SPIRITUAL COUNSELLING AND CARE IN HEALTH AND PRISON SERVICES:

Diverse Experiences & Practices

Editors:
Nuri Tınaz- Ali Ayten
Mahmut Zengin - Halil Ekşi

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Preface

Spiritual Counselling and Care, is an interdisciplinary field of inquiry that emerged from bringing together multiple fields in social sciences like; theology, sociology, psychology and others. So as a field of research, Spiritual Counseling and Care is relatively new in Turkey, though in essence is not a novel concept. As in our tradition, it is part of one's moral commitment and responsibility to express condolences and prayer to a grieving person or family. Also, it is an obligation to visit and console patients, in the frame of family and community culture, so extending help for the ones in need of care and assistance manifest the internal codes of spiritual counselling that rooted in our culture. Today's changing social conditions and societal needs do in fact necessitate the institutionalization of the services in the field of Spiritual Counseling and Care both theoretically and practically. Therefore, as a Center for Values Education we aim to establish theoretical basis for the field of Spiritual Counseling and Care by developing a body of literature around it, since this field is of relevance to the areas of our inquiry. For about 6 years, we have organized research projects, workshops, seminars and two international conferences in this field. Indeed, during this period, the interest on the subject in the Turkish academic circles has increased, thanks to the Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet)'s contributions to the studies on the subject and to the other academic endeavors that significant progress has been made in the development and institutionalization of this field, especially in its recognition as a field of profession. Thus, all the efforts put by

the Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs regarding the field of Spiritual Counseling and Care, from inter-institutional cooperation to its recognition as a profession, deserve all kinds of appreciation. In this regard, as a Center for Values Education, our goal behind organizing the International Spiritual Counseling and Care Conference in 2016, was to promote the transfer of local and international academic knowledge and to encourage academic circles to produce more knowledge in this field. Given the results presented in our conference, we observed the need of our society and institutions for all kinds of knowledge and information regarding the Spiritual Counseling and Care. Therefore, in 2018 we held the Spiritual Counseling and Care Conference II with special focus on "Prison Health Care Services." The papers presented in this conference underwent a second peer review and editing process. As a result of this process, selected papers classified into thematic sections and thus this book came into being. We would like to express our deepest gratitude to everyone who contributed to this endeavor; the authors, the referees, the editorial board, and our staff who made the layout, design, correction and proofreading. We also hope that this work will contribute to the growing literature in the field of Spiritual Counseling and Care.

Center for Values Education

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Integrating Spirituality into Patient Care from a Multicultural Perspective

Harold G. Koenig*

Introduction: The Research

There are many reasons for integrating spirituality into patient care. Perhaps the best reason is research demonstrating a robust relationship between religious involvement and mental health. I will now briefly summarize some of that research. These comments are based on a summary of a systematic review of the research contained in the appendices of the first and second edition of the Handbook of Religion and Health (Koenig et al., 2001; 2012) and more research that has been summarized in the text Religion and Mental Health (Koenig, 2018a).

1) Religion as a Coping Behavior

Many persons turn to religion for comfort when they experience stress or loss, or to deal with the existential problems of life. Religion is used to cope with difficult situations, especially those having to do with uncertainty fear, loss of control, discouragement, and loss of hope. This is true throughout the world, although it is especially true in southern Asia and the Middle East, as well as in Africa, South America, Mexico and Central America, and the United States. In many of these areas, more than 90% of people turn to religion to cope when they are experiencing severe stress. This is one of the most

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important reasons why counselors should support and integrate a person's religious beliefs into therapy.

2) Depression

Depression is the most common mental disorder in the world, especially among medical patients. It is also one of the most disabling, even more so than many medical illnesses. In fact, according to a study by the World Health Organization and Harvard School of Public Health by 2020, only cardiovascular disease will be more disabling then depression (Murray & Lopez, 1996). Greater religious involvement has been shown to be associated with less depression and faster recovery from depression. In addition, religious counseling interventions have been shown to be effective in reducing depressive symptoms based on several randomized controlled trials (Propst et al., 1992; Koenig et al., 2015). Overall, of 444 quantitative studies conducted prior to 2010, 272 (61%) found that religiosity was significantly inversely related to depression or shortened the recovery period. Among the best designed studies, 67% reported this finding. Only 6% of the studies found that depression was more common among those who were more religious, and this was usually in non-traditional populations.

3) Recent Research Confirms These Findings

In a study conducted by the department of psychiatry at Columbia University in New York City, researchers conducted structural magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) scans of the brains of those at high risk for depressive disorder (Miller et al., 2014). Among those for whom religion/spirituality was not very important, there were widespread areas of significant reduction in cortical thickness across the cerebral cortex of the brain. In contrast, among those who indicated religion/spirituality was very important in their daily lives, there was very little reduction in cortical thickness. These results provide objective evidence that religious involvement may affect and benefit brain structure, particularly the cerebral cortex. Note, however, depression can also adversely affect religious involvement. Depressed people may be less able to attend religious services and may not have the energy to pray or read religious scriptures (Maselko et al., 2012). Research appears to indicate that religious involvement can both prevent the onset of depression and depression can interfere with religious activity (Li et al., 2016). Therefore, these dynamics are often co-occurring.

4) Suicide

Our systematic review found that religious involvement is also related to less suicide, fewer suicide attempts, and more negative attitudes toward suicide in 75% of research studies (106 of 141) that examined this relationship prior to 2010. More recently, in a study of 20,014 adults in the United States (NHANES-III Study) that followed participants from 1988 to 2006, those who attended religious services more than two times per month were 94% less likely to commit suicide during the follow-up period (hazard ratio=0.06, 95% CI=0.01-0.54) (Kleiman & Liu, 2014). In a study of 1,106,104 adults in Northern Ireland (that included more than half the population of this country), researchers found that Protestants were at lower risk of suicide than Catholics (HR=0.71, 95% CI 0.52-0.97), and conservative Protestants ages 35-54 were nearly 50% less likely to commit suicide than Catholics in that age group (HR=0.50, 95% CI 0.29-0.85) (O'Reilly & Rosato, 2015).

Most recently, and perhaps the most important study of suicide to date, VanderWeele and colleagues (2016) from the Harvard School of Public Health examined the relationship between religious attendance in 1996 and completed suicide from 1996 to 2010 among 89,708 women participating in the Nurse's Health Study. Among those attending religious services once per week or more, the incident suicide risk was 84% lower than in those never attending services (hazard ratio=0.16, 95% CI 0.06-0.46). There was more than a 5-fold reduction in incidence from 7.0 per 100,000 person-years among non-attendees to only 1.0 per 100,000 person-years among those attending at least once per week (see Figure 1). In that particular study, Protestants were more likely to commit suicide than Catholics (the opposite of the finding in Northern Ireland). I was asked to write the editorial for this important study published in JAMA Psychiatry, one of the most highly cited psychiatry journals in the world (Koenig, 2016a). The reason why religious involvement (regardless of the particular faith tradition) appears to prevent suicide is because it gives life meaning, purpose and hope, which is often lacking in those who end their lives.

Figure 1. Religious attendance and suicide incidence in the Nurse's Health Study (final column includes both men and women in the U.S.)

5) Substance Use

Besides being related to less depression and less suicide, religious involvement is also related to less alcohol use, abuse, and dependence. In our systematic review, 240 of 278 quantitative studies (86%) found that more religious persons were less likely to use or abuse alcohol. Among the best designed studies, 90% reported this finding. This is a particularly true in Islamic countries, where alcohol is discouraged based on religious prohibitions in the Qur'an. The same is true for illicit drug use. In our systematic review, we found that 155 of 185 studies (84%) reported less drug use, abuse, and dependence in the more religious. Among studies with the best research designs, 86% reported this finding. Among randomized clinical trials or experimental studies, 95% indicated that drug use/abuse was less common among individuals who received religious interventions.

6) Well-being and Happiness

Religious involvement is not only related to less psychopathology, it is also related to more positive emotions. The association between religiosity and well-being is even stronger than the association between religiosity and depression or suicide. Our systematic review found that 79% of 326 quantitative studies (82% of the best designed studies) found that persons who were more religious experienced significantly greater well-being, greater life satisfaction, and more happiness. Less than 1% of studies (3 of 326) found that the more religious were less happy or had lower well-being.

7) Meaning, Purpose, Hope, Optimism

Likewise, our systematic review found that the overwhelming majority of studies found that more religious individuals indicated greater meaning and purpose in life (42 of 45 studies or 93%), greater hope (29 of 40 studies or 73%), and greater optimism (26 of 32 studies or 81%). Having greater meaning and purpose, greater hope, and more optimism, has consequences for patients' motivation for self-care and efforts toward recovery when they become sick, have surgery, or are victims of accidents. Lack of such positive emotions often leads to prolonged recovery and poor outcomes (both mental and physical).

8) Social Support

Not only do religious persons have better mental health, they also have greater social support, including more friends, intact families, and a higher quality of social support that endures beyond the social contract (i.e., even when individuals cannot provide support to others in return). Religions teach that individuals should care for one another and provide for others needs when necessary. Our systematic review found that over 80% of quantitative studies (61 of 74) found that those who were more religious had significantly greater social support. This also applies to prosocial activities (below).

9) Delinquency and Crime

Our systematic review found that prior to the year 2010, at least 104 quantitative peer-reviewed studies had examined the religion-delinquency/crime relationship. Of those, 82 (79%) reported inverse relationships between religious involvement and delinquency or crime. Of the 60 best designed studies, 82% found significant inverse relationships. Religious involvement during youth also has consequences for academic achievement. Of the studies published during past 10 years that examined relationships between religious involvement and school performance (GPA or persistence to graduation), all 11 (100%) indicated that religious students performed significantly better those who were not involved in religious activities.

10) Divorce, Domestic Abuse, Single-Parent Families

Our systematic review of quantitative studies published prior to the year 2010 also found that among those who were more religious, there was less divorce, greater marital satisfaction, and less spousal abuse (68 of 79 studies or 86%). Religiosity was associated with a greater likelihood of having an intact family with two parents in home. Thus, religious involvement -- devout religious involvement in any of the five major world religious traditions (Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism) is associated with healthier and stronger families. The strength of a country is often based on the strength of the families that make up that country.

Conclusions

Religious involvement is common throughout the world and is often used to cope with life stress, loss, change, or illness. Greater religiosity is associated

with less depression, lower suicide, less anxiety and faster recovery from severe trauma, greater happiness and emotional well-being, less substance use and abuse, and better social and family health. These findings have consequences for the mental health of individuals and the health and thriving of communities and countries. The relationship between religion and mental health also has clinical implications for counselors who treat those suffering from mental health problems.

1) Integrating Spirituality into Patient Care

What does "integrating spirituality into patient care" mean for the counselor? First and foremost, it means (1) conducting a brief "spiritual assessment"; (2) identifying spiritual needs related to the reason for consultation; (3) ensuring that someone meets those spiritual needs; and (4) being willing to discuss this subject with patients. Most major world mental health organizations (e.g., American Psychological Association, American Psychiatric Association, World Psychiatric Association) all have practice guidelines that recommend doing a spiritual assessment and treating patients' religious beliefs with respect and honor. There is a strong rationale for doing so.

Assessing and addressing patients' spiritual needs increases satisfaction with care and reduces healthcare costs (Koenig, 2013). It also improves emotional state and increases motivation towards recovery. Supporting one's religious beliefs and practices has been shown to improve mental health-related behaviors (decrease substance use, reduce antisocial behaviors) and benefit mental health outcomes (especially depression, anxiety, etc., as noted above). Furthermore, decisions about mental health treatment made by patients (and counselors) are often based on religious beliefs, and therefore discussion of these beliefs is absolutely necessary.

2) The Spiritual Assessment

I now address a number of questions related to the spiritual assessment. What is a "spiritual assessment" and what should counselors do with this information? What types of patients need a spiritual assessment? What else might counselors do to address the patient's spiritual needs? What are barriers to spiritual assessment, and how can they be overcome? Finally, what are the boundaries that counselors, as mental health professionals, should not cross when assessing and addressing the religious or spiritual needs of patients.

First, what is the purpose of the spiritual assessment (SA)? The SA provides information about the patient's religious background, help determine if the patient has religious or spiritual support when coping with problems, identifies beliefs that may influence decisions about mental health care and compliance with treatments (therapy or medications), identifies unmet spiritual needs related to the patient's emotional problems for which they are seeking counseling, and creates an atmosphere where the patient feels comfortable talking with their counselor about spiritual needs related to their mental health. Second, what kinds of questions are asked as part of the mental health SA? Below is a list of 15 questions that are recommended when doing a SA, and can be asked regardless of a person's culture or religious tradition (Koenig, 2018a):

1. "Do you consider yourself religious or spiritual person or neither?"

2. If religious or spiritual, ask: "Explain to me what you mean by that?"

3. If neither religious nor spiritual, ask: "Was this always so?" If no, ask: "When did that change and why?" [Then end the spiritual history for now, although may return to it after therapeutic relationship established]

4. "Do you have any religious or spiritual beliefs that provide comfort?"

5. If yes, ask: "Explain to me how your beliefs provide comfort." If no, ask: "Is there a particular reason why your beliefs do not provide comfort?"

6. "Do you have any religious or spiritual beliefs that cause you to feel stressed?"

7. If yes, ask: "Explain to me how your beliefs cause stress in your life."

8. "Do you have any spiritual or religious beliefs that might influence your willingness to take medication, receive psychotherapy, or receive other treatments that may be offered as part of your mental health care?"

9. "Are you an active member of a religious community, such as a church, synagogue, or mosque?"

10. If yes, ask: "How supportive has your faith community been in helping you?" If not, ask: "Why has your faith community not been particularly supportive?"

11. "Tell me a bit about the spiritual or religious environment in which you were raised. Were either of your parents religious?"

12. "During this time as a child, were your experiences positive or negative ones in this environment?"

13. "Have you ever had a significant change in your spiritual or religious life, either an increase or a decrease?" If yes, ask: "Tell me about that change and why you think the change occurred."

14. "Do you wish to incorporate your spiritual or religious beliefs in your treatment?" If yes, ask: "How would you like this to be done?"

15. "Do you have any other spiritual needs or concerns that you would like addressed in your mental health care?"

3) Who Needs a Spiritual Assessment?

Do all patients need a spiritual assessment? Probably yes. However, some patients may need one more than others. First, all patients who have experienced any form of severe trauma or loss require an in-depth SA. Second are patients with chronic or disabling medical illness that may be challenging their coping ability. Third are patients with depression, anxiety, or other emotional problems, where religious beliefs and practices may bring relief and comfort. Fourth are patients newly admitted to the hospital for severe emotional problems or after a suicide attempt. Finally, are patients seen for counseling, i.e., all patients undergoing any kind of therapy. Those who are being treated strictly with medication may be less likely to require a SA, although the mental health professional prescribing will need to know about any religious beliefs that may conflict with drug treatments, so even in that case at least an abbreviated spiritual assessment ought to be conducted.

Is there any patient seeking help, then, who doesn't need a spiritual assessment? The answer is yes, i.e., patients who indicate from the start that they are not religious or spiritual, and make it clear that this area is not relevant to them. A spiritual history should not be forced on anyone who appears reluctant to answer these questions. However, even in that case, the counselor may decide to explore this further at a later time, after a safe and trusting relationship has been established with the patient. Reluctance to talk about one's experiences with religion in the past may serve as a warning sign that the patient may be avoiding something (e.g., abuse by clergy when young, etc.).

4) Besides the Spiritual Assessment, What Else?

In addition to the spiritual assessment, the counselor should take the time to listen to patients talk about their spiritual concerns. This can actually be done

as part of the spiritual assessment that may be extended over several visits if necessary. During and following the spiritual assessment, the counselor should verbally and nonverbally support the patient's religious or spiritual beliefs, even if they seem to be contributing to the patient's mental health problems (at least initially in that case). The counselor may also consider praying with patients, if requested to do so. Either the counselor may say the prayer or the counselor may ask the patient to say the prayer. Much can be learned from listening to the patient's prayer, which often indicates what is most important in that person's life that the patient is asking Divine help for. The counselor may also utilize the patient's religious scriptures in providing support and guidance, depending on how important those scriptures are to the patient. The Qur'an is viewed by Muslims as the word of God. Many Christians also believe that the Bible is the word of God, particularly Protestant Christians. Helping the patient focus their mind on positive, supportive scriptures that have Divine authority may serve to combat maladaptive thoughts and behaviors that are causing distress.

As might any good clinician, the counselor can provide whole-person spiritual care by being kind, gentle, compassionate, and spending extra time with patients who need it. Doing so will help to strengthen the counselor-patient relationship, which will help the patient make the painful changes they might otherwise be unable to make by themselves.

5) Spiritually-Integrated Psychotherapy (CBT)

After completing the spiritual assessment, and learning about the language in which the patient expresses their spirituality, the counselor may consider integrating the patient's positive and healthy religious beliefs into the therapy itself. This is especially true for religious patients who are suffering from emotional disorders. Spiritually-integrated psychotherapy must be patient-centered and based on the patient's religious beliefs, even if they are different from that of the therapist. We have developed a form of spiritually-integrated cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) for depression/anxiety based on five different religious traditions (Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, and Buddhism), which has been shown to be effective in a randomized clinical trial (Koenig et al., 2015; Pearce et al., 2015). Therapist and patient manuals for each of these five religious traditions are available free of charge on our website and can be downloaded for the counselor to use.

Simply go to the website of the Duke University Center for Spirituality Theology and Health (https://spiritualityandhealth.duke.edu/) and go to the tab that says "Religious CBT."

6) PTSD and Moral Injury

Most counselors will be familiar with the term PTSD (posttraumatic stress disorder). This is a mental disorder that follows severe traumatic stress, which is common among those exposed to war (civilians and soldiers), physical or sexual assault (as an adult or child). PTSD is associated with nightmares, flashbacks, emotional distress after exposure to traumatic reminders; avoidance of trauma-related stimuli (thoughts or feelings, trauma-related reminders); negative thoughts or feelings that worsen after the trauma (exaggerated blame of self, decreased interest in activities negative affect, feeling isolated, difficulty expressing positive feelings); and hyperarousal (irritability or aggression, hypervigilance, heightened startle reaction, difficulty concentrating, difficulty sleeping).

Moral injury may be less familiar to the counselor than is PTSD. Moral injury often occurs in the setting of PTSD, but may also occur independent of PTSD. Moral injury involves symptoms of guilt, shame, betrayal, feeling bad over having transgressed moral boundaries, difficulty with trust, loss of meaning and purpose in life, difficulty forgiving, self-condemnation, religious struggles, and loss of religious faith. We have developed two scales to measure moral injury symptoms, a 45-item scale and a 10-item scale (Koenig et al., 2018a,b). These are again available free of charge from this author.

7) Spiritually Integrated Psychotherapy (CPT)

One of the most common psychotherapies now used to treat PTSD is cognitive processing therapy (CPT). CPT is a trauma-focused therapy adapted from CBT to address the specific needs of those suffering from severe trauma. We have developed a form of spiritually-integrated CPT specifically for religious persons with PTSD and "moral injury," which we think will also help to relieve their PTSD (or at least make it easier to treat with standard therapies). Structured manuals to help guide therapy are being developed in Muslim, Christian, Jewish, Hindu, and Buddhist versions (Pearce et al., 2017; 2018). The therapy manuals are currently being tested for their efficacy,

and once they have been tested and refined, we will make them available for therapists and counselors.

We have also developed a form of counseling for moral injury and PTSD that can be delivered by chaplains or clergy, and have created treatment manuals to guide this approach in the five major religious traditions. Counselors may also utilize these manuals when treating patients with PTSD and moral injury. This religiously-integrated approach depends heavily on the sacred scriptures of the major faith traditions (Ames et al., 2018). These treatment manuals are currently available from the author (HGK) free of charge. I have also written a small book for those suffering from PTSD and the role that a person's religious faith can play in recovering from it; this is an excellent book for those suffering from severe trauma and their family members; it includes the latest psychological, biological, and religious treatments for PTSD (Koenig, 2018b).

