creates a very serious situation for the terminally ill. If they feel themselves to be victims of the astrological powers, it makes it difficult for them to have a meaningful approach to the crisis of illness. They may even feel that the powers of the lunar and astral realm are greater than those of the medicines they take and hence treatment is in vain.

Pastoral care to people who are in this position would be to create some more universal sense of order which takes us back to the position we related to Job. If there is time we can hope to do this but it is not a quick process. If one can restore a sense of universal order more varied than the stars, one has moved them towards the Humanist position or perhaps toward the Karmic position and one might proceed as suggested in those profiles. That is, they might be helped to think that stars, medicines, science, music and everything that they perceive is part of an ordered system. They may be helped to relate themselves to this whole system and establish a trust in it, perhaps even to see it as a manifestation of Brahman or the Creation of a personal God.

Planets H4 Life controlled by impersonal powers manipulable by ritual

Ritual is performed, in this profile, in order to control the future well-being of the adherent but the result is not assured. There is an element of Leela in the planets without suggesting that they have personal qualities.

Terminally ill patients who belong to this position approach the whole crisis not

being sure of the consequences. The only hope for them is to perform ritual to the planets. If the ritual does not work they will be left in despair. They oscillate between denial and depression, and reaching the stage of acceptance is hard. There is nothing to give meaning or integration to the whole process of crisis. Their belief structure is, as it were, belief in a magic that has not worked and there is nothing left.

The possible pastoral help to these people would be, as in other situations that we have considered, to increase the sense of order and its predictability - a sense of order existing out and beyond their own immediate experience. Again they might be helped to perceive their present experience as real but as laying within a greater field of order, which itself might be found trustworthy. They would have to go back behind the "Planets" and think about the character of Brahman, the ground of being itself, if they are to perceive the world around them in a new way.

Tribal H3: Quasi-personal, communal, closed system

Terminally ill patients who are located within this profile may feel that the crisis of illness is due to their having offended the living dead and then to the inadequacy of rituals performed by them or by others on their behalf. It may also be understood as the work of malignant spirits, or even of someone in the community working stronger rituals against them (witchcraft).

A possible pastoral care in this situation within the tradition's own logic is to work towards acceptance of the terminal condition and reinforcing the awareness that they will be joining the ancestral spirits, death being only a passage from stage to stage. They may be helped to think about making that passage in as healthy as possible a relationship with family and community, living and dead, and with whatever lies beyond, which will mean performing or having performed the necessary rituals.

One also needs to be sensitive to cultural needs such as the importance of dying with the family or in the family home.

There may be people assigned to this profile because they expect to become on death an ancestral spirit rather than be reincarnated and who have a strong sense of living in a closed system of a communal kind but who, in the processes of urban life, have lost touch with extended family and have perhaps replaced it with a local community, and lost touch also with appropriate ritual or, under urban pressure, come to regard it as superstition. Here the temptation might be to leap directly into a Christian conversion approach but it might be better to establish as much self confidence as possible in the ways described for those still within a tribal tradition but replacing the extended family with their significant community if such exists.

If an overtly Christian approach were thought to be possible and desirable, then again the redemptive model which does not call for letting go of the deeply ingrained sense of a closed system of cause and effect, that everything has to be paid for, would be best. As we said, that Jesus is the "first born" of the family of believers with merits sufficient for the family. Here, the corporate nature of that closed system is already in place.

MUSLIMS

ORTHODOX II: emphasis on absolute submission to the will of Allah at all times, not least in times of crisis.

The largest group of Muslims fall into the Orthodox profile. This emphasis on the sovereign will of Allah is, to an outsider, somewhat deterministic. Though the importance of freedom of action and individual responsibility is recognized it is, as it were, handed back to Allah in one act of faith.

The terminally ill individual who belongs to this position may be calm in the midst

of illness because of his or her submission to Allah. On the other hand he or she may be resentful and battling within, seeking an integration between religious belief and the capacity to accept the crisis situation. There seems to be a strong continuing sense of guilt. There seems to be, for some Muslims at least, a greater distance between belief in the mercifulness of Allah and a personal sense of assurance of one's acceptance by Allah, than there is in the equivalent situation for Christians.