Finally, I've written a popular book (which I consider the most important book that I have ever written and may ever write) that addresses symptoms of moral injury and trauma in those suffering from self-condemnation and lack of meaning and purpose in life (Koenig, 2016b). This short book focuses on God's great love and mercy for all, and how to experience more of that in life, the Divine love that many have difficulty receiving. I give the book out free to many of my patients.

8) Barriers to Integrating Spirituality into Patient Care

There are many barriers that prevent mental health professionals from integrating spirituality. These must be recognized and overcome in order to provide whole person mental health care. The barriers include (1) lack of time, (2) discomfort with the subject, (3) fear of making patient uncomfortable, (4) spirituality not personally important to the counselor, (5) belief that topic is too personal, (6) belief that spiritual assessment is done better by others, (7) belief that patients don't want counselor to address their spiritual problems, (8) concern about power inequality (i.e., because of their position of power, the counselor might inappropriately influence the patient's religious belief), (9) discomfort over difference in religious belief between counselor and patient, and (10) belief that spiritual assessment not part of counselor's role. These are common misconceptions about the role that religion/spirituality plays in the patient's mental health and therapeutic relationship. Educa-

tion about the important role that religion plays in mental health (based on a large evidence-base of scientific research and recommendations by many professional mental health associations), and how to keep all inquiries and interventions "patient-centered," should help to allay most of these concerns.

9) Boundaries

There are also a number of boundaries that mental health care professionals should not cross when assessing or addressing patient's religious/spiritual beliefs and needs. First, the therapist should not encourage patients to be more religious or force their own religious beliefs on patients (i.e., proselytize). Second, the counselor should not force a spiritual assessment on the patient, if the patient is not religious and is clearly resistant to answering questions in this area. Third, the mental health professional should not pray with the patient unless the patient requests prayer. The therapist should not initiate this request for prayer, but rather wait for the patient to bring it up. If willing to pray with patients, the therapist may inform the patient that he or she will pray with the patient if the patient requests prayer (since the patient may not know that this option is even available), but the therapist should not be the one initiating the request to pray. Some religions may discourage prayer between therapist and patient, and therapists must be sensitive to this possibility. Fourth, the therapist should not spiritually counsel patients unless he or she has the necessary training to do so, but rather refer the patient to someone who has such training and skill. Finally, as I've emphasized repeatedly, the mental health care professional should not engage in any activity that is not patient-centered and patient-guided, especially in this important and sensitive area of religious faith.

10) Summary and Take Away Points

In this paper, I have described the many reasons why counselors should identify the spiritual needs of patients related to their psychological or emotional illness, and to integrate spirituality into counseling with patients. Research, common sense, and good clinical practice justify making the effort and taking the time to do so. Many patients have spiritual needs related to emotional problems and not addressing those needs increases the costs of mental health care (since addressing these issues may shorten treatment), reduces the patient's quality of life (by not taking advantage of their rich reli-

gious resources for healing), and may adversely affect the counselor-patient relationship (especially if the patient is religious). The counselor is responsible for conducting the spiritual assessment and following up, and this cannot be delegated to others. The counselor may also integrate spirituality into therapy by providing spiritually-integrated psychotherapy -- if the patient is religious and desires to have this form of therapy. However, as noted earlier, such an approach must be patient-centered and in the patient's religious tradition, and the therapist must be trained to do so, or at least be guided by a spiritually-integrated treatment manual. If spiritual issues become too complex, or the counselor feels uncomfortable dealing with them, then referral should be made to a religious professional in the patient's tradition who is trained to address these issues.

Further Resources

A number of resources exist to help counselors integrate spirituality into the care of their patients. Perhaps the best reference book is Spirituality in Patient Care, 3rd Edition (Koenig, 2013). For the latest information about research and clinical applications, the reader is encouraged to review

Religion and Mental Health: Research and Applications (Koenig, 2018a). Given the cost of that reference book, though, the reader may obtain much of the same information from our 2017 Religion and Mental Health Book Series that describes beliefs, research and clinical applications in each of the major world religions (Protestant Christianity, Catholic Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and Buddhism) (Koenig, 2017a-f). The reader will also find a wealth of information available free of charge on the Duke University's Center for Spirituality, Theology and Health website (https://spiritualityandhealth.duke.edu/).

Finally, if the reader is interested in learning how to conduct research on the relationship between religion, spirituality and mental or physical health, he or she is encouraged to attend our Research Workshop on Spirituality and Health. This 5-day intensive research workshop focuses on what is known about the relationship between spirituality and health, clinical applications, how to conduct research, and how to develop an academic career in this area. Our faculty includes leading spirituality-health researchers at Duke University, Yale University, Emory University, and elsewhere. The topics covered include the strengths and weaknesses of previous research, theolog-

ical considerations and concerns, highest priority studies for future research, strengths and weaknesses of religious measures, designing different types of research projects, statistical methods, managing a research project, writing a grant for research support from national bodies or private foundations, obtaining funding elsewhere for research in this area, writing a research paper for publication, presenting research to professional and public audiences, and working with the media. (Contact the author at Harold.Koenig@duke.edu for more information on the workshop)

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Psychological Science and/or Theologies of Religiousness/ Spirituality: Use of the Spiritual Well-Being Scale (SWBS) in Healthcare, Hospice, and Prisons

Raymond F. Paloutzian*

Introduction:

1) Spiritual Well-Being Research and Psychological Science

Our field of research was called the psychology of religion for approximately the first 100 years of its existence. However, in the recent past we began to call it the psychology of religion and spirituality (Hood, 2003; Hood, Hill, & Spilka, 2018; Paloutzian, 2017a, 2017b; Paloutzian & Park, 2005, 2013, 2014, in press; Pargament, 2021, 2013; Pargament, Mahoney, Exline, Jones, & Shafranske, 2013; Streib & Hood, 2016). Also, I find it interesting, helpful, and illuminating (i.e., good for *scientific psychological* understanding) that the very title of this conference, "Spiritual/Religious Counseling and Care …", conveys that for many people, "spiritual" needs can be mixed with but also can be in addition to, and thus not necessarily identical with, "religious" needs of individuals – in service of a general sense of well-being and emotional wholeness. In recent years, some researchers have used the language of "spirituality" instead of "religion" (e.g., Emmons, 1999; Pargament, 1999, 2013; Piedmont, 2001; Piedmont & Watkins, 2013). Others say that the psychology of spirituality is nothing but psychology of religion for those who don't like the word "religion" (Beit-Hallahmi, 2014, 2015; Spilka, 1993). Either way, outside the mainstream of scientific psychology, in healthcare fields

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including nursing (Westera, 2017) and complementary and alternative medicine (Cobb, Puchalski, & Rumbold, 2012) practitioners focus on well-being – with an emphasis on spiritual (sometimes religious and sometimes not) issues in doing so.

It is useful, therefore, for us to take a look at the structure and uses of the Spiritual Well-Being Scale (SWBS: Ellison, 1983; Paloutzian & Ellison, 1982). This is because doing so (a) shows how the SWBS reflects both a religious and an existential meaning of "spiritual", (b) makes clear what it does and does not do and can and cannot explain, and (c) explains why the mental and emotional dimension called spiritual well-being (SWB) can be studied and explained scientifically only by psychological research properly conducted and evidence properly interpreted, not by declarations of truth whether theological, spiritualistic, or secular.

In the late 1970s, Craig Ellison and I developed the SWBS,[1] anticipating this focus on "spirituality". I emphasize, however, that the SWBS does not assess "spirituality" (Garssen, Vise, & Meeezenbroek, 2016). It measures well-being in the two senses with which people talk about it – thus it has an existential well-being (EWB) subscale and a religious well-being (RWB) subscale. These two subscales are measures of the two constructs that together comprise people's overall sense of SWB (Paloutzian, 2019; Paloutzian & Ellison, 1982). Accordingly, the SWBS is a measure of one's perception of well-being understood in a holistic, spiritual (existential, religious, or both) sense. Therefore, do not confuse the SWBS with assessments of "spirituality", whether understood as some level of spiritual attainment, actual relationship with God/Allah or another supernatural entity, or some degree of motivation to "be more spiritual". The SWBS measures well-being as an outcome variable.

Both religious and a-religious (existential) SWB seem to be associated with how well someone faces problems in living. Correctly used (Garssen et al., 2016; Koenig, 2009), the SWBS is analogous to a thermometer, which measures air temperature and thereby is a rough indicator of other variables such as rainfall, how much water is need to insure the health of crops, and when humans and other animals should keep cool. Just as air temperature helps predict nature-related variables, SWBS scores are correlated with many health-related variables (Bufford, Paloutzian, & Ellison, 1991; Paloutzian, 2021; Paloutzian, et al., 2021). In the first half of this presentation let us

examine SWBS research. In the second half, let us examine a few proposals that have been offered as possible ways to conceptualize how to relate psychological and theological ways of talking about the bases for explaining human functioning, especially human religious functioning.

2) SWBS Meanings, Properties, and Health Relationships

Following the publication of the SWB concept and scale (Ellison, 1983; Ellison & Paloutzian, 1982; Moberg, 1979), no less than seven variations of it were created. Space precludes elaborating upon them (see Paloutzian, 2019, for a list with comments), but each one was aimed at assessing SWB either in a target population (e.g., older adults; cancer patients) or in a way that tapped other hypothesized dimensions (e.g., sense of meaning; self-efficacy; communal well-being). Such research expanded greatly (Bussing, 2012). Even so, one prominent reviewer said that the SWBS "has become a standard bearer in the religious and spiritual well-being literature …" (Hill, 2013, p. 59).

3) SWB and Meaning

SWB is a function of meaning. But what does *meaning* mean? What was Viktor Frankl (1963) trying to tell us when he said that humans have a built-in "need for meaning"? The German word translated as "meaning" connotes the idea of *something worth living for*. The sense of meaning may or may not be conscious, and it does not necessarily refer to a mental state or a special feeling. After all, why would we have evolved a need for a feeling? The question is not about what we feel; the question is about why something is there, what it is for. It follows that nothing means something with respect to itself. Meaning is always in relation to something other than the thing itself. Meaning always stands for, precedes, follows, causes, implies, etc., something with respect to a different thing (Paloutzian, 2017a, et al. 2021; Park, 2005, 2010, 2013).

Humans have a need of something worth living for, whether conscious or not – otherwise, why bother? (See Camus, 1955, for an existentialist case for this.) Something worth living for is something that matters; at least it has to matter to you (George & Park, 2016). And what matters to you can

be anything -- e.g., God/Allah, your child, psychology, a run over beer can (Kripal, 2014), a value, rock, culture, or war (Pargament, 2013). But whatever matters to you, the reasons why you bother living, is what defines that which is spiritual for you. Obviously, religious spirituality and a-religious or existential spirituality can coexist. Both can serve this important and not-necessarily-conscious psychological function.

What things tend to enhance a sense of SWB? It is clear that after basic needs are met, we tend not to feel ever-increasingly better or happier or greater well-being (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2008; Myers & Diener, 1995). Instead, SWB tends to be fostered by pursuing things an individual considers worthwhile after survival and essential comfort needs are met. These may be things that involve creativity, working to see a value put into action, or whatever one deems to be a worthy use of his or her attention, involvement, time, or money. After the fundamental needs of life are secured, it is these latter kinds of things that seem to matter to people – the kinds of things worth living for, and occasionally worth dying for.

I have a hypothesis that upon close examination, such things reflect a striving for continuity. This can refer to the observation that although we all die as individuals, implicit in what we do is a striving for continuation – if not of our individual selves, then (at a biological level) for our genes embodied in our offspring. And if we don't have offspring, then it is our clan, and then our tribe, and then our nation or those of our religion that we implicitly want to see continue. Eventually, we implicitly strive for the continuity either of a human life, or of human life. This argument is rooted in the idea that human behavior in context of meaning, which constitutes that which is spiritual for someone, is evolutionarily adaptive (Paloutzian, 2017a; Paloutzian & Mukai, 2017; Paloutzian & Park, 2014). As I have said elsewhere (Paloutzian, 2009): The meaning of life is life; the meaning of everything else is something other than itself. The bottom line is simple: We want to live, and eventually we can't do it as an individual, thus we strive to do so by substitute biological and/or symbolic means. One could say that our goal is to psychologically continue.

4) SWBS Subscales and Translations

a) RWB and EWB

The implicit striving for continuity, which all of us do, is manifest it at least two ways and becomes clear when people are asked about their conceptualization of SWB. In developing the SWBS, we interviewed ordinary adults in order to understand what "spiritual well-being" (not "spirituality") meant to *them*, not what it meant according to "expert" opinions, texts, or religious or secular teachings. This is because we were developing a psychological measure of a property of the human mind, not a theological or secular doctrinaire measure. We also asked hundreds of university students and a sample of middle class at-home women about SWB. It was the verbal responses given by these people that lead to the first draft of the SWBS.

After a few tests with different versions of the items, the final draft was published. We examined the literature also, and learned that people often talk about their sense of well-being in spiritual-type language. It was important in reflecting values that mattered to them. In fact, two modes of language were prominent in the interviews. One was a religious language full of typical religious terms; the second was a non-religious, existential language usually couched in terms of purpose in life, going in the right direction, and overall satisfaction. Due to these interview results, we created the final 20-item SWBS with the EWB and RWB subscales. This way it was possible obtain three scores with this instrument: The EWB score, the RWB score, and total SWB (EWB + RWB). Also, approximately half of the items on each subscale were reverse-worded in order to control for response set bias. RWB was then discussed as a "vertical" dimension of SWB, and EWB as discussed as a "horizontal" dimension of SWB (Ellison, 1983; Paloutzian & Ellison, 1982).

b) Translations

In subsequent years and to our extraordinary surprise, the SWBS has also been translated into over 10 languages. In alphabetical order, these translations are in the following languages: *Arabic* (Musa & Pevalin, 2012); *Chinese* (Tang & Kao, 2017); *Czech* (Maliňáková, Kopcakova, Kolarcik, Geckova, Solcova et al., 2017); *Indonesian* (Putri, 2016; Putri & Rekawati, 2017); *Korean* (You & Yoo, 2015); *Norwegian* (Kvande, Klöckner, Moksnes, & Espnes, 2015); *Persian* (Biglari Abhari, Fisher, Kheiltash, & Nojomi, 2018); *Portuguese* (Marques, Sarriera, & Dell'aglio, 2009); *Spanish* (Bruce, 1997); *Turkish* (Agilkaya-Sahin, Öztürk, & Agilkaya, 2015). See Paloutzian (2021) for full elaboration of these translations of the SWBS, their factor structures, uses, pros and cons, and

areas where additional research is needed.

5) The SWBS and Health Variables

When developing the SWBS, we hadn't the slightest idea of whether people in the healthcare field would think it was useful. But almost immediately after it was first published in 1982, we began to receive inquires about it from people in the nursing field. Since then, the SWBS has been cited about 1000 times, used in over 300 research articles and chapters, approximately 200 doctoral dissertations and master's theses, 35 convention presentations, and about 50 unpublished papers. The SWBS was also reprinted in a book on nursing cancer patients (Dow, 2006), battered women (Kocot & Goodman, 2003), counseling and psychotherapy (Kelly, 1995), palliative care (Kuebler, Heidrich, & Esper, 2007), pastoral counseling (Topper, 2003), and general nursing (Westera, 2017).

The range of topics that have been studied in relation to the SWBS includes juvenile delinquency, 12-step programs, schizophrenia, suicidal ideation, intimate partner violence, HIV-AIDS, immune system health, kidney failure, irritable bowel syndrome (IBS), diabetes, heart rate, blood pressure, stress response, health promotion behavior, and poor vision or blindness. A snapshot of the findings illustrates that heightened EWB, SWB, or total SWB is associated with lower depression and anxiety, less contemplation of suicide, fewer symptoms of schizophrenia, lower stress, better weight control, less irritable bowel syndrome, blood pressure and lower stress in adjustment to illness, better immune functioning in AIDS patients, better quality of sleep, greater ease in coping with violence, more pro-health behaviors in youth, and fewer symptoms of PTSD. A more complete review of this research is beyond the scope of this presentation; the interested reader is referred to Paloutzian (2021) and Paloutzian, Bufford, & Wildman, (2012).

6) Psychometric Properties and Limits of the SWBS

a) EWB-RWB Association is Slight

In English and in most translations the RWB and EWB subscales are modestly correlated. They are also independent to a degree that indicates that they are not the same thing; their summary statistics do not always behave the same way. Because of this, I always recommend that researchers perform

separate analyses on EWB and RWB, in addition to SWBS total score. By doing this, one can learn whether a person or group is high in both RWB and EWB or is differentially high or low, and if so, on which dimension. A similar pattern has been found in most translations.

b) Reliability and Validity

SWBS reliability and validity, and that of the RWB and EWB subscales, have been studied extensively. For the English version and most translations, the test-retest reliabilities for the SWB, EWB, and RWB scores are high. Coefficient alpha reliabilities are routinely between .70-.95 (satisfactory to good) for all three scores – which are in accord with the original findings reported by Paloutzian and Ellison (1979) almost 40 years ago. The validity data have likewise been replicated. At the most simple level, the face validity of the SWBS looks straight-forward by reading its items. More technically, the predictive validity of the SWBS has replicated many times as indicated in the research findings. The SWBS has predicted variables such as degree of anxiety, depression, PTSD level, stress, abuse, and other negative conditions in ways that make theoretical sense (Bufford, Paloutzian, & Ellison, 1991; Paloutzian et al., 2012; Paloutzian, 2021). Overall, the numbers have mostly stood the test of time.

c) Factor Structure

In the original English and in most translations, the SWBS factors into two primary dimensions (EWB and RWB), with an occasional subfactor added. In two countries and languages, however, this was not the case. One such instance is Turkey. In the Turkish datasets, factor analyses yielded a 2-factor RWB-EWB structure; however, there were fewer items in the factors. Agilkaya-Sahin et al. (2015) reported that the predominantly Islamic sample in the Turkish case generally had difficulty responding to some negatively worded items. Also, one item that normally loads on EWB loaded on RWB. Thus, 2-factor solution was found, but individual negatively worded items may load slightly differently than they do in other languages or religions (Paloutzian, 2019).

d) Properties of Datasets

Other special cases are discussed in Paloutzian (2021). In all cases, however,

one must understand that statistical properties such as reliabilities, validities, and factor structures are not properties of scales. They are properties of datasets. This means that it is a mistake to assume that just because a psychological scale worked well for one population or in one language, it will automatically do the same for another population or in a different language. The statistical properties of a dataset must always be examined, and never assumed to be either satisfactory or not.

e) Measuring the Unseen

One thing that must be highlighted about measuring SWB is that, like any attempt to assign a number to a property of the human mind, is that we cannot see that property. SWB, like the mental property we call intelligence, is not visible – in contrast to other tangible measurable variables such as how tall you are in number of centimeters, your age in days or years, or how much money you make. These more tangible variables are all publically identifiable dimensions of things we can in principle see, count, or touch. But we cannot see SWB any more than we can "see" intelligence. We infer that these properties exist (to greater or lesser degrees) inside human minds, but we cannot "know" this in the public, concrete sense of knowing. Measuring unseen variables such as SWB always includes an element of inference. This does not mean, however, that doing so is of no value. To the contrary, it can be highly important because it can point our attention to a menu of health related variables associated with it.

7) Summary and Limits

The above snapshot of the development of and research with the SWBS suggests that it has some degree of reliability and validity and that SWB is a dimension that exists within the human mind that can be measured by standard psychometric means. It also indicates that the SWBS may be beneficial in certain kinds of healthcare services. It is also clear that SWB does not mean only one thing. This is evident given its breakdown into the EWB and RWB subscales – whose scores do not always behave the same way in relation to other mental or physical health variables. Nevertheless, depending on one's philosophy of the science of psychology, other interpretations or views about what is being assessed may come to mind.

8) The Psychological Science of SWB

Now we come to a question: By means of what process does a person feel higher SWB? Doing research on the psychology of SWB is like doing research in all areas of the psychology of religion. Religious believers want to keep open the idea that the supreme being of their religion is what mediates good outcomes, whereas secular psychologists rely on explanations in terms of natural processes. An example of the former may occur when a counselor who happens to believe a certain religion helps a client/patient who believes the same religion get better, suffer less, and feel less anxious or depressed, so that improvement occurred during or after the counseling or psychotherapy. A believing client may be inclined to say that God/Allah or another supernatural entity relieved the suffering and enhanced the person's psychological functioning. A believing therapist may agree, may not, or may not engage with the client on that issue.

Are these two ways of explaining SWB in conflict, such that one is "against" the other? Are they "merely" parallel tracks, or can one integrate the other? The answer depends on whether it makes good scientific sense to invoke the god hypothesis.

9) The God Hypothesis

In more general writings about the nature, conduct, and limits of science, the idea summarized above has sometimes been termed the "god hypothesis." In a recent variant of the fundamentally the same idea, I have read psychologists who have referred to and argued for what they termed "theological psychology" (TP: see Paloutzian & Park, 2021, for elaboration). I presume that any thinking person is aware of and sensitive to the issues underpinning this idea, and probably there are people in Turkey who either support the idea of TP or at least feel a potential conflict between a psychological explanation of human behavior and what they understand their theological texts to teach. For example, in a conversation I had with a young Turkish male university student who was very interested in the psychology of religion, he said he felt a little hesitant or cautious about the psychology of religion because, somehow, he had picked up the idea that it might be in conflict with Islam. I have had the identical conversation in the US with others in the context of Christianity and other religions. The fundamental issues are identical for all religions and cultures. Let me unpack the issues inherent in this young

student's concerns and explain why psychology and Islam, or any religion, are not in conflict but are instead orthogonal to each other. Neither one can prove or disprove the other (Paloutzian, 2017a; Paloutzian & Park, 2021).

When we combine the lessons of the last two sub-sections of the first half of this presentation, we are confronted with a question grounded in fundamental issues in psychological science: If the SWBS statistical properties are technically properties not of the scale but of its datasets, and if we cannot see, touch, or hear SWB in the way we can ordinary objects, then how can we account for SWB at all, as well as explain why it would vary as a function of human psychological, behavioral, or contextual variables? For example, we know that electromagnetic radiation between 400-700 nm in length constitutes the visible light spectrum and that when they impinge upon the retina in the eye, they trigger neural impulses that eventually result in visual images mediated by neural activity in the occipital lobe of the brain. And we have similar knowledge about the sensations of touch and hearing. By analogy, what process, force, or activity causes SWB and its variation?

Just as with other research in the psychology of religiousness and spirituality, research on SWB understandably and perhaps unavoidably raises issues and causes confusion, and possibly intellectual or personal conflict, over what exactly is being studied and how to explain the changes in human mental and behavioral phenomena. Especially important here are occasional disagreements about whether God / Allah (or any otherworldly being, entity, or force) can be invoked to explain the results of the research. On this point, although there are obvious differences between those who believe various theologies, there can be striking similarity when it comes to explaining religious mental, emotional, and behavioral phenomena by means of psychological science and principles. Specifically, some insist on proclaiming that a supernatural entity is the source of the true explanation of, for example, why someone's SWB went up. We need to untangle whether attempting to explain in this way is within the orbit of psychological science.

10) Psychology *of, and, for, in,* or *against* Religion?

Let's pose the question "Is it the relationship between psychology and religion(s) supposed to be the psychology *of*, *and*, *for*, *in*, or *against* religion"? And is it about "religion" or "religions" or "spirituality" or "religion and spirituality" (Paloutzian, 2003)? Also, the proposed relationships between

psychology and one or various faiths have included the notions that they *parallel* each other and they can *integrate* each other. From time to time there have been discussions about the "integration of psychology and theology" – an idea that can work well in an applied context such as when counseling a religious client, but fails completely as an attempt at developing scientific psychological theory based on evidence (Paloutzian & Park, 2021). Finally, there are couplings of the name of specific religions with "Psychology" that sound as if each religion teaches a system or theory of human psychological functioning.

Many manuscripts of this sort were submitted to me during my 18 years of editing *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* (Paloutzian, 2017b). For the most part, they were not about psychological research or theory or a report of an empirical study of how a particular religion works in people's lives. They were mostly statements of doctrine, often with quotations from texts deemed sacred, presenting of an interpretation of a religion's teachings about what constitutes human nature. So called Christian Psychology, Muslim Psychology, and Buddhist Psychology, and occasionally Jewish Psychology – each one bracketed by the teachings of its texts and their interpreters – have been the more common examples of the "umbrella phrases" under which such manuscripts were submitted. Of course, such writings were not presenting psychology at all, although what they tried to say may be appropriate in other contexts.

So are we, *as psychologists* who do the science of the psychology of religion and spirituality, trying to explain (*of*), parallel (*and*), benefit (*for*), intuit (*in*) or negate (*against*) religions in general or any specific religion? And which of these five options might we be doing if we are a counselor trying to help a religiously believing client? The answers to these two questions are not the same. Our professional associations are named the *Society for the Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* and the *International Association for the Psychology of Religion*, names that clearly signal their scientific scholarly focus. This implies that doing work in the mode of "and …", "integrates …", or "Christian-or-Islamic-or-other …" is not the same as doing the psychology of religion. Why?

11) Knowing in Psychology

The answer becomes very welcome when we understand what scientific psychology is and is not; when we grasp the fundamentals of epistemolo-

gy upon which all science is based. Like all sciences, psychology assumes that phenomena, including human mental, emotional, and overt behaviors deemed religious, are a consequence of cause-effect processes that work in nature. There may or may not be a supreme being, of course. But if so and if the supreme being has a choice about whether you will, for example, have a higher sense of purpose in life following a religious conversion than you did before – that is, if any consequence of your adopting new beliefs and practices is regulated by God's/Allah's decision and not by means of normal processes of nature -- then studying the effect of your believing and practicing a new thing on purpose in life cannot be done scientifically. This is because if a supreme being has a choice, then it can do whatever it wants and is not obligated to ask you, inform you about it, or tell you when it might occur or how long the process might take. So long as God/Allah has a choice in the matter, whatever is done is not part of science in any meaningful sense because whether an effect happens depends on which choice God/Allah makes, not on testable hypothesized explanatory principles of nature.

The same statement applies to experiments designed to test whether distant prayer prompts God/Allah to cure disease. The results of such experiments have been uniformly null, i.e., if a god cures disease because prayers ask the god to do so, the cure rate is almost exactly chance.[2] This means that the moment God/Allah is inserted into a scientific theory or equation, the entire theory or equation is made invalid. Why? Because God/Allah cannot be tested, scientifically or otherwise. If such tests could be conducted and the results came out to be reliable in the sense of normal science, then God/Allah would not have decision-making control over natural processes but would, in effect, be little other than nature. Psychological science can neither prove nor disprove claims about supernatural activity; psychology is neutral with respect to them (Kirkpatrick, 2005; Paloutzian 2017a; Paloutzian & Park, 2014, 2021; Pargament, 2013; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005).

a) Knowledge is Public

A key to our professional work *as psychologists of religion* is that how we do our research is guided by the same rules of logic, empiricism, evidence, and philosophical assumptions of the rest of psychology and of all science (Carnap, 1966; Johnson, 2016; McCain, 2016; Rosenberg, 2012). Natural processes, including those processes of nature that mediate human behavior including

human religiousness, is the domain of psychological science. This means that, just as in all of science, the evidence upon which conclusions are made must be based on *evidence that is in principle publically accessible.* If a claim about anything, including a human reporting a lowering of anxiety through the course of therapy, or experiencing an increase in SWB, is cast in a way that states that the cause of the effect is not in principle testable by publically accessible means because it was a god who did it, then it is not a scientifically valid claim. This does not equal being a bad, silly, or even a false claim. But it is a claim based on purported information that no one can access, and do to a process that is not subject to empirically testable hypotheses, replication, confirmation, or disconfirmation. Such a claim yields no advancement of scientific psychological knowledge or theory about how humans function – which is the very essence of what scientific psychology is about.

b) A Theological Scientific Equation?

One way to capture virtually all of the above points is to try to write an equation for a psychological process that mediates a bit of human behavior, with God / Allah included as part of the equation. For example, many years ago I conducted psychological research on the effects of religious conversion on purpose in life (Paloutzian, 1981). Briefly, I was able to get scores on the Purpose in Life Test (PIL) developed by clinicians (Crumbaugh, 1968; Crumbaugh & Maholick, 1969) based upon the notion that people have a "need for meaning" as proposed by Frankl (1963). It was a quasi-experiment in the sense that the participants assigned themselves into groups not by random assignment but based upon how they answered a question about whether or not they had experienced a religious conversion (in this study, the religion happened to be Protestant Christianity, due to the nature of the population in which the study was conducted). They could say "yes", "no", or "not sure". The results were clear and highly statistically significant. As a baseline, ordinary university undergraduate students typically had an average score on the PIL test of slightly over 100. The results were that those answering "no" averaged about 102; those answering "yes" averaged 118 (notably high) within one week of conversion; those answering "not sure" averaged in the middle, about 107. Adopting a new religion was significantly associated with high PIL scores.

Now let us inspect an equation that contains the logic of the psychological processes underpinning the above study, except let us add God / Allah to the left side of the equation:

R(none) + P(x) + P(y) … + **P(God/Allah)** + … + P(z) => R(belief)

Where: R(none) = person whose religion is initially "none";

 R(belief) = person converted and now believes the Religion in question;

 P(x), P(y), & P(z) = psychological processes x, y, and z, respectively;

 P(God/Allah) = God's/Allah's choice makes a supernatural process that causes R(none) → R(belief).

I do not mean for the above illustration to sound silly.[3] Quite the contrary. Millions of people engage in believing in this way. Our question has to do with whether it reflects psychological research, theorizing, or of drawing conclusions in a valid way. To be fair, I understand that a counselor may engage in or even encourage a client to conceptualize in the above manner if it helps to heal the client. But that's not science; although it may be useful treatment or a helpful counseling technique for some clients by some counselors. But is the above a valid, testable, scientific equation? The answer is no, it is neither valid nor testable, because science cannot test, confirm, nor disconfirm any claim of any activity or mediation by God / Allah. Simply put, science cannot (i.e., is not able to) make the god hypothesis.

This means that the foundations of evidence and the logical rules for generating scientific psychological knowledge, including knowledge of the processes that mediate higher PIL or greater SWB, requires an idea about a process that in principle is subject to empirical test based on evidence, procedures, and constraints in principle accessible by anyone who whishes to look or to replicate the study. I have found "going after" a scientifically valid psychological understanding of SWB (in both its RWB and EWB manifestations), and all the other interesting psychological questions about how and why what we call religiousness functions in human lives, to be worth it.

Endnotes

1. Spiritual Well-Being Scale (SWBS) ©1982 Craig W. Ellison & Raymond F. Paloutzian, © 2011 Raymond F. Paloutzian. All rights reserved to the English SWBS and its translations. Do not duplicate without permission of copyright holder. See www.lifeadvance.com.

2. Experimental attempts to test God: A few psychological experiments have

attempted to test activity of god via prayer manipulation. The exemplar studies are illustrative. They typically have tried to test effects of so-called distant prayer (e.g., prayer for a person's health when the prayed-for person is not aware of the prayer, and when the pray-er and pray-ee have no contact and do not personally know each other). With this procedure, if the prayed-for group gets well faster, better, or in greater numbers than the not prayed-for control group, the difference could not be explained by social contact between the pray-er and pray-ee or by the patient knowing of the pray-er (i.e., not by ordinary psychological processes). Thus, one might wish to explain it via God's agency in response to prayer. Such studies show null results, with overall chance effects. (See Spilka & Ladd, 2013, for comprehensive review of research on distant prayer.)

3. Adapted from Paloutzian and Park (in press). For a far more clever visual presentation of the problem with this equation, see the cartoon in Paloutzian (2017a) page 58.

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Negotiating Religion and Spirituality in Public Healthcare and Prison Settings

Andrew Todd*

Introduction

In public institutions, including hospitals and prisons, where there is provision for religious and/or spiritual care (for example in the form of chaplaincy), a key question is, how is that provision negotiated within the public domain? This paper takes, as its starting point, that, in contemporary secular democracies, religious/spiritual care operates within different kinds of overlapping secularity – 'the way in which the norms of public life, including policy and legislation, order or constrain religion in the public domain' (Todd, 2015b: 73). The multiple secularities (Wohlrab-Sahra and Burchardt, 2012), that shape, and are shaped by, the delivery of religious/spiritual care, include that of the state, governed by public legislation, policy and norms; and that of the particular professional domain, governed by the norms of healthcare, or criminal justice. This understanding of the social context of religious/spiritual care gives rise to the central question of this paper: How does the secularity of public professional contexts enable reshape and/or constrain religion and spirituality in healthcare and prison settings?

The paper takes, as its theoretical framework, the work of Bourdieu. In particular, the paper interprets the social context of religious/spiritual care in hospitals and prisons in terms of 'fields', where a 'field' is a social domain constructed by the relationships between those who have agency within it, which shape, and are shaped by, the distribution of power and capital amongst them (see, e.g. Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97). The paper thus examines religious/spiritual care as the 'field of religion' (Bourdieu, 1991a)

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interacting with the 'fields' of healthcare and of criminal justice, within the wider political field, the 'field of power' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Todd. 2015a). So, the chaplain, or other provider of religious/spiritual care, embodies the religious 'field' within other, secular 'fields'. They become a focus for the negotiation of how religion sits within both a professional domain and the wider public sphere. This framework allows for discussion about how religious/spiritual care is negotiated and socialised in secular settings, governed by public and professional norms.

1. Role, Identity and Habitus

A key concept within Bourdieu's understanding of relationships within fields is that of 'habitus': a 'subjectivity' in which agents within the field have been 'socialised' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 126); 'the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 105). Thus, healthcare professionals are socialised in the 'habitus' of medicine, or healthcare; prison officers' practice is shaped by understandings of security that are part of the 'habitus' of the prison, and which shapes relations between staff and prisoners (and the power dynamic of that relationship).

This gives rise to the question: how does the chaplain, or provider of religious/spiritual care in a hospital or prison, negotiate their role and identity in those settings, as they work alongside and in relationship with other staff? What is the impact of that interaction on their primary, faith community socialisation (the 'habitus' of the religious 'field') which has generated their primary working identity? As they work in other secular fields, how is their new working identity shaped and developed? What does it mean to offer pastoral care, to pray, or preach in the secular context; and what new roles emerge?

One of the surprises in the research conducted by the Cardiff Centre for Chaplaincy Studies in 2010-11, was the description of prison chaplains as 'neutral', by large numbers of research participants, both prisoners and staff. At first sight this appeared odd, given that secular states may strive to constrain religion, in the interests of the state's neutrality. However, chaplains' 'neutrality' was identified in the research project report, as part of:

> … a widely held perception that [chaplains] hold a non-prison, independent, neutral status within prisons. The chaplain is not seen as a part of

either the prison management or the regime, and is thus perceived as independent of the establishment. They are there to ameliorate the effects of, rather than impose the strictures of, the regime. Chaplaincy as a service within prison is therefore clearly identified as apart from, rather than aligned with, the discourses of control, discipline and punishment that characterize prison, and tend to be the causes of its greatest pains. (Todd and Tipton, 2011: 33)

This independence within the system of the prison appears to be an important aspect of chaplains' working identity, whatever their specific beliefs, or faith background. It facilitates the pastoral care that they offer to both prisoners and staff, and the relationships of trust that go with that. Further, this perceived identity enables those in the prison to differentiate between the role of the chaplain, which might have more to do with human relationships, and that of the prison officer, who has more to do with security questions. As the research project report concluded:

Although clearly these represent stereotypes of each role, in that there are many officers who counsel and support, and chaplains who control and discipline; these mythologies of prison officer as the one who controls prisoners and the chaplain as the one who befriends them were commonly drawn on across participant groups, to make sense of each role. They therefore present as important tools for sustaining, shaping and understanding the particularity of each. (Todd and Tipton, 2011: 26)

This represents a clear example of an adaptation of the chaplain's religious identity and 'habitus' within the social domain and 'habitus' of the prison. It shapes the role and practice of religious and spiritual care in critical relationship with the norms of security in that setting. The identity, constructed by prisoners, staff and chaplains together, is not expressed in characteristically religious terms, but rather as about being 'neutral' or 'independent'.

Further, while chaplains integrated this shared narrative of their role within their understanding of their vocation and of the whole of their work as religious; others saw it differently. Staff and prisoners distinguished between the pastoral role rooted in chaplains' independence (and widely seen as being non-judgemental), which tended to be articulated in humanitarian terms, and what they regarded as the 'religious' role, which they perceived much more narrowly than did chaplains. So, prisoners and staff would

identify this, to them, secondary role as to do with religious practice (worship, prayer, religious education, religious advice) (Todd and Tipton, 2011: 4). There remains a tension here. As chaplains embody the religious 'field' within the different 'field' of the prison, their religious identity and 'habitus' is subject to negotiation and reframing, such that some aspects of it are characterised in more secular terms, and held in tension with the prison's own 'habitus' (shaped by security concerns); other aspects of religious identity remain, but are perceived more narrowly by prisoners and staff, than by chaplains. From a chaplaincy perspective, this tension is a positive one, in that it creates a distinctive space for them to offer pastoral care, in which they have freedom to establish confidential relationships of trust with prisoners and staff. At the same time, the full extent of the religious nature of their working identity is not apparent to those for whom they care.

A further dimension of the way in which the identity of those who deliver religious/spiritual care is shaped by the secularity of working in a professional domain, has to do with working relationships with other professionals. The discussion of chaplaincy in prison, above, offers one perspective on the complementarity of chaplaincy and the work of the prison officer; healthcare provides a different perspective. In this context, the question emerging from research in Canada and the UK (Reimer-Kirkham et al, 2020), concerns the chaplain's relationship with members of multi-disciplinary teams (MDTs) in healthcare; and with the team as a whole. The data from this research project,

> … strongly suggest two… related things about the liminal identity of the chaplain. First, that the transition, or crossing the threshold, into group [MDT] membership [for the chaplain] is not a once and for all event, associated with professional qualification. Rather, it recurs and needs to be renegotiated, depending on whether the chaplain has relevant experience to share about particular patients. Second, that even having crossed the threshold of the team meeting, the chaplain retains a level of marginality (Beardsley, Todd and Reimer-Kirkham, 2020: 101). In summary, the liminal experience of the chaplain, in relation to joining a multi-disciplinary team, may well recur repeatedly (requiring continued social work) and be partial, or incomplete.

The liminality mentioned here draws, again, on Bourdieu (1991b), focusing on the liminal experience of making the transition into a professional

group. So, for the chaplain, their experience of this accompanies their 'rite of passage' into membership of the MDT, but more widely into their professional membership of the 'field' of healthcare. However, unlike their colleagues from other disciplines in the team (doctors, nurses, etc), chaplains' need to cross the threshold of membership repeatedly, renegotiating their right to belong, on the basis of their current work with patients. Further, within the team, they also retain something of the role and identity that they have brought with them from the 'field' of religion.

In the UK, this negotiated, hybrid and somewhat unstable identity represents a change from historic practice. In the days before the foundation of the National Health Service (NHS) (in 1948), when churches had a greater part in the governance of healthcare, the status of the chaplain was correspondingly higher. Similarly, in prisons, according to the 1952 Prison Act, the appointment of Chaplain is one of three senior posts in each prison, alongside the appointment of a Governor and Medical Officer. But, as in healthcare, this status of prison chaplains has been both diminished and rendered more uncertain in the intervening period since the Act.

The adaptation of the chaplain's religious identity discussed above is accompanied by a significant discourse within the world of chaplaincy, especially in healthcare, that of 'professionalisation'. This is discussed in Todd (2015b: 73):

> Religion is shaped within that domain in order to safeguard the identity of healthcare as a professional arena, as religious practices are conformed to the driving models of healthcare practice. For example, spiritual care in a number of documents developed by UK healthcare chaplains (see e.g. NHS Education Scotland 2008), constructs chaplaincy activity as 'assessment' of 'spiritual need', leading to appropriate 'intervention'. In some sense, this 'medicalizes' the traditional chaplaincy practice of pastoral care.