The Pastor must seek to understand the level of acceptance of terminality, and therefore of integration, in the process of illness and the degree to which faith in Allah is helping acceptance of the reality in a meaningful and constructive way? If the individual's faith experience is insufficient then to reemphasize the sovereign will of Allah and also the mercifulness of Allah might help to strengthen the quality of belonging within the logic of the individual's own tradition.

The temptation for a Christian pastor is to seek common ground in the mercifulness of Allah and the forgiving nature of God, but, as important as that is, Muslim orthodoxy lays stress on the sovereignty of Allah and if the Pastor would stay at one with the patient he or she cannot depart far from this. While mercifulness comes very close to the Christian understanding of forgiveness, it is perceived in the Islamic faith somewhat differently. When a Christian thinks of forgiveness he perceives God in the role of father or perhaps husband, while a Muslim perceives Allah's being merciful as the act of a sovereign king. Pastoral care would need to avoid losing the transcendent quality supplied by the emphasis on sovereignty and ending up in what Cumpsty called the "Holy custard of love and righteousness". (1991 p.308)

If we would retain sovereignty then we are back to I John 3:21 and trying to look seriously at what could realistically have been asked of the patient by Allah and perhaps then, but only then, speaking about mercy.

The Christian and Islamic positions are, of course, much nearer to each other than

each is to the Hindu position, for they both have a place for new beginnings, that is for forgiveness or mercifulness. In this a Christian pastor might well support a Muslim struggling with a hangover of a Hindu Karmic belief in a closed system of cause and effect (which has an affective affinity with sovereignty more than with mercifulness) and help him/her approach the crisis situation more positively.

If that is judged not to be sufficient then testimony from an overtly Christian perspective to the loving and caring aspect of the divine character might increase the sense of security, benevolence and acceptance, in one who is unable to accept the mercifulness of Allah as directed to their own life, but it would need linking to the sovereignty of Allah otherwise it may weaken what faith there is when there is no time to build another.

NOMINAL I2: material - overlay of closed system outlook

There were a few Muslims who indicated that they were motivated to worship Allah by material benefits including the tendency to believe that misfortune in one's present life could be overcome by seeking pardon from God for sins.

It is to be noted that many of these Muslims were recent converts and one has to view their conversion as expedient if not as consciously and deliberately so.

One has to ask whether this is the result of the continuing influence of Hindu belief that reality is a closed system, whether individual or corporate, or is it a reflection of a sense that Allah will reward their efforts?

The important thing here is that there was no sense in the respondents of the inappropriateness of this response. On the other hand, there is no weakening of their otherwise orthodox declarations of Islamic faith. Their position, therefore, could only be the result of a still deeply present sense of operating within a closed system of cause and effect, where ritual or worship is the cause, and benefits are the effect.

Pastorally speaking, this only presents a problem if it depersonalizes Allah while retaining His personal symbols. That is, if it is an overlay of the Tribal profile type.

If the volition in Allah is diminished by this closed system groundswell then we do have a conflict of world-views and the Pastor must seek to discover which is the most entrenched, perhaps by beginning care within both.

If the real emphasis of people in this position is that Allah is rewarding them, then what has been said of the orthodox Muslim profile applies.

If, however, their position really reflects a closed system of cause and effect and they are in fact closer to Hindu culture than Muslim faith, then pastorally one would deal with them in the way already outlined for the appropriate Hindu tradition whether that be Tribal (corporate), Bhakti (personal and individual) or, less likely, Karmic (impersonal and individual).

CHAOS I3: nothing to belong to

This group, while claiming Muslim faith manifested a similar bitterness, and rejection of any sense of order, to that found in those described under the "Chaos" profile in the Hindu sample.

In so far as this group do not exhibit any of the basic characteristics of Islamic faith they would have to be dealt with as suggested for the Hindus in the chaos position.

The terminally ill, of whatever overt religious connection, who are in this position will find the chaos confirmed in the whole process of their illness. If they are to be helped they must, as we said, find an order existing out and beyond their own chaotic immediate experience.

Because this group have some overt relation with Islam, however nominal, one would not wish to miss the opportunity of coupling an appeal to the patient to

consider the order in the totality of things, in nature, science, technology and art, to the sovereign will of Allah.

If and when they can perceive an order out there (have reached the position of "Humanists") it may not be too far a step for already nominal Muslims to step back and acknowledge the wondrous works of Allah manifested in that order. That is, their Muslim experience might be sufficient to take them beyond the impersonal question of whether they trust IT-out-there, to the personal question of whether they trust HIM-out-there.