The development of this discourse, accompanied by moves towards professional registration and the increasing definition and regulation of spiritual care in healthcare is seen not only in the UK, but also elsewhere, notably in the USA (Cadge, 2012: ch.5). However, the question of the extent to which those who deliver religious/spiritual care are professionals like other healthcare professionals remains a contested one.

2) Religion in Public Professional Domains

The adaptation of the identity of those who deliver religious/spiritual care, derived originally from their participation in the religious 'field', but re-shaped within the 'fields' of healthcare or the prison, raises the further question: How is the practice of religion or spirituality affected by being practised within the institutions of the prison, or hospital? What is the interaction between religion/spirituality and the social and professional norms that characterise these secular 'fields'?

Different dimensions of this kind of interaction in healthcare are explored in Todd (2015b):

> The first of these [dimensions] is the alignment of chaplaincy with models of healthcare, with outcomes ranging from chaplaincy locating close to 'mainstream' models, to chaplaincy presenting as more 'alternative'. The second dimension is about how faith practices are adapted within healthcare, with a range from straightforward accommodation of existing practices, to adaptation and innovation. (Todd, 2015b: 84)

The interaction of faith practice and models of healthcare is represented diagrammatically:

Alignment with models of healthcare
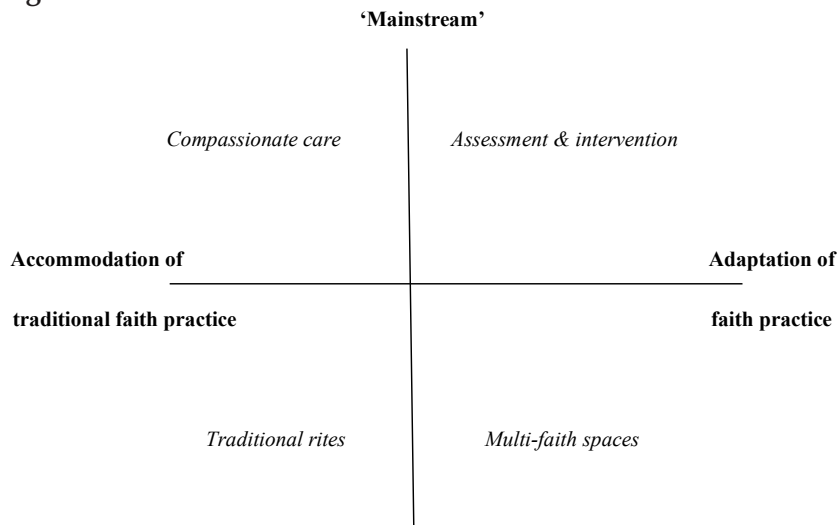
Figure 5.1 (Todd, 2015b: 84)

Further, various examples are cited to elucidate the diagram. The adaptation of religious/spiritual care to more medical models of 'assessment' and 'intervention', discussed above, would be located in the top right quadrant, representing a reconfiguring of traditional models of chaplaincy in the interests of alignment with mainstream healthcare. In the top left quadrant, however, would be placed the traditional models of pastoral care, in dialogue with the NHS's re-emphasis on compassionate care.

The diagram locates traditional religious rites (including funerals and other end of life rites, Friday prayers for Muslims, communion for Christian patients, etc.) as practices accommodated within the healthcare domain, but which remain 'alternative' to a more 'medicalised' model of care. On the other hand, multi-faith spaces would also come in this 'alternative' category, but have required significant adaptation of traditional approaches to worship and prayer space, and have provided a context for newer 'innovative ritual approaches that respond to a greater diversity of spiritualities.' (Todd, 2015b: 85). The discussion of the diagram concludes:

> It could be argued, therefore, that chaplaincy sometimes works in dialogical, alignment with the public sacred – establishing the secular models of healthcare; but at other times will embody an alternative (balancing, mitigating, or critical) approach to the public sacred – modifying the secular norms of healthcare. In both cases, chaplaincy can contribute a distinctive religious, or spiritual, approach to the secular, by offering the riches of particular faith traditions, or by discovering new practices through adaptation. (Todd, 2015b: 85)

In terms of analysis derived from Bourdieu, practices derived from the 'field' of religion are relocated within the field of healthcare/medicine, sometimes representing the 'habitus' of the religious field in traditional forms; sometimes developing new rituals in response to the healthcare context and an adapted 'spiritual' 'habitus'. Further, both traditional and adaptive approaches may be conformed to the 'habitus' of the healthcare 'field', or may stand in more critical alignment with that 'habitus' (particularly with a 'medical' model of care.

The process of resituating religious and/or spiritual practices in prisons has something of the same dynamics, but with a rather different balance. The development of multi-faith teams and spaces in prison since the turn of the century has meant that a range of traditional practices are accommodat-

ed in prisons in England and Wales. They are constrained, not so much in terms of their nature, but rather by the time and space available, and by the policy framework that both enables and constrains them. The right of the prisoner to manifest his/her beliefs (Equality Act 2010; Human Rights Act 1998) has generated a highly developed framework, which seeks to provide equality of opportunity for those of different faiths and beliefs. Much of the provision is set out in the Prison Service Instruction, PSI 05/2016. *Faith and Pastoral Care for Prisoners* (NOMS, 2016), mandated by *Service Specification for Faith & Pastoral Care for Prisoners* (NOMS, 2015). The combination of the two documents has a statutory effect:

> The Prison Service Instruction… specifies 'Mandatory Actions' for prisons, such that: 'Governors must ensure faith provision is available to all prisoners in accordance with the Service Specification "Faith and Pastoral Care for Prisoners".' (NOMS, 2016a: 4, section 1.10) It is therefore the Service Specification (NOMS, 2015) that establishes the outputs from PSI 05/2016 as the minimum service provision (NOMS, 2015: 1). (Todd 2020: 409)

This provision is for the following faiths and beliefs:

> Baha'i; Buddhism; Christianity; Christian Science; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Hinduism; Humanism; Islam; Jainism; Jehovah's Witnesses; Judaism; Paganism; Quakerism; Rastafari; Seventh Day Adventist Church; Sikhism; Spiritualism; Zoroastrianism. (NOMS, 2016: 1)

It is both enabled and constrained by the duty of the prison to ensure, for example, that, 'Prisoners have the opportunity for corporate worship or meditation for one hour per week' (NOMS, 2016: 8). It is easier to ensure this minimum standard, than to exceed it. And although there has been growth of multi-faith rooms and mosques, in addition to existing chapels, space too can be both enabling and a constraint, as a Governor made clear during research in 2010:

> *So they all fight for their own corner and we had a difficulty last year, I think, where Christmas day was a Friday. So you have got Friday prayers and Christmas day and there was something else that day, something to do with the Hindus and the Buddhists wanted to get involved and it was turning out that you would have the whole jail in the chapel! [Laughter]* (Interview transcript).

The above provision represents, on the whole, the accommodation of traditional religious practice within the constraints of human rights policy,

on the one hand, and security, on the other. At the operational level, however, there is more variety and adaptation of practice. Phillips (2013) explores the practice of candle lighting to mark a range of moments and anniversaries (including the anniversary of the crime a prisoner has committed). He concludes that, 'The ubiquity of candle lighting helps to frame the chaplain as offering a ministry where any distinctions between the religious and the secular are blurred or impermanent.' (Phillips, 2013: 163)

Further, prison chapels and the person of the chaplain do offer something of an alternative space for prisoners, as the following transcript extracts illustrate:

> *You don't have to necessarily believe in God to come here; to enjoy a service. It is a place for anyone to get away; enjoy some peace, sing a song or two and have a cuppa and a digestive.*

> *The chaplain, you know, they help me escape prison. Not just this prison but my own prison, you know? You can trust the chaplain, you know. Tell them stuff you wouldn't tell noone else.* (Prisoner interview transcripts, Todd and Tipton, 2011: 30)

Indeed, taking the provision of religion and spirituality together with the role of the chaplain, including their 'neutrality', Todd and Tipton (2011) concluded:

> We therefore suggest that the distinctiveness of the service chaplaincy provides lies in the fact that it is perceived as dissociated from the discourses of the institution it serves, and as such is considered, and thus valued, as counter-cultural – countering many of the attendant pains of imprisonment. Whether those pains are born from a loss of liberty for the prisoner, a difficult or uncomfortable aspect of the prison officer's role or a regime-related problem the governor needs to attend to.

> In that sense, the prison chaplain could be viewed as acting as a counter-cultural agent and tool of the contemporary prison service – employed by, yet in many ways set in opposition to many of its characteristic discourses. This frees the chaplain from being associated with the pain and loss of liberty of imprisonment, allowing them to maintain a unique, and somewhat distinctive position.

> However, as the prison chaplain is an employed member of the prison service with an attendant and pressing responsibility to promote the

security of the establishment this perception of them as independent, counter-cultural agents is partly institutional mythology. However, this is clearly a powerful and enduring myth - reported across all participant groups - that affords the chaplain a unique standing where they are able to do things other staff in the prison often find difficult. (Todd and Tipton, 2011: 33)

As in healthcare, so in prison chaplaincy: the 'habitus' of the 'field' of religion, in all its diversity, is adapted to the 'habitus' of the prison. Further, the parameters for this adaptation are set by the wider political field (Bourdieu's 'field of power' (e.g. Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, pp. 17– 18)) through public policy relating to the particular professional domain; and through wider, underpinning legislation and policy (see further below). Religion and spirituality, both traditional forms and more innovative ones, sit in both alignment with the prison and in critical tension with its norms.

A complementary perspective on the place of religion/spirituality in secular settings is seen in the view of a participant in research in a quite different setting for religious/spiritual care, namely workplace chaplaincy:

The biggest impact [of chaplaincy] is the calming influence, the normalising influence, the dilution of the intensity of work. And the next one is that it allows religious faith into the workplace, without it being extraordinary or somehow odd. And I like to think there is a larger purpose, but this may just be philosophical, that it does more to socialise religion and faith into everyday life as against something set apart. (Todd, Slater and Dunlop, 2014: 32)

3) The Public Value of Religion

Continued investment in chaplaincy, and its provision of religious and spiritual care discussed above, signals the public value of chaplaincy in both prisons and healthcare. This raises the core question for this section of the paper: How is religious/spiritual care valued, or re-valued, in these 'fields' and in the wider political context (including financially)? A further question is: How is this value articulated in relation to normative public discourse that emphasises the right of the citizen to manifest their religion or belief, or that relate to security and public safety?

The theoretical background is derived from Bourdieu, and his understanding that capital presents itself in three forms: economic, cultural and

social (e.g. Bourdieu, 1986: 243). The interest of this paper (previously discussed in Todd, 2015a) is in how these forms of capital may be deployed and exchanged between 'fields', particularly between the 'field' of religion and those of healthcare and criminal justice; and the 'rate of exchange' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 114) that applies. How does the value of chaplaincy contribute to the capital of the criminal justice, or healthcare, field?

This discussion further draws on the concept of 'symbolic capital', a form of cultural capital, (Bourdieu, 1986), which may confer authority and legitimacy on individuals, their roles and institutions. As in (Todd, 2015a), 'the interest is in the symbolic capital of chaplaincy, in how it contributes to the symbolic capital of other fields, and in the economics of these exchanges of capital, including the way in which financial investment in chaplaincy… is interwoven with the symbolic value of chaplaincy… and in the "symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1991b) of chaplaincy in interaction with other agents and institutions' (Todd, 2015a: 39).

The first point to be made is that in order for religious/spiritual care to be valued as a contribution to the cultural capital of the hospital or prison, it needs to conform to some extent to the secular norms of the organisation so that the value of the symbolic capital offered by chaplaincy can be seen to be of value. This doesn't contradict the understanding that, within the organisation, religious and spiritual care can have a critical role. But this role shelters under, and is enabled by, the institutional legitimacy of religious/spiritual care.

The need for religious/spiritual care to conform, in structural ways, to a public institutional norm and discourse of religion and belief is demonstrated by the case of humanists in the UK seeking to join the work of chaplaincy teams, in hospitals, prisons and other public institutions (Todd 2020). This has come about through Humanists UK, formerly The British Humanist Association (BHA)[2], establishing the Non-Religious Pastoral Support Network (NRPSN)[3] and training for Non-Religious Pastoral Volunteers[4]. Careful negotiation and dialogue has taken place to ensure that humanists are willing to participate in chaplaincy teams alongside chaplains from a religious tradition; to share with other team members the role of offering pastoral care to anyone who requests it, whatever their beliefs; to refer to other team mem-

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2   https://humanism.org.uk/. Accessed 28th April 2017.
3   http://nrpsn.org.uk. Accessed 28th April 2017.
4   http://humanistcare.org.uk/. Accessed 28th April 2017

bers of the faith of the patient or prisoner, where that is requested; and to offer specialist support only to those who self-identify as non-religious and request support from someone of similar beliefs. In this and other ways, non-religious involvement in chaplaincy as been shaped by an existing public model of how religion participates in public life:

> Of sociological significance, is that Humanists UK has approached participation in public sector pastoral care in ways that are, of necessity, akin to those adopted by religious groups. The features that resemble participation by faith communities are: the identification of a sponsoring body (Humanists UK/BHA); provision by that body of training for volunteers (with training for professionals planned[5]); development of a code of conduct and network for recognised practitioners (the NRPSN). (Todd 2020: 414)

The question that follows from identifying this public institutional framework, is: what are the political drivers that shape it and establish the public value of the care that is offered within its parameters? How does the 'field of power' structure public institutions in such a way that this also shapes religious/spiritual care within those institutions, thus establishing a particular secularity?[6] In considering such questions of public value, Todd (2014: 39) identifies two such drivers: 'security policy and policy relating to rights, respect for diversity and equal opportunity.' (Cf. Todd 2016). These two areas have been articulated in the UK as public 'duties': the 'Prevent Duty' (HM Government, 2015); and the 'Public Sector Equality Duty' (PSED)[7].

In terms derived from Bourdieu, public organisations accumulate social and cultural capital, by fulfilling these duties; and conforming to the norms set by the 'field of power'. They also maintain their economic capital, which is dependent, to some degree on their compliance with these policies. Further, in so far as religious/spiritual care contributes to this fulfilment, the symbolic capital that it supplies within the organisation (in the form of religious/spiritual practice, or pastoral care, that meets the needs of those whom the organisation serves), acts as a contribution to the organisation's cultural capital.

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5   http://nrpsn.org.uk/professional-entry-route/. Accessed 28th April 2017.
6   Such public structures have an impact not only on religion/spirituality, but it is this impact that constitutes the secularity of a particular public setting. The drivers considered also affect other aspects of pubic life, such as gender relations, employment practice and rights of public assembly.
7   https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/public-sector-equality-duty. Accessed 1st May 2017.

For example, the delivery of religious/spiritual care in prisons is monitored, through an inspection process, known as 'Assurance and Compliance'. This evaluates the compliance of an individual chaplaincy and prison with the requirements of PSI 05/2016 (NOMS, 2015), mandated by the Service Specification (NOMS, 2015). The process considers performance against the specific outputs of the PSI, as well as in more general areas, such as places of worship and meditation and the chaplaincy team. Significantly, the score given to the chaplaincy contributes to the overall rating of the prison in which the chaplaincy is located (Todd 2020: 410). So, the symbolic capital provided by an effective chaplaincy contributes to the social and cultural capital of the prison itself. And this is set within systems of public monitoring and control.

Prisons and hospitals are both structured by both public duties, but to different extents. So, the PSED affects both kinds of public institution in relatively similar ways; but the Prevent Duty affects prisons rather more than hospitals, not least in relation to chaplaincy provision and practice.

To take an example of the way in which policy relating to equality and diversity shapes religious and spiritual care, we therefore turn to healthcare chaplaincy. Todd (2015b) cites documentation that provides guidance for spiritual care in NHS England, in particular, the following introduction:

> The changing nature of communities in England means that chaplains respond to calls of increasing complexity. The diversity of religions and cultures within the population has grown and the need for chaplaincy departments to advise providers about equality and access has increased. In order to put patients first the NHS in England seeks to understand the rich variety of beliefs and values of the population in its care. Chaplains are an essential resource for achieving the ambition to provide high quality care for all and promote the protected characteristics of both religion and belief. (NHS England, 2014, introduction; cited in Todd, 2015b: 83)

This very clearly demonstrates how chaplaincy is regarded as a resource, or 'service provider' (Todd, 2016), that enables the NHS to fulfil its publicly set and regulated duty; for example, by promoting the 'protected characteristics' specified in the Equality Act 2010.

This working framework was preceded by a shift in the discourse of religious and spiritual care in healthcare, in which spiritual care refers to a broad-

er remit for chaplaincy, offered to all and accommodating of all beliefs (and none). Religious care, however, is then used to refer to a narrower remit, under which chaplains offer care to those who specifically identify as belonging to a particular religion. Religious care, therefore, is framed in this discourse as a subset of spiritual care. This shift in discourse has a significant effect:

> The language represents a significant revaluing of chaplaincy practice. And it seems in practice to provide a publicly acceptable discourse that enables chaplains to go on offering person-centred pastoral care, which has been their historic strength, in cooperation with other healthcare practitioners…

> … the language of 'spiritual care' provides a narrative that contributes to the public legitimacy of chaplaincy, as a professional body that contributes to the inclusion of diversity within healthcare. (Todd, 2015b: 82)

In the above discussion of the structuring effect of a human rights framework on healthcare chaplaincy, it appears that the continuing practice of religious/spiritual care is enabled by the policy documents, and the perception of its public value that results. Those who deliver such care are able to respond to any patient in ways appropriate to the patient's own beliefs and faith practice. At the same time, chaplains are able to continue to draw on their own tradition, to resource and support the care they offer. This conclusion would be broadly true in relation to how prison chaplaincy has been affected by equality and diversity policy (although the precise effect is different – see the discussion of the delivery of religious/spiritual care in prisons, in section 3, above). The religious identity of a chaplain, from a particular faith, is accommodated within the public institution, whether hospital or prison, with adaptation having most to do with the presentation of roles, and its location within public and institutional dialogue.

The effect of policy and legislation relating to the Prevent Duty, is different in two respects. First, it affects religious/spiritual care much more in prison than in healthcare. In the latter context, the duty is taken seriously, but is mostly concerned with the protection of people who are vulnerable. In prisons in the UK, there is considerable attention to reducing the risks of prisoners being 'radicalised'. These risks appear tangible, but to sit alongside other risks to vulnerable prisoners. This is well discussed by Liebling and Straub (2012), in the light of their research into staff-prisoner relations at HMP Whitemoor.

There is, however, a clearly demonstrated, if small effect on chaplaincy in prisons in England and Wales, discussed by Todd (2013: 152-55). The following quotation from HM Chief Inspector of Prisons is significant:

> The government sees the influence of Muslim chaplains explicitly as a key part of the strategy for minimising extremism in prisons. As the following section on prisoners' views shows, this greater identification with the system had not gone unnoticed by prisoners, and this in turn appeared to limit the effectiveness of chaplains in developing relationships with some prisoners, including those at risk of radicalisation. However, some chaplains themselves felt that they were not trusted by the authorities to address extremism or potential extremism. (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2010: 35)

First, it demonstrates that the UK government explicitly sees Muslim chaplains as a resource in relation to reducing 'extremism'. Secondly, it indicates the effect of this on chaplain-prisoner relationships, and the resulting suspicion of chaplains on the part of prisoners. As Todd (2013) concludes:

> Although this remains a worst-case scenario at present, nonetheless, it is clear that a role of monitoring religious and other behaviour of prisoners, in the interests of minimising the risk of 'extremism' or 'radicalisation', takes chaplaincy in a rather different direction from the role aligned with diversity and equal opportunity policy. The Prevent Strategy may require chaplains not just to show that in their non-judgemental approach they promote an alternative to an "extremist" approach to religion; nor yet just to provide impartial advice to help prison staff understand religion in its complexity; but to become part of the hard edge of current security concerns. (Todd, 2013: 155)

The risk, therefore, is that the structuring policy set by government (the 'field of power'), with which the prison must comply (because it is normative within the 'field' of criminal justice), has the potential to significantly reshape and revalue the role of chaplaincy in prisons (and its practice derived from the field of religion). There is a distinct tension between the humanitarian role, for which prison chaplaincy is particularly valued (Todd and Tipton, 2011), and the active involvement of chaplains in monitoring religion in prisons – a role that doesn't only affect Muslim chaplains, but the whole team. This tension is between the social capital derived from the prison's

compliance with the Prevent Duty, and the symbolic capital that most centrally characterises prison chaplaincy.

4) Conclusion

This paper has deployed the work of Bourdieu to explore the interaction of religious/spiritual care and the institutions it serves, paying attention to the way in which religious/spiritual care is shaped, enabled and constrained by the secularity of those institutions and the wider prevailing public secularity. This has been constructed as the interaction of the 'field' of religion, with the 'fields' of healthcare and criminal justice, within the wider, overarching 'field of power'. More particular exploration has focused on the effect of such interaction on the role and identity of those, such as chaplains, who deliver care; and on the religious and belief practices for which they are responsible. The paper has shown that role, identity and practices are reshaped, but that this is layered, often enabling chaplains to continue offering their own distinct model of care, derived from their particular tradition; although in the UK this sits within a firmly multi-faith framework. The paper has also considered how religious/spiritual care is valued in public institutions; and how that value is structured by overarching public policy and the public duties placed on hospitals and prisons. The paper has shown that the symbolic capital offered by religious/spiritual care, contributes to the public legitimacy of the public institutions; but also that there are some risks inherent in the revaluing of the religious 'field' being thus shaped by public policy, particularly in relation to security questions.

   The paper concludes by offering critical questions, designed to enable the understanding and evaluation of religious and spiritual care in public settings, both for practitioners and those who govern and manage care.

Critical questions:

- How far is the identity of those who deliver religious/spiritual care in healthcare or prisons adapted to the 'habitus' of the secular setting? To what extent is the adapted identity enabling of religious/spiritual care; to what extent is it constraining?

- In offering religious/spiritual services in secular settings, how far are they aligned with the secular norms of the host organisation; how far do they represent something' alternative' to those norms?

- In offering religious/spiritual services in secular settings, to what extent do such practices remain 'traditional', normative within the religious 'field'; to what extent are they innovations, perhaps in response to a diversity of religion and spirituality encountered in the prison or hospital?

- How is religious/spiritual care valued in secular settings. How is the way in which religious/spiritual care is valued structured by public and institutional policy? How far does this way (or these ways) of valuing religious/spiritual care reshape the care involved?

- To what extent, and in what ways, does the symbolic capital of religious/spiritual care, contribute to the social and cultural capital of the public institutions(s) where it is delivered?

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Balm for the Troubled Soul - Spiritual Care and the Spiritual Transformation of Mourning Processes

*Georg Wenz**

"The wound is the place where the light enters you" (Rumi)

Mourning inherently enables humans to react to a loss. Commonly it is associated with death. But it applies also to different changes and partings during life. The first moment of grief is probably related to the birth of a person and his or her separation from the mother's womb. And there are innumerable following occasions until one's life ends. Among its causes are economic conditions like losing one's job and its social consequences, existential factors like forced migration[2] and traumata or the outbreak of a deadly disease, and personal dynamics like the weakening of one's physical or cognitive abilities, the diminishment of self-reliance, and the end of relationships. All of these may necessitate substantial changes in a person's life. Nevertheless, the death of a loved one, especially if it is unexpected, is one of the most disturbing experiences of loss, shaking our confidence in life most profoundly.

Mourning processes are a natural part of human existence as is love or vulnerability. Going through them leads to a new state of life. But there are obstacles as well. Mourning demands transformation. Transitional phases

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2   *"Man lässt den Auszug aus der Heimat nicht unbeweint,"* Christa Wolf, Kindheitsmuster 1976, p. 331

of denial[3], anger[4], bargaining[5], and depression[6] (Kubler-Ross: 1969) help the mourner process the loss, as long as one doesn't become stuck in one of them. When this happens, the bereaved is unable to let go of the deceased, freeing him- or herself from harmful and unhealthy dependence on the past. Instead of filling the void with memories, the mourner's refusal to accept the loss of his or her beloved leads to self-destructive illusory worlds, rage, and self-pity.

As Kubler-Ross pointed out the stages mentioned above are *normal* reactions to tragic news. They respond to the emotional range of human coping strategies. The affected person may experience them all, but not necessarily sequentially, nor on a prescribed timeline. While the stages can last for certain periods of time they also may overlap or exist side by side simultaneously. In addition emotions like anger or dismay can return spontaneously triggered by external factors like other funerals, movie scenes, or even by smells. When the process of mourning is successful, the acceptance[7] of the loss reveals a new fulfillment of life on the horizon.

Critics of Kubler-Ross mentioned that there is no evidence that everyone passes through each stage. Neither would the concept reflect the wider range of human emotions involved nor the uniqueness of individual handling nor would its general applicability be proved (R. Schulz, D. Aderman: 1974; Kastenbaum, R.: 1998; Bonnano: 2004; 2009). Kubler-Ross herself anticipated parts of this criticism when she acknowledged that people may name the stages differently according to their own experiences (Kubler-Ross: 1969). Taking this criticism seriously requires further studies in spiritual care, especially in relation to its intercultural orientation, which is constitutive today in a pluralistic society. Is there such a thing as an anthropological disposition to mourn to which spiritual care can appeal? (Bonnano, 2004). Do people react emotionally in similar ways all over the world, regardless of religious or cultural specifications and regulations? Do they feel the same needs? Are religions promoting or suppressing mourning processes? In what way does the belief in a hereafter influence the mourning process? Does it facilitate or interfere with the processing of emotions, or even prevent progress by caus-

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3   The reactions Kubler-Ross elaborated for dying phases were also transferred to processes of grieving in general: *"I can't believe it", "This can't be happening", "Not to me!", "Not again!"*

4   *"Why me? It's not fair!" "How can this happen to me?" "Who is to blame?" "Why would this happen?"*

5   *"I'd give anything to have him back." "If only he'd come back to life, I'd promise to be a better person!"*

6   *"I'm so sad, why bother with anything?" "I miss my loved one, why go on?"*

7   *"It's going to be OK."; "I can't fight it, I may as well prepare for it."*

ing the bereaved - without being emotionally prepared for it - to rejoice that the deceased is better off in the hereafter than on earth? How has this belief changed over time, and how have these changes affected the grief process? And finally: are Kubler-Ross's stages of grief still useful in providing a basic framework for grief counseling in spiritual care, if they are too static to encompass the wide range, mix, and overlapping of emotions involved?

Verena Kast (Kast: 1982) uses a similar and yet differing concept of "phases". She recognizes a first emotional overpowering. After being confronted with the news of death most people feel numb and fall to a state of shock. Here the affected person is stunned, unable to recognize what is happening around him or her, or to communicate. To be paralyzed while at the same time denying the loss indicates the emotional overload. The individual reactions range from apparently unrelated remarks to evasive actions like cleaning windows to uncontrolled outbursts, verbally, emotionally, and physically. As the process progresses, more emotions break out: anger, fury, anxiety, and restlessness. People accuse others, such as physicians, of not having done everything that was in their power (Ilkilic: 2008). Or they hold themselves responsible for the death of their loved one (Canacakis: 2006)[8]. In former times the ritualized space after the death of a person provided a safe container for the mourners (Ariès: 2015; Tan: 1998; Canacakis: 2006) and allowed them to express their feelings in public. It may be a consequence of today's declining importance of cultural or religious rituals and of the isolation of individualized mourning from social contexts that the average mourning period lasts three to five years, while assisted by structured grieving processes in the past, recovery has taken a year or two (Karasu: 2012). Spiritual care during this period helps support the bereaved as they attempt to break away from ingrained behaviors, to accept the changed reality and in particular the final and irreversible parting. Spiritual caregivers can guide the bereaved to engage their new reality, in which remembering takes the place of being together. Allowing the outbursts of emotions while learning to accept the inevitable will open up new access to life and will create a new self-esteem. Self-restraint, self-confidence, and new roles in relationships will arise as grief gradually diminishes and the bereaved adapts to the new

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8   Canacakis, p.52-53, describes the story of a young mother who lost her four year old child while looking into a store window. The child saw at the other side of the street a little monkey in a pet shop and ran on a busy road. He was hit by a car and died on the spot. The mother blamed herself just as her husband and her mother in law did. Her husband left her; she fell into alcoholism and couldn't handle the accident until she was able to face her unfilled expectations and illusions in the shelter of a mourning seminar.

reality. Grief researchers are also convinced that in the long run opening the floodgate of tears[9] prevents health problems (Canacakis: 2006).

On the other hand the mourning process may also remain unfinished. Resistance, refusal and absentmindedness, but also external restrictions on mourning, be they cultural or religious, can lead to de-socialized and pathogenic patterns. Hans-Jörg Znoj speaks of "*complicated mourning*" (Znoj: 2004), others identify pathological features (Canacakis: 2006). Znoj points out that in such severe cases of grief its intensity doesn't steadily decrease but rather solidifies. Permanent anxiety and searching for the lost partner, helplessness, resignation, and delusions are psychic expressions of this attachment to the painful. Psychosomatic diseases, infections, insomnia, severe eating disorders, panic attacks, self-destroying behavior, substance abuse, even heart-attacks and cancer are possible physical reactions. Socially, complicated grief may lead to isolation and loneliness, and have a negative impact on daily working life. Spiritual care is about helping people overcome these patterns by spiritually enriching them so that they can make their way through their pain.

The Experience of Death as Evil and the struggle with Theodicy

With the death of one's partner, child, or close relatives particularly if it happens unexpectedly due to a natural catastrophe, an accident, a crime, war, torture, suicide, or the sudden onset of a deadly disease, thus pointing to the contingency of life, the problem of evil arises. This involves three dimensions that need to be connected with each other. The French philosopher Paul Ricœur puts it the following way: „ […] *the problem of evil is not just of speculative nature: it claims convergence between reasoning, acting (in the moral and political sense) and spiritual transformation of feelings*." Ricœur (2006). On a rational level the experience of evil shows a dilemma: Either it is totally senseless, and life itself is absurd, or there is some hidden meaning: then reason demands an explanation. But who can give it? Theologically this is the question of theodicy. Why does God as creator, as the embodiment of the good, and as almighty power allow acts that are exclusively destructive? One can defend God by not allowing this question, by giving generalized and standardized answers to personal suffering[10] or by attributing the answer to the hidden divine will or to divine justice that encompasses the here

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9   Canacakis, p. 54: "*natürliche Trauer weist immer auf die Notwendigkeit von Tänen hin*" ("*natural grief always points to the need for tears*" transl. by the author)
10   This involves the danger of dissolving personal destinies into generalized teachings.

and the beyond and exceeds imagination. But by doing so personal pain is neglected and catharsis is hindered. So it seems that a theological answer is needed that satisfies the rational exploration by embracing the universal and the particular dimensions. But to this point all theological or philosophical attempts to synthesize unwarranted suffering with God have failed (Ricœur: 2006). All of them finally ended in an aporia. If God is responsible, how can we call Him good? If He tolerates evil, why doesn't He intervene? If He is not able to intervene, how can we understand His omnipotence?

All these contradictions arise from the relationship between reason and revelation, between human responsibility and God's will. If reason is emphasized, then God must meet rational criteria and the attribute of "All-Goodness" consequently demands that we absolve God from evil. If God's freedom and "All-Powerfulness" transcends reason, then evil cannot be judged by human perspective. Looking more closely at both attempts to answer where evil comes from and why it happens, it becomes clear that attempting to answer these questions by rational means is futile. If there is an answer, it is only revealed internally to each one of us. That's why the answer is inherently individual. Neither the speculative attempt to mythically explain the origin of evil and its cosmological place, such as the story of the expulsion from paradise, Cain and Abel or the fallen angel Iblīs, nor the justification of evil as divine test or punishment, or in retaliation for one's sins, nor the eschatological postponement of the disclosure of reasons at the end of times, nor the concept of original sin are satisfactory given the seemingly arbitrary and disproportionate distribution of unjustified suffering and death. The biggest challenge for balancing experienced evil with God's goodness, however, is the suffering righteous.

Prototypically this righteousness is portrayed in the scriptures by *"Job"* or *"Ayyūb"*. Job personifies a life in suffering, overshadowed by fatalities, great misfortune, and calamities. However, Job's fate cannot be transformed into a theological teaching of patience alone. His story is not a theological treatise on the nature of suffering and the adequate human response. It rather mirrors complex mourning processes in showing and legitimating their fluctuating between hope and despair, between anger and fleeting moments of joy. The Book of Job deals with all feelings and uncertainties that come to light in bereavement: passion and complaints, comforting and ineptitude. Job's principle - *"The LORD has given, and the LORD has taken away. May the*

name of the LORD be praised"[11] - testifies of a confidence that neither denies pain nor the destruction of life's designs or of life itself but keeps hope in a meaningful future. Spiritual care tries to support people in finding this meaning again after a fatal loss. Job's question sounds rhetorical: "*Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall not receive evil?*"[12] On first glance, he declares God responsible for the good and for the bad. But on a deeper level, he accepts God's unfathomability as well as his own suffering. This includes the hope that unbearable losses in life will not break the relationship with God, but that a transformed future for life may appear: "*I know that you can do everything, and that no thought can be withheld from you.*"[13] God's challenging words "*Hear, I ask you, and I will speak: I will question you, and you declare unto me*"[14] evoke an inner attitude of humility: Even if the sufferer finds no explanation for what has happened - "*any attempt to see the problem of suffering from the divine perspective fails*" Murtaza (2017) he opens inwardly for a consolation beyond reason. Classically, this is called trust in God.

The Protestant theologian Karl Barth, to whom Ricœur also refers, provides a theological frame for this solace within a hurtful reality that transcends systematic totality. In his "broken" dialectical approach he defined evil as what "*God doesn't want*" Barth (1992). According to Barth evil has its own reality, which is incompatible with God's mercy. Barth calls that reality "*das Nichtige*"[15]. As hostile to God's graciousness and to the divine creational order, it is rejected and fought by God.[16] Figuratively speaking it represents the "left side" of God or: "*In other words: Evil only exists as an object of His anger.*"[17] Evil or "*das Nichtige*" finds its breeding ground only in its opposition to the realm of meaningfulness. According to Barth the power of evil has been overcome by God's redemptive and reconciling action in the cross of Jesus Christ. By annihilating himself, Christ defeated evil. Consequently, in believing in the cross, evil necessarily loses its power to destroy human being (Ricœur: 2006). Though what is lacking is the final manifestation of God's ruling. Translated into the perspective of spiritual care, the question

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11   Book of Job 1,21b
12   Book of Job 2,10
13   Book of Job 42,2
14   Book of Job 42,4
15   There is no adequate English expression for "*das Nichtige*". Barth understands by the term what is commonly referred to as sin, evil, death, hell and devil, but also deficiency, spoiling and annihilation (Wüth-rich, 2006).
16   Referring to the original chaos in Genesis, Ricœur, p. 49, sees the struggle between God's grace and evil right from the beginning.
17   Ricœur, p. 49 (translated by the author)

remains, how it becomes clear in the lives of those who suffer and mourn that evil has lost its power. Or more individually formulated: that one will overcome the state of despair. While there is a way for Christians to immerse themselves in the meditation of the cross, spiritual concern generally must integrate the different cultural, theological, and philosophical precepts in order to spiritually transform what is experienced as meaningless.

Immanuel Kant was right when he concluded that the origin of evil transcends the conceivable. In doing so, he limits the theological access to explanations beyond human perception. But he also opens the view to the concrete situation: When there can't be a general theological answer, evil is assigned to the area of *"practical reason, like everything that should not be and (that should) be combated by action"* [18]. As a result, each mourning process gains its own dignity. The perspective shifts from asking *"Where does suffering come from?"* to *"How do I live in suffering?"*

This insight now focuses on how to respond to the personally experienced contingency of life and forms the center of bereavement support. Considering that each human being reacts in an individual way and that everybody develops their own coping strategies the plaintive cry: „Why?" demands individual assistance. In turn, each personal answer can be helpful in understanding why people who have experienced inexpressible suffering still believe in God – even against all reason. It is the task of spiritual care to integrate their answers into its resources, without transferring them directly to other life stories, without imposing the personal conclusions on others or dissolving them into generalized teachings. As a source on which mourning support essentially relies, the personal experiences become part of the never-ending learning process of caregivers.

Dealing with evil, Ricœur identifies a second level which he calls "*action*" (Ricœur: 2006). If the problem of evil cannot be solved by reason, it inheres at least the appeal to act against it. Transferred to personal losses the perspective widens. Looking back at the circumstances of a sudden death, social, economic, ecological and political factors come into focus. The affected starts to ask beyond his or her individual fate to which degree reality is changeable. This gives individual grief a social, sometimes also a socio-political relevance. It generates a critical potential regarding the „*privatization*" (Schuchter (2017) of trans-individual issues of life-threatening dangers such

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18   Ricœur, p. 36 (translated by the author)

as traffic, environmental degradation, insecure working places or war. Beyond individual sorrow, the task of reducing suffering raises questions about its causes, including the links between poverty and illness, the state of health care, and harmful work processes. Instead of circling the question *"Why he/she?"* a moral mandate comes to the fore: *"It is my duty to point to the circumstances."* And instead of getting lost in speculative theology - *"Where was God, is He responsible, why did He not stop it?"* - the question of control over one's life paves the way. This leads to the dynamics of overcoming anger, accepting losses, and transforming grief, whether caused by human being, by nature, or by sheer coincidence.

The Spiritual Balm of Transformation

Hitting the bereaved haphazardly, the sudden loss of a loved one questions the framework of beliefs with which they have organized their lives consciously or unconsciously. Spiritual care starts at this point and supports the mourners on their way to calm their soul and to heal the wounds of their hearts. Metaphorically, this aid can be called balm. In ancient times balm was a rare and expensive mixture of resins and essential oils used as remedy especially for wounds. In the book of Jeremiah, the "Balm of Gilead" figuratively represents a remedy that could be used to protect the kingdom of Judah from impending demise, but is not used. The Hebrew word *tsori* (יְרֹצ) or *tseri* (יְרֶצ) means *"running blood"* or *"to bleed"* and denotes the gum running out of a carved tree. Many attempts have been made to identify the *tsori*, but none can be considered conclusive. The Syriac Bible translates it as *wax* (cera), the Greek Septuaginta as *ῥητίνη*, *"pine resin"*. The Arabic version regards it as *theriac*, traditionally a blend of herbs against a snake bite, which later also contained the juice of the opium poppy. In a figurative sense, however, balm is a cure for the wounded, "snake-bitten" soul to prevent it from sinking. And spiritual care tries to provide it by offering support based on God's promise to "*[…] comfort all who mourn, to grant those who mourn in Zion, giving them a garland instead of ashes, the oil of gladness instead of mourning, the garment of praise instead of a faint spirit. So they will be called oaks of righteousness, the planting of the LORD, that He may be glorified.*"[19] In combination with another word of God from the Book of Isaiah -„*As a mother comforts her child, so will I comfort you*"[20] – spiritual care develops a culture of support

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19   Isaiah 61,2b-3
20   Isaiah 66,13

that knows the limits of what is possible and comforting given the finite nature of life, but beyond that also happens in the horizon of the transcendent. Michael O'Sullivan's explanation about the spiritual dimension of care also fits perfectly to the realm of mourning: "*What makes the provision of care distinctively spiritual in the first instance has less to do with the subject matter of the care—the what of the care—and more to do with how we act in relation to people in any situation or setting in which we find ourselves and especially when we are aware of the significance of the situation or setting for their health.*" (O'Sullivan, 2016). The most essential aspect of this insight concerning the support of grief is the self-presence of those who perform it. When Jesus preached at the Sermon on the Mount: "*Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted*"[21], he did not erase the two poles of despair and hope in the lives of those who suffered from a loss, but he opened up the space for a personal relationship with God based on trust. Spiritual care seeks to work to restore that trust in God in a broken life.