If so, then the question of the character of that Personal Reality (what dominates, sovereignty, righteousness or loving acceptance?) would have to be dealt with sensitively by a Christian pastor seeking to maximize whatever Muslim influence there was in a nominal Muslim patient. The balance between these elements of character affects greatly how they feel about reality and it needs to touch a Muslim chord rather than a Christian one.

Then the Pastor may help to examine whether the patient themselves are integrated and self-accepting, and whether, if they can get to this stage, they are managing to feel linked with whatever is out there. (See Ch2 p.51) That may call for ritual as well as the reaffirmation of the logic of belonging.

CHRISTIAN PROFILES

Orthodox C1: transcendence, balance between God as Creator and Saviour

Pastoral care to terminally ill people in this profile is the topic of many works and not the special concern of this thesis. It will not, therefore, be dealt with here. It is interesting to note, however, that none of the respondents in our sample could be assigned to this category, such is the overlay of Indianness in manifestations of Christianity in this culture.

Monistic C2: worship for material benefits

Having established that a Christian patient is also operating out of a monistic worldview there is need to discover how strong in their lives is the monistic influence. As Luther's Shorter Catechism makes clear, there is nothing unorthodox in expecting that God will bless those who trust in Him but, at the other extreme, there is a closed system of cause and effect in which reality becomes essentially impersonal lacking, as it does, volition.

Those for whom God remains personal the Pastor would deal with for the most part as orthodox, needing perhaps to emphasize a more transcendent and personal view of God and therefore the possibility of new beginnings, with emphasis on forgiveness, love and care.

For those strongly influenced by closed system thinking one needs to discover whether one is dealing with influence of the Withdrawal Religion paradigm with its strong sense of individualism, which we have seen represented in the Karmic profile, or with that of the communal, Nature Religion paradigm which we have represented in the Tribal profile. For this purpose one might ask an additional question about the cause of the patient's own sickness. "Could it be the fault of somebody else? In which case it is likely to be Tribal or "Must it be something that he or she has done?" In the latter case we are dealing with a Karmic influence.

At the extreme, if it is decided that the patient is really a nominal Christian who is closer to Hindu tradition, then pastorally one would have to deal with her/him much in the way that has already been outlined for Karmic or Tribal profiles.

If the position is truly Karmic there is really nothing that can be done with it from a Christian point of view. Pastorally, and with charity, one can only go back to the Karmic position and reaffirm the nature of its logic. Again, perhaps, trying to offer an impersonal version of I John 3:21

If it is judged that there is something of the Christian position present along with the Karmic it may be possible to move them from an individual sense to a more communal sense and thence to trust in that Christian soteriological model which also operates in a closed system. If we begin with or can move to this communal position then it may be possible to gain acceptance for the understanding that Jesus, being part of the community, paid the cost for the community. By doing that, we do not have to modify their deeply ingrained Hindu belief that everything has to be paid for.

Contractual C3: vows to overcome misfortune

This may be a particular style of the "Monistic" profile or just an expressive offering, the desire to do something for God, and one must attempt to separate the two positions. If it is the latter, the approach would be as to the orthodox. In so far as it is closed system thinking, what has been said for the Monistic profile (C2) applies here also.

Social Communal C4: worship for fellowship

The style of relationship with God in this profile is not based on general material benefits but on the benefits of fellowship in the community, and this can be understood in different ways.

"Community" might be the manifestation of a more Catholic, Body of Christ, understanding of the congregation, or some other high ecclesiology which most protestant churches share in some degree, but it is unlikely that people in such a position would make no mention of God in the reason for worship. (Ch2 p.44)

"Fellowship" might be a sectarian reduction of reality to the congregation, but then there would be clear markers of who is in and who is out.

It may simply be belonging to the congregation as a substitute for belonging to a God in whom there is little or no faith. This may be coupled with another overlay of Hindu tradition, this time of the Tribal profile with the congregation having filled the place of the extended family in belonging to which the individual belongs to reality.

A pastor, therefore, needs to ask whether this is (1) a case of a high ecclesiology, in which case it is orthodox regardless of the language used; whether it is (2) a social need that is being met in worship and faith in God is weak (See Ch2 p.56); or whether (3) there is here an overlay of the Tribal profile.

If it is (1) then we are really dealing with a possible orthodox situation.

If it is (2) then one would seek to deal with it in whatever style seems best within the context to strengthen faith in God while not denying the validity of the social needs and trying to meet them in the terminally ill situation.

If it is the last (3) and if one wants to meet the logic of belonging of someone in that situation then it is required that: (i) the community is healthy, that is, it enjoys good relationship within and to whatever relatively undefined reality lies beyond, and (ii) that one belongs to the community.

In this last situation a pastor has to decide whether he or she can actually wean the patient from that position to a sense of God's transcendence and thence to the possibility of new beginnings and forgiveness. Alternatively he or she may reassure them of their belonging to their community and of the "wholeness" of the congregation. If they feel alienated from the community a pastor can work out the possibility of the community coming closer to the patients.

It is at this point that one would need to acknowledge the difference between the Aids or cancer patient.

If there is an overlay of the Tribal profile then it is also important to deal with issues like whether it is good for the patient to die in the hospital or at home in the presence of the extended family and community.

Fatalistic C5: God's will

What has to be decided here is how much is this the deliberate and positive acceptance of God's will. If it is then it might be considered an ideal attitude. On the other hand it might be an overlay of a closed system world-view whether of the Karmic or, more likely, the Leela kind.

To discover this one needs to return to the personal initiative type question (Q2) to discover whether personal initiative is a significant factor in life, but which one may be called to surrender; or whether personal initiative is never a reality, either because it is limited to doing dharma within a Karmic world-view or to being *maya* within a Leela one.

If personal initiative is seen never to be a reality then the Pastor needs to go back to Q4 and Q5 or similar to discover where the patient stands in this regard. If it should be Karmic at root then what has been said under the Monistic profile above will apply. If they view God as the one whose way of dealing with them can never be predicted and controlled, then they are recognizably close to the Leela profile of Hindu tradition and pastoral care might have to begin in the same way as for that position.

It is possible that, even if the Pastor decides that this is a case of conscious and deliberate acceptance of the divine will by someone who believes in personal initiative and responsibility, he or she may feel that the sovereignty aspect of the Divine has become emphasized in the patients view of God over and above the loving and the righteous. In which case they are almost within an orthodox Muslim

position. It is within what is possible in the Christian tradition, but one would seek to help them see that there is a place for personal freedom and responsibility, and therefore for new beginnings and forgiveness. This might turn the crisis into a challenge for growth rather than being a closed-down situation.

If they stand at the Christian, rather than the closed system, end of this profile then the Pastor will need to help them maintain belief in a loving and caring God and that requires that one believes and accepts that He has a purpose for one's death as He had for one's life. It is one of those situations in which it is at least as important for the patient to find meaning in their present life, as to believe that they will go on living after death.

Nominal: C6 almost "Chaos"

Those who fall in this profile, while claiming to be Christians, do not indicate any of the basic characteristics of Christian faith. They go beyond even the fatalism of the Leela profile to a position where there is nothing coherent out there to which they might belong. There is nothing new to be said about pastoral care in this situation. On the one hand, there may be bitterness and a lack of trust that would take them right over into a chaos position, and would have to be dealt with and, on the other hand, we are back to Job's position and the need to begin to establish a sense of a wider order in which their experience of chaos might find a place. Even though they are clearly nominal, their relationship to Christianity might provide an opportunity for those in this profile to consider the order in the totality of things, as was suggested for the nominal Muslim group, and thence to the personal, sovereign, righteous and accepting nature of that totality.

-*-

Having considered all the profiles discovered, it is perhaps appropriate to return to the assertion that a strong Indianness presses itself upon ways of being Christian,

and to a lesser extent Muslim, in India. The presence of a few people in the Chaos or near Chaos position in each group, a less extreme but still Leela position among the Christians, as well as the all pervading monism and a related fatalism sometimes accompanied by a strong communalism, all point in this direction.

It remains to comment upon the discovery that in certain respects the fact of terminal illness and the nature of the terminal illness overrides differences in the world-view of the different profiles. It puts the importance of our profiles and the differences which we have described in proper context.