Sherman A. Jackson looks at the problem of suffering from a Muslim perspective and asks what enables people to understand and cope with the crisis in which they find themselves. He also concludes that the theological concepts of theodicy must be balanced with personal attribution of meaning which in Islamic understanding always refers to God: "*For, while good theological answers may empower one to understand catastrophe, understanding alone is rarely enough to neutralize the pain of loss or regret. What I need here is solace and reconciliation with the fact of my creatureliness; the courage, honesty and dignity to acknowledge that I am not in control; yet the insight and fullness of soul to see in the enormity of what has happened that I am just as eligible for enormous good as I am for enormous tragedy. Here my reach is ultimately for something 'outside the system', something capable of breaking all the rules, of defying the laws of probability and chance - for me. […] Whether I emphasize God's goodness or justice, God's power or wisdom, these mental abstractions will only take on a concrete meaning for me in the context of my actual relationship with God.*"[22]

On this basis, if "*misery is the condition for growth*"[23], growth is just another word for the spiritual transformation of misery into life acceptance. This transformatory healing process involves a wide variety of emotions: sadness, loneliness, abandonment, desperation, hopelessness, frustration, but

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21 The Gospel of Mathew 5,4
22 Jackson, Sh. A. (2010)
23 Polska, A. (2018), Screen 3

also wrath, protest, complaint, even accusations against God. The latter is still founded on faithfulness to God, even though superficially it contradicts the orthodox teachings of patience and joy in the face of the reward to be expected in the hereafter. Navid Kermani found a wonderful expression: "*Only those who believe in the Most High can throw stones towards heaven.*"[24]

To put it bluntly: During mourning, people do not necessarily come to the point of accusing God. But it can happen that those whose world is in ruins go through phases in which they doubt God, because their despair of life is despair of Him, when, for example, they no longer feel His closeness or grace, when they experience Him removed, withdrawn or absent and when their prayers do not find an answer. Job's feelings can be considered as representative of those whose lives are shattered due to a loss and whose pain is so deep that it shakes them to the core: "*[20] I cry out to you for help, but you do not answer me; when I stand up, you merely look at me. [21] You have turned against me with cruelty; you harass me with your strong hand. [22] You lift me up on the wind and make me ride it; you scatter me in the storm.*"[25]

What is not needed in this state of abandonment is to talk the pain down, to relativize or to ignore it or to distract from it or to condemn the lamentation. The pain of loss must find its forms of expression because it wants to be honored. It is a threefold pain. It concerns the past, the present and the future. The past, because of missed and not lived possibilities; the present, because of the empty space, and the future because of lost opportunities. So the pain refers to both, the lost beloved as well as the bereaved. And so does mourning: It has to integrate both, the dead and the mourner him- or herself. In his book "*Mourning and Melancholia*" (Freud: 1910) Sigmund Freud describes mourning as a gradual release from all ties that make us feel the loss of a beloved as loss of ourselves. To put it the other way round: To gradually proceed in the mourning process requires gradually regaining one's self. At the same time this self-finding process releases new affective attachment skills, allowing to qualitatively transforming lamentation and accusation.

Fulbert Steffensky reflects on this process by commenting the reactions of his community when his wife had died (Steffensky: 2017). Not helpful were phrases such as „*life goes on*" or „*time heals all wounds*". Even if they are true in the abstract sense, he found them inappropriate in the concrete situation: "*The old life didn't go on. Never again I've held my wife's hand. […] Life*

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24   Kermani, N. (2005) p. 172 (translated by the author)
25   The Book of Job, 30,20-22

didn't go on, and nobody could talk me down the pain, not even with a religious sentence."[26] He experienced that faith has to endure pain. What most consoled him were friends and other people who did not offer wise words, or try to save him from the abyss, but were simply there, able to bear his grief and not be driven away by his devastation. The lesson he drew from it is universally valid: Mourning requires a public expression and perception. It requires other people who signalize "*you are not alone*"[27] and who are able to accept and to endure the terrible despair. Even if the mourning is not mitigated, it is shared, and thus the „grief Narcissism" is broken, "*in which one cannot perceive more than oneself in one's own misfortune*"[28]. If there is an art of mourning, then its highest expression is probably to acknowledge one's own need and to admit that one cannot comfort him- or herself. And if there is an art of bereavement support then its highest expression is probably to allow the other's dependence and need, to let him or her cry, to accept his or her weakness, in short: to console without requiring a performance.

In the presence of the others there is a second point that Steffensky had experienced and that is true in general: The others are with him, not only because of his grief, but as themselves with their own feelings, stories, worries and happiness and their needs for food and drink. In this way slowly the mourner is guided back into life, or in the words of Steffensky: "*into the world, in which I didn't really want to go back to*".[29] This world is the same as the world before the other one died and yet completely different.

Spiritual care accompanies the needy through the long and winding road of mourning which can take years. It respects the feelings and helps to design transitions starting with the execution of the new „first times" in life: the first weekend without the deceased, the first family celebration, the first vacation (Lammer: 2010). As a guidance in mourning processes, it is introduced into the stories of individual crisis situations, in which the affected struggle with themselves, their pain, anger, fury, fears, hopes and disappointments, often imagining and dreaming to change the current living conditions, but at the same time being hurt too deeply inwardly to experience feelings or to express themselves. Soul shadows have descended over their bodies and mind. There can be moments in which they blame themselves for the beloved's dead. There may be moments when they are trying hard to fig-

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26   Steffensky (2017), p. 74 (all following quotations have been translated by the author)
27   Steffensky (2017), p. 75
28   Steffensky (2017), p. 75f
29   Steffensky (2017), p. 76

ure out the reasons why the beloved had to die. There also may be moments when they protest against the concept of a divine permission of accidental deaths. Spiritual care listens to these sometimes loud and sometimes silent cries and supports those who are suffering to free themselves from the fetters of apathy and of self-accusation. The bereaved are not to blame. In supporting people to accept that their losses were as contingent as they are undeserved (Kushner: 1981), spiritual care works like anointing oil in healing the wounds, freeing the soul, channeling and controlling the pain, and stepping back into life. By virtue of the continuous accompaniment a door is opened to cross the threshold to a reconciled life, created by the torn and unhealed wounds. As the bereaved slowly regain confidence in life, they may come to understand that belief in God is not bound by the impulse to ultimately explain the origins of evil. In transforming grief into a new acceptance of life lamentation loses its transcendent target. While some may recognize a divine pedagogical sense in their suffering, the spiritual transformation of grief lies in a regained trust in God, in believing in God despite the pointless loss. Faith and trust are founded beyond reason and the decision of free will. They go back to a divine invitation. Reconciling with oneself, one's life is again grounded in divine mercy, whose access was temporarily blocked, but which never run dry.[30] The Qur'an never gets tired of pointing out that the divine *ayāt* are accessible and can be found in each situation of life. All of a sudden pain and grief give way to a new "blue sky". Steffensky calls this moment an "*objective solace*"[31] when one reawakens to the truth that "*the sun rises in the morning and goes down in the evening; that the birds are singing and that the lake hasn't lost its smile. Nobody says the stupid saying "life goes on". But you feel it in the sunbeam, in the shadow play and in the color of the rose: the world has gone down, and it has not perished. Life makes no stupid sayings; it shows that it goes on.*"[32] In that moment the mourner has reconciled with the past and found new confidence in the future. A word of praise may signal the new state of rearrangement. From the existential tremor that even questioned God he or she may join in the chorus of doxology again - or rather as a changed person: "*Bless the Lord! my soul; And bless God's holy name; Bless the Lord! my soul, Who leads me into life.*"[33]

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30   Qur'an 6:12 "*He had decreed upon Himself mercy*"
31   Steffensky (2017), p. 77
32   Steffensky (2017), p. 77-78
33   Taizé: Songs for prayer

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Working with Religious Muslim Clients: A Dynamic, Qura'nic-Based Model of Psychotherapy

Hisham Abu-Raiya*

Though some of the founding figures of psychology (e.g., William James) showed utmost interest in religion and spirituality, these topics were largely neglected as subjects of serious psychological inquiry for much of the 20th century (Pargament, 2007). Two main explanations have been offered to account for this neglect. The first is the attempt of psychology to establish itself as a hard science and hence disconnect itself from its philosophical and religious roots. The second explanation is the tendency of the proponents of the major clinical paradigms of the time (i.e., Freud, Skinner) to oversimplified and stereotyped view of religion and spirituality (Wulff, 1997).

This picture began to change towards the end of the 20th century, as psychology renewed its interest in religion and spirituality and began to explore other paradigms (e.g., positive psychology, Eastern psychology) that were more open to these matters (Pargament & Saunders, 2007). Based on a large amount of research demonstrating positive links between spiritual and religious beliefs and practices and health and well-being (see Paloutzian & Park, 2013), there is an increasing recognition of the importance of identifying and perhaps integrating spiritual and religious beliefs and practices of clients into health care (Saunders, Miller, & Bright, 2010). Building on this recognition, psychologists, operating from a variety of therapeutic perspectives, have made several attempts to address religious and spiritual issues

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in psychotherapy (e.g., Griffith & Griffith, 2002; Nielsen, Johnson, & Ellis, 2001; Pargament, 2007; Plante, 2007; Richards & Bergin, 2005; Schreurs, 2002; Sperry & Shafranske, 2005).

These developments took place primarily in the Christian world (Abu-Raiya & Pargament, 2010), but more recently, similar trends have been observed within other religious populations, Muslims in particular. An emerging body of empirical research has identified clear connections between Islamic beliefs and practices and the well-being of Muslims (see Abu-Raiya & Pargament, 2011, for review), and many researchers and practitioners have begun to advocate for religiously integrated psychotherapy to be used with religious members of this group (e.g., Abu-Raiya & Pargament, 2010; Ali, Lui, & Humedian, 2004; Carter & Rashidi, 2003; Dwairy, 2009; Hamdan, 2007, 2008; Hedayat-Diba, 2000; Mehraby, 2003). These attempts are promising. Still, these attempts seem to operate from the prism of largely one therapeutic modality, the Cognitive-Behavioral. Useful as this modality has proven to be, it is not necessarily applicable to all clients, and hence other therapeutic approaches are called for. To address this important issue, this paper draws on the tenets of a Qura'nic theory of personality that has been recently developed (Abu-Raiya, 2012, 2014) to suggest a dynamic model of psychotherapy that can be utilized while working with religious Muslim clients.

In what follows, I establish a rationale for using spirituality integrated psychotherapy with Muslim clients, and describe some of the attempts to integrate Islamic beliefs, practices and teachings into psychotherapy. Next, I outline the basic tenets of the Qura'nic theory of personality. Then, I formulate a dynamic model of psychotherapy which is based on the Qura'nic theory of personality, and bring this model to life in a case study. This paper concludes by pointing to the prospects for the model and the challenges psychotherapists might face in applying it.

1) Rationale for Addressing Religion and Spirituality in Psychotherapy with Muslim Clients

Based on a systematic and comprehensive review of empirical studies testing the links between various types of religiousness and health and well-being conducted among Muslims, Abu-Raiya and Pargament (2011) drew several conclusions, two of which seem relevant to the current analysis. The first conclusion was that Islam's role in the lives of Muslims seems mostly positive. Islam is linked to a variety of functions, such as the provision of

comfort, meaning, identity, spirituality, and community.

Though several factors identified in Abu-Raiya and Pargament's (2011) review (e.g., beliefs, practices, ethical conduct, sense of universality) were positively correlated with measures of greater well-being, two appeared especially salient in this domain: Positive religious coping- activities that reflect a secure relationship with God, a belief that there is a greater meaning to be found, and a sense of spiritual connectedness with others (e.g., Ai, Peterson, & Huang, 2003; Aflakseir & Coleman, 2009; Abu-Raiya, Pargament, Mahoney, & Stein, 2008; Khan & Watson, 2006), and intrinsic religiousness-internalizing the principles of religion and living according to them (e.g., Watson et al., 2002; Khan & Watson, 2004; Ghorbani & Watson, 2006). These two factors were strongly, consistently and positively linked to desirable well-being indicators among Muslims (e.g., hope, satisfaction in life, positive relationships with others, self-esteem), on the one hand, and robustly, persistently and negatively associated with undesirable well-being indicators (e.g., depression, anxiety, poor physical health, angry feelings) on the other.

The second conclusion drawn from Abu-Raiya and Pargament's (2011) review is that some types of Islamic religiousness can be associated with poorer health and well-being. A few forms of Islamic religiousness that have potential negative implications on the well-being of Muslims have been identified: religious struggles (Abu- Raiya et al., 2008), punishing Allah reappraisals and other forms of negative religious coping (Abu-Raiya et al., 2008; Aflakseir & Coleman, 2009) extrinsic-social religiousness- religiousness that aims to attain benefits of social nature (Ghorbani & Watson, 2006; Watson et al., 2002) and afterlife motivation- the desire to reach heaven or to avoid hell (Ghorbani, Watson, & Shahmohamdi, 2008).

In general, these conclusions underscore the centrality of Islam to the lives of many Muslims and its relevance to their well-being, and therefore highlight the need for greater attention to the Islamic religion when dealing with Muslim populations. Failure to do so could lead to an incomplete and perhaps distorted picture of Muslims. Particularly, these conclusions have clear implications for psychotherapy. They strongly imply that psychotherapists who do not address Islamic beliefs, practices and teachings while working with Muslim clients, especially the religious among them, could be doing them a disservice.

Operating from this understanding, Abu-Raiya and Pargament (2010) attempted to translate empirical findings from a program of research that developed a Psychological Measure of Islamic Religiousness (PMIR; Abu-Raiya et al., 2008), as well as findings from other empirical studies with Muslims, into practical clinical applications. Toward this end, they provided five practical recommendations. First, clinicians should inquire directly about the place of religion in the lives of their Muslim clients. Second, mental health professionals should ask about what Islam means to their clients and educate themselves about basic Islamic beliefs and practices. Third, clinicians should help their Muslim clients draw on Islamic positive religious coping methods (e.g., prayer, reading the Qura'n for consolation, looking for stronger connection with fellow Muslims) to deal with stressors. Fourth, clinicians should assess for religious struggles (e.g., doubting the existence of God, feeling angry toward God), normalize them, help clients find satisfying solutions to these struggles and, if appropriate, refer clients who struggle to a Muslim pastoral counselor or religious leader. Finally, in order to overcome stigma associated with mental health issues, mental health professionals should educate the Islamic public about psychology, psychopathology, and psychotherapy.

Further support for addressing Islamic beliefs and practices in psychotherapy comes from a few treatment outcome studies which found that a variation of Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT) that makes use of religious themes is effective with Muslim clients who experience anxiety, depression, and bereavement (Azhar & Varma, 1995a-b; Azhar, Varma, & Dharap, 1994; Razali, Hasanah, Aminah, & Subramaniam, 1998). In each of these studies, participants who received the "CBT religious psychotherapy" responded significantly better and faster to treatment compared to those who received a standard CBT treatment.

A major component of the "CBT religious psychotherapy" applied in these studies was identifying unproductive beliefs (e.g., my sins are too severe to be forgiven) and replacing them with presumably more productive, Islamically-based beliefs (e.g., Allah accepts the repentance of his servants and can forgive all sins). But each of the aforementioned studies incorporated different elements as well. For example, Razali et al. (1998) helped participants to identify negative or "faulty" thoughts and modify them using cognitive techniques guided by the Qur'an and Hadith. In Azhar et al.'s (1994)

study, participants were encouraged to recognize ideal religious values and adopt and cultivate them in their thoughts, actions, and emotions. Azhar and Varma (1995a) prompted participants to repent if they felt a sense of guilt from having strayed from their religious value system. Azhar and Varma, (1995b) focused on reviving spiritual strength as a way of coping with stress and psychological difficulties. They reminded the client to rely upon Allah in times of difficulties, to supplicate to Allah in times of needs, to turn to Allah in repentance when in error, and to focus on the five daily prayers and reading the Qur'an.

Further, some researchers and mental health professionals have promoted theoretical models or specific techniques that are potentially useful when working with Muslim clients, and supported their suggestions by providing case studies in which these models or techniques were successfully applied. For example, Carter and Rashidi (2003) developed a theoretical model of psychotherapy for Muslim women suffering from mental illness. Their model incorporates "Western" therapeutic elements, Eastern philosophical principles (e.g., low expectation, humility, external locus of control) as well as Islamic practices and beliefs (e.g., prayer, reading the Qur'an, sayings of the prophet Muhammad). Hamdan (2007, 2008), suggested the cognitive restructuring technique (i.e., identifying the client's dysfunctional automatic thoughts and core beliefs, and replacing them with Islamically based, more functional thoughts and beliefs) as a useful technique when working with Muslim clients suffering from different psychological difficulties. Dwairy (2009) recommended metaphor psychotherapy and culture analysis for religious people in collectivistic cultures. In metaphor therapy, the client can deal symbolically and indirectly with unconscious content, yet avoid direct challenge to religious concepts. In culture analysis, clients can reveal their unconscious needs and establish a new order within their belief systems and families.

These suggestions possess many merits. Some of them are empirically substantiated; others are empirically based, and; all provide either a sensible direction or some concrete practical recommendations for addressing psychological difficulties when working with Muslim clients. Still, the large majority of these attempts seem to operate through the prism of one therapeutic modality, CBT namely. Useful as this modality might be, it is not applicable to all clients. Hence other therapeutic approaches are called for.

This paper advocates for a dynamic model of psychotherapy that can be applied while working with religious Muslim clients. This model is derived from and based on a Qura'nic theory of personality that has been recently articulated (Abu-Raiya, 2012, 2014).

To set the stage for this model, in what follows, I briefly present the process of developing the Qura'nic theory personality and its main concepts.

2) The Qura'nic Theory of Personality

The Qura›nic theory of personality (Abu-Raiya, 2012, 2014) has been developed based on a hermeneutic analysis of The Holy Qura›n and the relevant ideas of the eminent Muslim scholar Al-Ghazali.

Why the Holy Qura›n? The importance of the Qura›n to Muslims cannot be underestimated. From the Islamic perspective, the Holy Qura›n is the last revealed word of Allah and the principal source of Muslim belief and practice. The Qura›n›s essential topic is the relationship between Allah and His creatures, and it provides guidelines and detailed teachings for a just society, proper ethical standards, and an equitable economic system (Esposito, 1998). The Qura›n is present in the everyday life of Muslims, and deals with all of the topics which relate to human existence: wisdom, doctrine, worship, law, etc. (Gordon, 2002). Hence, because of the centrality of the Holy Qura›n in the lives of Muslims, investigating its psychological framework and suggesting a personality theory based on its content, can shed a tremendously helpful light on the way Muslims perceive life in general, and conceive themselves and their psychological well-being in particular.

And why Al-Ghazali›s ideas? Al-Ghazali (1058-1111) is regarded by many scholars and historians as one of the most prominent Muslim figures of all time (Watt, 1953). He was a philosopher, theologian and Sufi mystic, and wrote about 70 books over his short lifetime. His pioneering ideas on the psyche, self and personality are still prominent in Muslim and non-Muslim circles. Among his major contributions to Islamic psychology, is what can be termed «the structural theory of the psyche.» In his renowned book, *The Revival of Religious Sciences*, and based on his reading of the Holy Qura›n, Al-Ghazali (1995) suggested a general outline of the structure of personality, stating that the latter is composed of four constituents: Qalb, roh, nafs and a›ql which are

translated into English as heart, spirit, psyche and intellect, respectively.

Al-Ghazali established a foundation for a Qura›nic theory of personality (Haque, 2004; Yasien, 1996) by delineating its potential psychospiritual structures. More recently, Abu-Raiya (2012, 2014) reexamined Al-Ghazali›s ideas, leading to the formulation of a more systematic Qura›nic theory of personality. There are several reasons for this reexamination. First, the structures suggested by Al-Ghazali are described in very general terms, and a contemporary reader might face serious difficulties in discerning their meanings and functions. This is especially true when we talk about roh and qalb and their relationship to each other. Second, Al-Ghazali did not indicate how he systematically analyzed the relevant verses of the Qura›n to reach his conclusions. Finally, the psychological insights of more contemporary psychologists shed a different and important light on Al-Ghazali›s personality structures and their associated functions.