That both time and life itself take on a different appearance when they are in short supply is not surprising. That there was so clear a distinction between the cancer and AIDS patients, in the matter of privacy and communal acceptance, that one could "diagnose" the Haemophiliac as different, was remarkable and suggests that we cannot think of a common pastoral care for both.

ENDNOTES

1 Stephen Pattison, *The Critique of Pastoral Care* (London, SCM Press, 1993)

2 Teaching materials. Department of Religious Studies, University of Cape Town, 1995. In response to Stephen Pattison *ibid* p.13 and p.195f

3 *ibid*

4 *ibid*

5 Job 34:17.

6 "As you do not know the path of the wind or how the body is formed in a mother's womb, so you cannot understand the work of God the maker of all things."

7 At this point the pastor is faced with a decision about leaving well alone or pushing on towards a move into what has been called Christian Bhakti. See, for example, the debate about grace, the monkey, who dignifies its children with the belief that they can cling to it (Erasmus) and the cat, who knows that it must take the initiative and picks up its children (Luther)

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Limitations of the Study

A caveat is called for here. All individuals are different and this thesis is in no way to be read as suggesting a mechanical formulaic approach to pastoral care. All that is offered is a means whereby the chaos of possibilities might be reduced to some order and the patient located in very general terms, and therefore have some very general needs identified.

Nevertheless, the evidence of the differences between the AIDS and cancer patients suggests that people in the same circumstances do respond in fairly uniform ways, certainly in times of crisis.

In the end, we are trying to establish a "felt" sense of belonging not simply a cognitive one, but *belief* is our primary point of entry into other peoples' faiths, and what a person believes does influence what a person feels. So while we do not wish to claim too much, we do, as with Kübler-Ross' stages, offer a tool¹. All tools are potentially dangerous, the danger must be guarded against, but the tool ought not to be thrown out. Pastoral care is never going to be easy but that does not remove the obligation to be always seeking to help practitioners become the sharpest possible tool in the hands of the Spirit.

What has been achieved in this project, although it draws one of its primary resources from the science of religion, is more an Art than a Science. We have not ended up with universal categories into which people can be located and dealt with accordingly, but with a method. A method which, taking off from a particular theory, generates profiles, tailored for a particular context and, with that, the framework within which skills can be recognized and learned.

The skills will include, at least the sensitive choice of the right questions in the quest for an individual patient's profile location, and then, of course, deciding on the most appropriate path to the best possible sense of belonging and to the generation of a cosmic trust.

To learn the profiles and sufficient of the tradition which belongs to them, the appropriate questions, the interpretation of the answers, and the possibilities for pastoral care, would be required of all local pastors and lay workers who might find themselves in a multi-cultural pastoral care situation. We have not included profiles which were not likely to be useful² and perhaps there are some we have missed, so the practitioner would need to be alert to useful additions.

As we said, to have understood the patients position and to be able to communicate that fact to the patient, is already to have entered upon pastoral care.

This research was set predominantly in urban India and its results are limited by that. Even to move primarily into rural India would require changes. Even if the operative profiles did not change, what comprised the most common profiles would almost certainly change, and the way in which the theoretical variables outcropped in context and therefore the questions one would want to ask, would certainly change. For example, the current question on punctuality might be totally irrelevant, as might that which supposes that you have become an employing authority. In that situation, sufficient background in the method would be necessary to find better questions to test the same variables.

If one made a major culture move, say to a context in which Buddhism was the dominant tradition, then one would have to have sufficient grasp of the method to go in quest of appropriate profiles. These might include, given the *Tri-kāya*, one with impersonal features, not unlike the Karmic save that even Dharma has been overtaken in the individuality of a personal quest for enlightenment; and perhaps one nearer to Leela than Bhakti, save that the gods were much more beneficent;

together with quite local manifestations of different emphases within universal options, parallel to the Planets profile in this study.

Another limitation, of course, is that the project has been set within the perspective of a Christian pastor, it could be translated into other traditions. Other traditions may wish to do that. What is proposed here is, after all, evangelistic, in the sense of recommending Christianity to the world, although conversion to overt Christianity is not usually the recommended path. Certainly it is evangelism in the Vatican II sense of the Church being the servants of Christ for his world rather than the corral into which individuals need to be brought for their salvation.

Suggestions for Further Research

1. Extension to Minority Religious Communities

Between limitations of this project a suggestion for future research is the fact that only those traditions which are dominant in the Researcher's context have been included. Minority religious communities, such as Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, and Parsees, are spread widely throughout India's geographical vastness. They are occasionally met everywhere. Similar research needs doing on these minority religious communities for a complete perspective on pastoral care to the terminally ill in India. The instrument which we have been using will, with appropriate modifications, assist in this.

2. Providing Supportive Systems to the Terminally Ill

One of the findings of this research is that the Cancer patients, unlike the patients affected with AIDS do not show an inclination for communal support in their time of crisis. This calls for further research among patients suffering from these terminal illnesses and others, to discover what sort of supportive system is the most appropriate for the terminally ill in different kinds of illness, and in different profiles if the latter affect the situation.

3. Attitudes to the Disease

Terminal Illness is not just dominated by the fact of terminality. What the illness is, seems to have much to do with how the terminality is experienced. We have seen the difference between what are probably the extremes, cancer and AIDS, between something felt to be visited upon the sufferer, and something brought upon the sufferer by his or her own conduct. There are other forms of terminal illness and it would be good to investigate these. In particular terminal illness brought about by excesses, that is by addictions, are difficult to pastor because of the unknown sense of responsibility. Is the addiction itself an illness or is it culpable. Patients may differ widely on this and even, in the case of some patient, differ from time to time. In any case we need to know where they are.

4. The Terminally Ill and the Use of Time

The research also gives support to Melvyn Thompson's finding that time becomes very precious to the terminally ill. Both the cancer and AIDS patients appeared as if they wanted more than ever to achieve something in life as time became shorter. This desire to make an impact upon the world before it is too late needs further research if it is to be ministered to appropriately. Can it, in the penultimate stages at least, be channeled and assisted, or does its impossibility have to be confronted if "acceptance" is to be achieved? Does one begin to emphasize, reevaluate and integrate what has been achieved already? Memory remaining when present roles and future plans are defeated by illness. Eric Cassel's understanding of what constitutes the person may be helpful in this. (See Ch2 p.55)

ENDNOTES

1 See the criticism of Kbler-Ross and of "phase theory" in chapter 1.

2 For example, we have no Christian Chaos profile but one could swiftly lean to deal with it, if it were found, by reference to those Chaos profiles which have been included.

APPENDIX

THE SAMPLES BY GENDER, CASTE, AGE, EDUCATION, AFFLUENCE, BY DISEASE AND RELIGION

COMBINED PILOT AND MAIN SURVEY SAMPLE TOTAL : 285

Religion	Gender		Caste			Age		
	Male	Female	Scheduled Caste	Backward Caste	Forward Caste	Young Adults under 30	Middle Age 30-45	Older over 45
Hindus	75	40	64	24	27	20	68	27
Christians	69	31	-	68	32	11	65	24
Muslims	51	19	-	27	43	7	47	16

CONTINUED.....

Religion	Education Level			Level of Affluence				
	No School	Left School Early	Finished School	Graduate/ P.G.	Below Basic Subsistence Level	Struggling	Just comfortable	Relatively Prosperous
Hindus	12	23	44	36	22	13	20	60
Christians	19	25	24	32	27	26	31	16
Muslims	8	16	44	2	2	3	39	26

TERMINALLY ILL SAMPLE

TOTAL : 27

Illness	Religion	Gender		Caste			Age		
		Male	Female	Scheduled Caste	Backward Caste	Forward Caste	Young Adults Under 30	Middle Age 30-45	Older over 45
Cancer	Hindus	3	5	4	3	1	1	2	5
"	Christians	2	2	-	1	3	-	1	3
"	Muslims	2	1	-	2	1	-	1	2
Aids	Hindus	5	2	6	1	-	3	4	-
"	Christians	3	-	-	3	-	2	1	-
"	Muslims	1	1	-	-	2	1	1	-

CONTINUED

Illness	Religion	Education Level			Level of Affluence				
		No School	Left School Early	Finished School	Graduate/ P.G	Below Basic Subsistence Level	Struggling	Just Comfortable	Relatively Prosperous
Cancer	Hindus	1	-	4	3	-	1	5	2
"	Christians	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	3
"	Muslims	-	1	2	-	-	-	2	1
Aids	Hindus	2	-	4	1	2	3	2	-
"	Christians	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	1
"	Muslims	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	1