How was Abu- Raiya's theory actually developed? The first step was a methodical review of the Qura'n. This review revealed three different constructs of psychological significance: *qalb*, *nafs*, and *roh*. At this point, the ideas of Al-Ghazali were examined, leading to the addition of another construct: *a'ql*. Though the exact Arabic term a'ql does not appear in the Qura'n, it is useful in grouping many of the cognitive processes described there (e.g., thinking, knowing, understanding, contemplating). The verses including these constructs were thoroughly analyzed and systematically scrutinized to determine their possible meanings. In the process, the Arabic dictionary was consulted. When such meanings were obtained, they were compared and contrasted with Al-Ghazali's suggestions and speculations.

Eight main concepts were identified in this analysis: Nafs (Psyche), nafs ammarah besoa' (Evil-Commanding Psyche), al-nafs al-lawammah (the Reproachful Psyche), roh (spirit), a'ql (Intellect), qalb (Heart), al-nafs al-mutmainnah (the Serene Psyche), al-nafs al-marid'a (the Sick Psyche). Table 1 presents short descriptions of each of these concepts, which serve as the structures or building blocks of the Qura'nic theory of personality (in the rest of the paper, and to prevent confusion, I will be using only the English labels for these structures).

Table 1: Description of the Eight Main Concepts of the Qura'nic Theory of personality (Abu-Raiya, 2012, 2014)

Concept	Description
Nafs (psyche)	Stands for the whole person, or personality, and hence encompasses all other personality structures
Nafs ammarah be-soa' (evil-commanding psyche)	Of devilish nature and the strongest force within nafs. It resides in the personal unconscious, is composed of forbidden desires and impulses, and governed by the evil-pleasure principle and primary processing
Al-nafs al-lawam-mah (the reproachful psyche)	A moralistic entity that has divine origins and influence. It also resides in the personal unconscious and behaves as the conscience
Roh (spirit)	Resides in the collective unconscious, possibly means the energy of life, or The Truth, and serves as the source of revelation, creation and inspiration
A'ql (intellect)	Of angelic nature and the mere conscious component of the system. It is the intellectual faculty of nafs and responsible for the higher cognitive processes: understanding, knowing, thinking and reflecting. Its ultimate function is comprehending the essence of God through His manifestations in nature and human-beings
Qalb (heart)	The "heart of nafs" or "the totality of nafs." In qalb, inputs and messages from all other structures of nafs are processed and integrated, and consequently determine the fate of nafs
Al-nafs al-mut-mainnah (the serene psyche)	The ultimate desired outcome of the dynamic interplay between the different constituents of nafs. It lives in a state of peace of mind, is satisfying and satisfied, and is considered the highest stages of psychospiritual development
Al-nafs Al-marid'a (the sick psyche)	A pathological state which results from a terribly conflicted qalb

This analysis revealed also that these structures and outcomes are dynamically interconnected. Heart is the core of the system and has openings or links to all other components. Intellect receives its input from the external world, cognitively processes this input and sends the outcome through the connecting link to Heart. Spirit has two links to Heart. One is a direct link which few people (the inspired and prophets) can attain. The other link is indirect (and hence is more readily accessible) and passes through the Reproachful Psyche. Heart and Evil-Commanding Psyche are directly linked.

The integration process which unfolds in Heart is fed back to the psyche and determines its ultimate state- Serene or Sick.

3) A Dynamic, Qura'nic-Based Model of Psychotherapy

Dynamic psychotherapy borrows its main ideas from a dynamic model of personality structure. What is a dynamic model of personality? According to Yalom (1980), the word *dynamic* has both lay and technical meanings. In its lay meaning, dynamic has the connotation of vitality. But in the context of personality theory, the word dynamic refers to *force*. The first psychologist to use the word "dynamic" was Freud, who viewed the human psyche as a system consisting of conflicting forces, motives, and fears that exist at different levels of awareness. Indeed, Freud held that some of the forces are entirely out of awareness and exist on an unconscious plane. The defense mechanisms people apply to deal with the inner conflict, as well as the emotions and behaviors resulting from this conflict, is what constitutes personality (Freud, 1923/2010).

Many dynamic models of personality exist. What differentiate these various models is the nature of the forces, motives, and fears that conflict, consciously and unconsciously, with one another within the personality. For example, the Freudian model (Freud, 1923/2010) posits that the individual is controlled by innate instinctual forces. Freud referred to three main conflicts within the psyche: between the life instinct and the death instinct (Eros versus Thanatos); between the instincts and the demands of the environment (i'd versus ego), and; between the instincts and the internalized environment (i'd versus superego).

In short, any dynamic model starts with the premise that personality is composed of contents, structures or forces that exist in a state of conflict. This conflict produces *anxiety*, an umbrella term encompassing a variety of negative emotional states (e.g., guilt, shame, anger, sadness). To overcome anxiety, the psyche operates defense mechanisms or coping strategies. These mechanisms or coping strategies are what ultimately determine the psychological well-being of the individual.

With the aforementioned general outlines of a dynamic model of psychotherapy in mind, let's see whether and how the content of the Qura'nic theory of personality correspond with these outlines.

The Qura'nic theory of personality is *structural*. The psyche is composed of 5 main structures or forces, each of which has unique and highly-delineated functions: Evil-Commanding Psyche, the Reproachful Psyche, Spirit, Intellect, and Heart. Additionally, this theory is *topographic*: the psyche's structures exist in varying levels of awareness: conscious, personal unconscious and collective unconscious. But above all, the Qura'nic theory of personality displays human psyche as existing in a permanent state of *conflict*. And this state of conflict is the key feature that differentiates dynamic models from other models of personality and psychotherapy.

But what is the nature of the conflict from a Qura'nic perspective? What are the forces in conflict and what are their contents? The Qura'nic theory of personality submits that the foundational conflict operating within the human psyche is between its *satanic* and *divine* components. The inevitable outcome of this fierce conflict is an enduring psychological uneasiness and an ever-lasting yearning for peace of mind. To use a more technical dynamic term, the result of this conflict is *anxiety*.

The satanic or devilish component of the psyche is reflected in Evil-Commanding Psyche which is the most active and influential constituent of the psyche. Evil-Commanding Psyche, which highly resembles the Freudian i'd, is deeply-seated and the strongest force within the psyche, of nagging-obsessive quality, operates outside the conscious awareness, is composed of forbidden desires and impulses, and is governed by the evil principle and primary processing. Because the processes of Evil-Commanding Psyche are unconscious, its existence can be inferred from certain feelings, thoughts and behaviors that are considered according to the Qura'n forbidden, immoral, completely objectionable, or in short the "workings of Satan" (e.g., envy, selfishness, jealousy, lust, vengeance, hatred, anger, adultery, having unacceptable sexual thoughts of feelings, violence).

The major divine counterpart of Evil-Commanding Psyche is the Reproachful Psyche. The Reproachful Psyche, which resembles the Freudian superego in many respects, is a moralistic entity, behaving as the conscience that directs people towards right or wrong. From an Islamic perspective, the Reproachful Psyche can be best described as the "voice of God" which resides deeply inside human psyche. The Reproachful Psyche is of nagging and blaming quality, strongly objects to the desires of the lower part of the

psyche and is composed of the ideals which the person strives to attain. These ideals are composed of the Islamic ethical principals described in an earlier section (Farah, 1987).

But the Reproachful Psyche alone is unable to neutralize or tame the extremely powerful Evil-Commanding Psyche. For doing so, the help of other two structures is needed. The first structure is Spirit which in many ways resembles the Jungian collective unconscious. The Qura'nic theory of personality posits that God created humans through His spirit and injected in them some of the divine essence. Though this essence remains "silent" during the psychological drama occurring within the psyche, its mere presence can help reduce the influence of Evil-Commanding Psyche.

The second structure that can aid in neutralizing the destructive impact of Evil-Commanding Psyche is Intellect, which is the "intellectual faculty of the psyche," and similar to the Freudian ego. It constitutes the conscious portion of the psyche, uses logical forms of thinking, and mediates between the deep levels of the psyche and the external reality. But perhaps the main function of Intellect is thinking about and contemplating God. This latter function of intellect led Al-Ghazali (1995) to assert that Intellect has an inherent angelic element. According to Islamic teachings, God created the angels as pure intellects so they can contemplate and praise Him. Hence, it is plausible that by contemplating Him, humans can get closer to God and indirectly distance themselves from the workings of Satan.

The conflict operating in the unconscious levels of the psyche and the resulted anxiety are experienced in Heart, the "experiential center of the psyche." All messages delivered from all the psyche's structures are processed and integrated in heart, which eventually determine the psychological-spiritual state of the psyche. The desired outcome of this process is the Serene Psyche, which lives in a state of peace of mind, is satisfying and satisfied, and eventually reaches heaven. This is an integrated, unified whole that balances all the psychological and spiritual needs and strivings. This state of "ultimate peace," the highest stage of psychospiritual development according to the Qura'nic theory of personality, is achieved when the Psyche becomes tranquil and free of tension because of its successful control over the desires and passions. On the other hand, when Heart is constantly "hard," "sealed," fearful," sinful," and "misguided," and controlled fully or almost

fully by evil-commanding psyche, then the outcome, the highly undesired one, is the Sick Psyche. The Sick Psyche lacks peace of mind, is discontented and displeasing, and eventually reaches hell.

In short, the Qura'nic theory of personality acknowledges the human potential to reach higher levels of existence embodied in the Serene Psyche, which will be "satisfied and satisfying," and eventually attain paradise. Yet, this theory holds a largely negative view of human nature. It suggests that the Psyche is "touched by Satan" and hence is evil-pleasure oriented. Life is composed of a permanent battle between the Psyche and its own destructive-devilish tendencies and only extraordinary efforts can save it from losing the battle. Indeed, according to the Holy Qura'n, only a small minority of people end this thorny battle victorious (56: 14, 40).

4) A Dynamic, Qura'nic-Based Model of Psychotherapy: From Theory to Practice

The model that has been just articulated possesses the main ingredients of a dynamic model. And this model is potentially a meaningful tool in informing the conceptualization of psychological well-being and psychological distress when working with Muslim religious clients, and can aid in the administration of religiously-sensitive psychotherapy. The question now is how this model can be translated into a therapeutic act in the encounter between religious Muslim clients and their psychotherapists. Specifically, what are its prerequisites? How does its process unfold? And what techniques can be utilized when this type of psychotherapy is applied? Here are some suggestions and recommendations.

As for prerequisites for applying the model, three seem crucial. First, this type of psychotherapy should be applied by dynamically oriented and spirituality sensitive psychotherapists. Second, this approach fits clients who are motivated, insight oriented and above all, accepting of the Qura'n as the main authority when it comes to significant psychological and human concerns. Third, psychotherapists delivering this type of therapy should be knowledgeable of the major Islamic beliefs, practices and teachings in general, and the terms Psyche, Spirit, Intellect, Heart, Evil-Commanding psyche, the Reproachful Psyche, the Serene Psyche, the Sick Psyche and other concepts that have been suggested in this paper, more particularly. Spiritual or religious knowledge can potentially facilitate a therapeutic rapport and enhance the chances

for change, and has been identified by many researchers and practitioners as an important prerequisite for delivering a spirituality sensitive psychotherapy (Abu-Raiya & Pargament, 2010; Hamdan, 2007; Hedayat-Diba, 2000; Hodge & Nadir, 2008; Pargament, 2007; Springer et al., 2009).

Now, we turn to the process of psychotherapy. The main goals of dynamic psychotherapy are uncovering the hidden inner conflict, and help the client live an adaptive and functional life. Clients in this type of psychotherapy become progressively more aware of dynamic conflicts and tensions that are manifesting as a symptom or challenge in their lives. Together with the clinician, clients are helped to bring conflicting aspects of their self into awareness, and through time, begin to integrate the conflicting parts and resolve aspects of the tension. This is talked about in different ways in each of the psychodynamic psychological theories, but all share the common goal of attempting to describe the dynamic nature of the tension between conflicting parts, assist the client in coming to terms with the tension, and begin the process of integration and healing.

Uncovering the hidden conflict is then the primal goal of any dynamic model. The dynamic Qura'nic model is no exception. The assumption that the major conflict occurs between Evil-Commanding Psyche and the Reproachful Psyche could be made, but the specifics of this conflict in the life of a particular client should be revealed. Relevant Islamically-based techniques to recognize the inner conflict are still to be developed. Yet, clinicians working with religious Muslim clients might use therapeutic techniques usually applied by dynamic therapists to uncover unconscious material such as free associations, amplification, dream analysis and projection analysis.

The anxiety associated with the conflict could be lessened once the forces in conflict within the psyche have been identified. Still, more efforts are needed to reduce this anxiety. One effective therapeutic tool in this regard is *normalization*. Clinicians can normalize the conflict itself by stating that many if not all people struggle at times because of strong inner conflicts. Normalization can relieve the negative effects on clients by helping them recognize that their problems or difficulties are not as bad as they had thought.

An important goal is achieved once light has been shed on the primary conflict, and steps have been taken to relieve anxiety. Nonetheless, psychotherapy does not end here and the process of healing and integration keeps

unfolding. The ultimate goal of this process is to help clients reach the state of the Serene Psyche or as close as possible to there. Hence, the focus of the rest of therapy is on minimizing the impact of Evil-Commanding Psyche, and strengthening the power of the other constructive parts of the Psyche. Helping clients examining their ethical standards and living according to them is a way to strengthen the Reproachful Psyche. Reality testing, impulse control, affect regulation, and contemplation are areas to work on in order to strengthen Intellect. And to get in touch with Spirit, the spiritual life of clients should be nurtured. Clients can be encouraged to connect to the divine through certain Islamic practices and beliefs such as accepting the authority of Allah, supplicating, prayer, fasting and giving to charity. The approach to be taken here, as Skinner (2010) has also suggested, should be a *holistic* one. People need to be approached as psychosocial-spiritual beings; psychological treatments of Muslim clients that address one element of personality while ignoring others will be partially successful at best.

5) A Dynamic, Qura'nic-Based Model of Psychotherapy: Prospects and Challenges

The Qura'nic dynamic model of psychotherapy that has been articulated in this paper is promising in a few respects. First, it constitutes an alternative form of treatment for Muslim clients who do not find other therapeutic approaches to fit their needs and personalities. Second, this model is detailed. Besides providing a conceptual framework through which psychological challenges and psychological well-being can be comprehended, it refers to practical steps that can be applied in actual therapeutic practice. Finally, and perhaps more importantly, this model is based on the Qura'n. This matter should not be taken lightly as the Qura'n plays a tremendously important role in the lives of Muslims. A model of psychotherapy that borrows its main concepts and terminology from the Qura'n is likely to be quite appealing and convincing to religious Muslim clients.

The psychospiritual nature of this model could serve three additional purposes. Potentially, it could: 1) facilitate dialogue between psychotherapists and Muslim religious leaders who seem to play an important role in addressing the mental health needs of their community members (e.g., Ali, Milstein, & Marzuk, 2005); 2) assist in fighting the stigma associated with mental health issues that is widespread in the Islamic world; many Muslims

still react negatively to topics in the mental health domain such as psychopathology and psychotherapy (Al-Issa, 2000; Abu-Raiya, Pargament, Stein, & Mahoney, 2007; Al Krenawi & Graham, 2000; Amer, Hovey, Fox, & Rezcallah, 2008), and; 3) change the view of many Muslims towards the field of psychology, a field that is approached by many Muslims with doubts, antipathy, and suspicion, because it is presumably a Western, secular, antireligious endeavor and, therefore, is not tailored to the Islamic way of life (Abu-Raiya et al., 2007).

Yet, a few challenges could rise in an attempt to apply this model of psychotherapy. First, as Dwairy (2009) argues, attempting to reveal unconscious content and promote self-actualization for clients from collectivistic cultures might lead to harsh confrontations between client and family. This is because most of the unconscious content in the minds of collectivistic people is forbidden content, rejected, and perhaps punishable according to the collective norms and values. Nonetheless, the fact that the unconscious content and self-actualization can be understood and formulated by Islamic Qura'nic terminology could lessen the resistance to the process, as well as reduce the possibility of confrontation between family and client. Second, effective models of psychotherapy provide a conceptual framework for understanding difficulties as well as some therapeutic techniques to be applied in the therapy setting. While the former is sufficiently provided by the Qura'nic dynamic model of psychotherapy, the latter is an area in need of further development. Finally, this model does not fit all clients and all therapists. It is likely to work best when delivered by dynamically oriented therapists to motivated, insight-oriented clients.

Concluding Remarks

There is a clear need for a culturally and religiously sensitive psychotherapy (Pargament, 2007; Richards & Bergin, 2005). On both theoretical and empirical grounds, it could be convincingly argued that religious and spiritual beliefs, practices and teachings should be addressed and integrated in the process of psychotherapy when working with spirituality inclined clients (Pargament & Saunders, 2007). By not doing so, psychotherapists could be doing disservice to their clients. The question is not any longer whether to address spirituality in psychotherapy; it is rather how this can be done.

This paper drew on the tenets of a Qura'nic theory of personality that has

been recently developed (Abu-Raiya, 2012, 2014) to suggest a dynamic model of psychotherapy that can be utilized while working with religious Muslim clients. Given the secular, and at times anti-religious stance characterizing the dynamic approach to psychotherapy, it might seem controversial to formulate a religiously based dynamic model of psychotherapy. Indeed, this is a bold, and somehow revolutionary, attempt. And yet, the Qura'n displays the human psyche as struggling with thorny conflicts. Hundreds of millions of Muslims across the world rely on the Qura'n as their most authorative source of knowledge, guidance, and value. Why then should psychotherapists not develop models of treatment that recognize and draw upon these bedrocks of thought and action in the Muslim world? Perhaps then it is time to give a Qura'nic dynamic model of psychotherapy a serious try.

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Spirituality And Religion In The Life Of Muslim And Islamist Prisoners: Egypt And The Uk As Case Studies

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Introduction

For many years, the radicalisation of individuals within prisons has featured significantly on policy and media agendas. Prisons have been popularly portrayed as incubators of radicalisation, whilst case studies of incarcerated individuals who have been radicalised in prison and go on to commit Islamist-linked terrorist offences have emerged. For example, in the UK Khalid Masood, the individual who drove his car at pedestrians on Westminster Bridge in London on March 22nd 2017, killing five people and injuring fifty, had converted to Islam whilst in prison. At the same time, individuals already radicalised and in prison for offences linked to terrorism continue to generate much attention due to the concern that these persons may radicalise other prisoners; moreover, how to work with and potentially rehabilitate such individuals is of growing concern.

Providing support and rehabilitation to prisoners who have committed acts of Islamist-linked terrorism, or acts linked to terrorism, is complex, not least because of the unique constellation of emotional, psychological, political and ideological factors that differs with each individual prisoner. Prisoners who have committed Islamist-linked terror crimes may be 'converts' to Islam, who may or may not have reverted whilst in prison; they may have little, if any, theological or religious knowledge or they may have studied Islam to a very sophisticated level. Prisoners may also blend theological

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and religious understanding with political ideology in varying and different ways; or they may simply be emotionally and psychologically motivated to commit terrorism without significant religious or political motivation. Furthermore, prisoners may draw on religious and other frameworks as a way of surviving the brutal conditions of imprisonment, and as a way of making meaning from their incarcerated existence. This raises the question of the significance of spirituality, where spirituality involves (amongst other things) 'making sense of life situations; deriving purpose of existence' (Swinton: 2001: 25 in Gilbert: 2013:33). For those prison officers, probation officers, psychologists, counsellors, mentors and others working with prisoners who have committed acts of Islamist-linked terrorism, or who are at risk of committing such crimes, the multi-dimensionality and uniqueness of every single person presents significant challenges.

Given the kinds of complexities alluded to above, thisarticle focusses specifically on the issue of supporting and rehabilitating Islamist prisoners, and those at risk of radicalisation within prisons, with a particular focus on spirituality and religion. Firstly, a review of some of the research literature around Islamist-linked violent extremism, and the role of religion and spirituality in relation to Muslim prisoners is presented, in order to highlight some of the key issues and questions that are raised. Secondly, psychological research is drawn on to explore religion and spirituality in the context of Islamist offenders' lives, and those deemed at risk of violent extremism, and their psycho-social needs. Thirdly, research from Egypt and the UK is presented in order to highlight some key issues concerning religion, spirituality and Muslim and/or Islamist prisoners. The authors present findings from research conducted in British and Egyptian jails. The interview data that the authors present in this section highlights that religion and spirituality can be key components to prisoners' survival and sense-making efforts.

Additionally, in the light of the dearth of research exploring spirituality and religion within prisons generally and in relation to Muslim prisoners and Islamists in particular, this paper will be primarily based on the findings of new imperical research carried out by El-Awa, between 2005 and 2018. It will then draw on some of the key research findings of a study that was carried out by Spalek, which was published in 2007.

Based on the findings of both studies, we argue that religion and spirituality have a positive role in the life of Muslim and Islamist prisoners, one

that has impacted significantly on their ability to survive and improve their lives in the most dire of condtions and it has also helped them reform their ideology in some cases.

1) Islamist Prisoners in Egypt [2]

Both in Egypt and the UK, there is a notable level of concern that the prison experience of Egyptian political activists can lead to extremism both violent and non-violent (Yasin, 2015 and Khayal, 2016). This section of the paper argues, on the basis of new empirical data, that despite the historical evidence that radicalisation took place among political prisoners in Egyptian prisons in the past[3], there is equally strong empirical evidence that with guidance of credible and trusted religious leadership, religion and spirituality have also played a significant role in mainstreaming former violent and non-violent radicals within the same prisons (El-Awa, Salwa (2006). It also shows that that religion in Egyptian prisons was not only used in the deradicalization process, but also as a tool of survival in very harsh prison conditions and maltreatment in the case of the prisoners covered in this study.

This part of the paper focusses specifically on the Egyptian context, presenting new empirical data that has never been published before. It is divided into three sections. In the first section, El-Awa outlines the fieldwork and data collection methodology, shedding light on the participants and the various stages of the research project. In the second section, El-Awa highlights some contextual information crucial to understanding the research participants' experience and perception of their religiocity. In the third and final section, El-Awa focuses on the most prevalent spiritual themes arising during the participants' prison experience, as they were expressed in the interviews, and traces them back to their sources in Islamic history and theology.

a) Research Data And Interviews

Here we set out some of the findings of field research conducted by the author in Egypt between 2005 and 2018. Collection of this research data involved

3   Radicalisation of the Qutbies and Mustafa Shukri while incarcerated in the nineteen sixties is a case in point here.

three stages of interviews and data gathering. The research interviews covered a wide range of issues pertaining to the radicalisation, imprisonment and deradicalization of Islamist activists in Egypt. The first stage was a small British Academy funded project in 2005. (British Academy Small Grant, 2005). The funding facilitated interviewing twenty individuals, including imprisoned and recently released Islamist leaders and Islamic groups founders, State Security officials and a small number of legal and academic experts in the field. It has also enabled the formation of a large database of newspaper archival material and led to establishing a wide network of contacts among Islamists circles and state security police. The second stage was in 2008-2010, building on the research network established in the first stage, and included interviewing 35 Islamists leaders and members of varied rank levels and from various Islamists groups, and their family members as well as many state security officials who worked closely with the imprisoned Islamists in various regions of the country. Data collection in the third stage, however, was on ad-hock basis and lasted for a number of years. It also has a slightly different focus, especially on how Islamic activism and the relation between Islamists and the State was changing as a result of political change taking place in Egypt at the time.

The majority of the interviews were with participants from the former military wing of an Islamic organisation known as *al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya* (Quintan, 2004). (the Islamic Group) (EIG, henceforth) which was 'one of the major actors in the movement [the Egyptian Islamic movement], one that organised social services, recruited members and had adherents in several of Egypt's towns and cities' (Hafiz and Wiktorowicz, 2004: 80). A few interviews were with other politically active Islamists, including Muslim Brotherhood (MB) organisational leaders, al-Wassat Party leaders, former members of the Islamic Jihad Group (*Jama'at al-Jihad al-Islami*) active in the eighties, young members of the MB and some young independent activists, particularly individuals who participated in the popular uprising of 2011 and the subsequent events. Approximately one hundred individuals were interviewed, some more than once. The data collection was in the form of semi-structured interviews that took place in various Egyptian cities, towns and villages including Cairo, Alexandria, Asyut, al-Menya, Suhag, al-Monofeya and al-Behera. The interviews were held in both formal and informal settings, sometimes in participants' offices or workplaces, where applicable, or their own houses and occasionally in the researcher's office. A few interviews were

held in the Egyptian state Security premises in Nasr City, Cairo, as those interviewees were still incarcerated and could not be interviewed in prison. In those cases, State Security officials facilitated the meetings but were not present during the interviews.

The approach to the interviews was reflexive in that new questions were always explored in each subsequent interview based on the findings of the previous one (Alvesson, 2003). Whenever possible, the same individual was interviewed more than once.[4] In some particular cases, data was collected over a number of interviews with the same individual who had allowed the researcher to accompany them for a few days and take notes or record those prolonged meetings.[5] Additionally, a focus group was held with a number of participants on certain aspects of the Group's theology and organisational structure in the past and present.[6] With participants' explicit verbal permission, the majority of the interviews were recorded and later transcribed. In very few cases, particularly with police officers, permission was not granted for recording, but notes were taken instead. Permission to quote the interviewees was also sought explicitly. However, for the participants' own personal safety, it was decided not to name the individuals in this paper. Instead, an anonymised reference to each participant (Participant 1, Participant 2 etc.) is being used. The dates and places in which the interviews were held will be mentioned in the relevant footnotes.

In addition to the interviews, unpublished EIG literature and recordings of their religious sermons and propaganda material, prison writings and artistic handcrafts produced while in prison were obtained during the field research. A large microfilm archive of old newspapers material on the violent Islamists activities and trials in the eighties and the nineties have also been obtained.

The discussion below is based on extracts from some of those interviews, supported by information encountered in other sources and juxtapositioned against the findings of previous published literature where available.

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4   For example, P 14 was interviewed three times in November 2008, P 2 was interviewed in 2005 and 2008, P 12 was interviewed several times in December 2008 and P 7 was interviewed several times in January 2009 and October 2018.
5   I accompanied Participant 12 for over two weeks (16.12.2008-05.01.2009) in Alexandria, spending full days at a time with him and his family at his home and work and accompanied Participant 2 and his family for four days at his house in Upper Egypt (21-24.04.2009).
6   Focus group on the ideological and organisational principle of *Sam' wa Ta'a* (Listening and Obedience) held on 25.02.2009 and attended P 22, P 1, P 7 and P 23.

b) Context to the Research Study

In the 1970s in Egypt, a number of Islamist opposition groups and social movements emerged aiming to achieve social and political reform. Organisations such as the MB used social and political activism while others such as *Tanzim al-Jihad* resorted to violent attacks against the state and symbols of the establishment. Some tried to combine both approaches. Groups such as EIG, the main subject of the present study, were formed of both militant and non-militant members, where the vast majority of the group were non-militant (El-Awa, 2006:85-86, 118 and Mawlana, 2018:44). The active militants, organised under the so-called 'militant wing', planned and executed violent attacks against individuals and organisations representing the State with the aim of hurting the State in its vital sources of income, and hence shaking and undermining its authority (interviews with P 3 on 11.07.2005, and P 4 on 20.07.2005). However, the entirety of the group, both militant and non-militant activists, were vocal in their opposition to the state and used a highly inflammatory discourse to undermine the State and recruit support within its local communities[7].

On the part of the State, those activities resulted in a widespread prosecution of both EIG members and sympathisers. Sometimes even reaching their family members and friends regardless of their level of support of the Group. The clampdown led to approximately tens of thousands of imprisonments and detentions (Ahmad, 2018), in most cases with no trial[8], or with controvertial marshal court trials[9].

Numerous official and non-official reports on the condition of Egyptian prisons at the time noted that this period was characterised by extremely harsh prison conditions, descried by some of this study's participants as 'concentration camps'[10]. All imprisoned interviewees described extreme living conditions, particularly in the nineties and the late eighties. This included lack of adequate food, which was often rotten and provided in very small amounts thrown on the floor without rather than served in plates, lack of clean clothes and drinking water - the main source of drinking water in

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7   See, for example, the writings of the group's spokesmen Ala' Muhyiddin, recordings of *khutbas* (Friday prayer sermons) from the mosques dominated by the EIG in the southern part of the country as well as various early writings by their ideologues that were circulated underground because their position could potentially lead to imprisonment.

8   Those were known as illegal detentions famous in Egypt in the 80s and 90s and documented in several human rights reports.

9   For example, *Tla'i' al-Fath* case in 1993, case 235/1997, Returnees from Albania (Case 8/1998).

10   Interview with P2, Cairo, 02.02.2005.

Abu Za'bal prison, was sewage water which prisoners "had to filter using several pieces of cotton till the brown colour of the water changed" before they could drink it[11]. Participants also described very crowded and very hot prison cells to the extent that prisoners had to take turns sleeping, sitting down and standing so that each could get some rest each day. The cells had no access to ventilation or windows in some cases[12]. Lack of other basic human needs such as medical care and toilets, strict visitation rules and lack of access to legal advice were also reported (El-Awa, 2006:140-144).

It is also worth noting that a large number of deaths during imprisonment were reported, the majority of which were attributed to negligence and lack of health care. Some of those cases found their way to opposition newspapers or courts of law, such as Abdul Harith Madani's case, but the vast majority went unheard (El-Awa, 2006:141).

The majority of prisoners associated with the EIG were not ordinary prisoners who had been tried and sentenced for criminal acts by a court. As such, it is important to understand two important characteristics about these individuals, which are essential explanations of the significant role religion played in their prison life. Firstly, these prisoners were imprisoned due to their politico-religious activism. It was their membership or association with members of a religious group that led to their imprisonment. This meant that the majority of them were religious by default. The others, who might not have been particularly religious prior to their imprisonment, were, by the sheer fact of their being in the same prison cell with a majority of religious individuals, exposed to high-intensity religious activity (including spiritual guidance and practice, acts of worship and religious education) which are an integral part of the Islamists' life as well as their daily routine in prison.

Secondly, Islamic activism, which is essentially a form of political opposition motivated or justified by means of an interpretation of religion, is often characterised by a significant intermingling of what is religious and what is political (Ayoob, 2004: 10), emphasised by the presence of various Qur'anic and historic references to 'ruling' according to what God sent down Q. 5:44 "…those who do not rule according to what God has sent down, they are the disbelievers" and following God, and the Prophet, and those in authority Q. 4:59 "You who believe, obey God and the Messenger, and those in authority among you" and finally the promise of victory for those who will follow the

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11   Interview with P 14, Cairo, 05.11.2008.
12   Intervie qith P 7, 07.01.2009.

religion when they have been established Q. 22:41 "those who, when we establish them in the land, they keep up the prayers, pay the prescribed alms, command what is right and forbid what is wrong: God controls the outcome of all events". (Ayoob, 2004).

Consequently, Islamist political activists perceive their activities as holy and religious. They refer to the text of the Qur'an or the tradition to seek justification of their acts and explanation of their life events (El-Awa, 2006: 126, 189). On the other hand, they see themselves as opposed to two different categories of prisoners, and they often refer to this difference in the interviews. These are criminal prisoners and non-Islamist activists who might have been imprisoned occasionally. Clearly, none of the two groups have a similar obvious association with religion as that of the Islamists and they would not necessarily think of themselves as religious individuals. This distinction is important for researchers looking to apply the findings of this study further. The role of religion in the prison life of someone who has been imprisoned because of their type of religiosity is likely to be clearer and more intensified than it is in the life of others who came to prison from different background and for different reasons. While religion was a source of support and self-assertion in the life of Islamist prisoners and a route for reformation, as will be shown below, it might not necessarily be so for others.

In accordance with the key tenet of '*wujub al-'amal al-gama'i* (the necessity of team/group work)(Mashur, 1998), political Islamist activists organise themselves in hierarchal groups with leaders and followers at various rank levels. This hierarchical organisational structure determines, to a large extent, how Islamists work and how individuals within the Islamic movement progress in their careers within the organisation, and hence the extent of their influence over their rank-and-file group members (Committee, 2016).

Islamists' life in prison in the eighties and nineties was organised in similar terms. The following diagram shows a typical structure of the EIG in any given prison.[13]

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13   Imprisoned members of EIG occupied a number of prisons north and south of the country. The high security prisons known to us through interviews included: al'Aqrab, Natrun 1, Naroun 2, al-Fayyum and al-Wadi al-Jadid. Minimum security prisons known to us through intrviews were, Tora, Mazra'at Tora, Mulhaq al-Mazra'a.

Diagram 1: EIG Organisational Structure in Prison

مسؤول عام السجن
General Leader in Prison

مسؤول تنفيذي السجن
Executive leader

مسؤول التربية Education leader	مسؤول اجتماعي Social leader	مسؤول علمي Learning leader	مسؤول طبي Medical leader	مسؤول الإعلام Media Leader	مسؤول الحسبة Manager

General Wards leaders

Executive Ward Leader

التربية Education	مسؤول اجتماعي Social	مسؤول علمي Scientific	مسؤول طبي Medical	مسؤول التعامل Communication	مسؤول الإعلام Media Leader

Room Leaders

Room Manager

مسؤول المطبخ Kitchen executive	مسؤول الترفيه والروضة Recreation executive	مسؤول طبي Medical executive	مسؤول علمي Learning executive	مسؤول الباب Door executive	مسؤول الفرش والنظافة Hygiene executive

The diagram shows a three-level structure of leadership, with each upper level almost identical to the lower level, but the lower the level the smaller the number of individuals under this leadership. Therefore, the prison executive rules over a larger number than the block executive does, who, in turn, rules over a larger number the cell executive rules over, and so on. But in all cases, higher level leaders of the group managed and organised the lives of the members who ranked below them. They were also considered religious and spiritual leaders whom lower rank members were obliged to follow and obey. In their turn, the leaders were responsible for the well-being of their followers. They counselled them at difficult times and organised wide-ranging and intensive religious education and worship programs. They also liaised with the prison authorities and advocated for the interests of their followers. They led the collective acts of worship such as *jama'a* prayers, Qur'an mem-

orisation circles and study circles. They planned the curriculum and wrote notes for the members to learn from (El-Awa, 2006:106, 111).

Religious leaders also took on the responsibility to care and support for their fellow members in the Group by reminding them of elements of their faith that would help them out of despair and lead them to answers when they had doubts. This took place during counselling provided regularly to those who were suffering. Participant 14, a young member of the group imprisoned at the age of 16 in Al-Wadi al-Gadid prison for 13 years, elaborates: [14]

"The prisoner's emotional state fluctuated often. Sometimes one or more prisoners in the room reached a state of dispaire and emotional exhaustion, due to various factors affecting their life inside. Those were situations that required intervention by other prisoners In the room or in the ward. Treatment of such case entailed first of all creating a buffer between the depressed prisoners and others in the room, to stop their state of mind from affecting everyone else. This would usually be a person close to the depressed prisoner, a friend or a spiritual leader. He would take close care of him and listen and talk to him to ease his feelings and guide him out of this state.

This also sometimes took the form of group work, that was assigned to the education excutives of the room and the ward. They would arrange days or weeks to talk about certain themes such as enduring pain for the good cause, the reward promised to the believers, the joy in being tested for the sake of God. Everything would be centered around those themes during those days, any Qur'an andy hadith even the nashids all focus on empowering the ones who are feeling weaker … and lifting their spirits by reinforcing the ideas of sabr (steadfastness) and reward that awaits those who are steadfast in the face of hardship."

However, exchange of support among the prisoners often transcended the ranks of the hirarchal structure. Participant 13, who is a second rank leader from the south, imprisoned for a total of 16 years, describes the religious counselling role and how it was played by everyone, not just the leaders, then he continues, describing his personal experience with counselling other prisoners:

"This was not only the role of the excutive or the room or ward leader. Everyone was fighting those emotional drops all the time. I used to find out that someone was depressed by observing their behaviour for a few consecutive days, when they show signs such as long silence and isolation, or through increased agitation or continuous complaining… I would then start talking to him ... reminding him of God and of his good days in the past and what he sacrificed for God.."

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14   P14, 12.11.2018.

Participant 7, who was placed in various prison for a total of 10 years, explains how he used to identify cases that needed psychological help when he was a Ward leader. He explained:

 "I would know them by signs such as turning their faces to the wall and back to the group, covering their head with their blanket for hours or restlessness during the night."

Those individuals would be assigned to other individuals, usually someone who they got on with well and who was of high spirituality and higher morale. They work with them gradually, keep them busy with religious, educational and practical tasks, provide them with counselling through discussions and help them with possible answers to their worries. We needed to consolidate their faith so that they can carry on.

Notably, second rank leaders also acted as the link between the group rank-and-file members and the Group's ideologues in teaching and persuading members to adhere to the new reformed ideology, hence deradicalizing the vast majority of the political EIG prisoners (Ibrahim et al, 2003:85).

This brotherly support extended to many aspects of the Islamist prisoners' life, including some forms of maltreatment. For example, random beating of all the prisoners in one cell with electricity cables, rods and hard wooden sticks, which took place on regular basis, according to many research participants, were faced by attempts to use one's body as a shield to protect the weaker and older prisoners rather than trying to self-protect. The technique, derived from the concept of '*ithar*' (altruism), a quality attributed only to the 'truly successful' believers *almuflihun* who give to others even if they are themselves in need (Q.59 :9). This attribute which is also crucial to Islamists' education and training (Qudama, 2002), meant focusing on someone else's problem and therefore transforming the negative experience of suppression and helplessness into one of strength and the ability to give.

Islamist prisoners in Egypt felt they were victims for various reasons, which could be summarised in the six demands that the EIG made of the state through various communication channels in the late Eighties and early Nineties, and on which, they made the end of their violence against the State and its representatives conditional (El-Awa, 2006:122-123) .

A famous speech by one of EIG's religious leaders, following the killing of the Alaa Muhyiddin, makes the complex connection between the Qur'anic reference to injujustice, the killing of the the Group's spokesman and the call

for retribution: "Rise! Rise to die for what your brother Alaa died for... Or do not ever hold a flag that says 'fight them to stop prosecution'[(Q.8:39)]".

Thus the Group's discourse at the time, as well as the interviews conducted in this study, show that a major part of its activism was about political and personal grievances. This aligns with the conclusion of many recent studies into the root causes of terrorism in general and EIG's violence in particular (Hafiz and Wictorowicz 2004: 80).

In addition to political opposition against what was perceived as a totalitarian regime, the 'illegal detention' added to the feelings of injustice and victimisation. Egyptian political prisoners, labelled by the official media as terrorists or 'members of Islamist terrorist groups', were often incarcerated for long periods, varying from 5 to 25 years, without trial, or following marshal law trials.

Injustice is an important Qur'anic theme in this context. Being a victim of injustice sanctions actions that would not normally be permissible in other circumstances. Q. 4:148 states that "God does not like bad words to be made public unless one has been wronged" and Q. 17:33 implies allowing the family of the murder victim to avenge within the limits of fairness. Both verses go to show that victimisation and injustice are seen in Islam as a basis for lenience and could be seen as acceptable justification for retribution. It is arguable then that their interpretation of such Qur'anic texts contributed to the activists' feeling that their oppression justified their resort to violence.

c) The Role Of Faith And Spirituality

Participants in the study were asked two questions that were often answered with reference to religion. These were a) What helped you survive the length of your years of imprisonment? and b) How did you survive the torture and maltreatment? The answers to these two questions show that religion and spirituality played a significant role in maintaining the morale of those prisoners through the harsh circumstances of their imprisonment. The majority of the former prisoner who were asked both or one of the two questions described an empowering religious or spiritual experience that helped them through. By analysing the answers to those two questions, a number of Islamic spiritual and religious themes arise as the main concepts used by prisoners to ease their feeling of injustice and keep them motivated and in a fairly good spirit and state of mind for the best parts of their time in prison.

Some participants stated in powerful terms that it was their knowledge that it was 'God's will' that put them behind bars that has helped them accept their situation. In response to a question on what helped him survive his sixteen years of imprisonment, Participant 6, a second rank religious leader in EIG, responds by saying:

> "*It was knowledge that this is the wish of the beloved. The beloved wishes me to be incarcerated, so I will live in prison happily. If the beloved wishes me to be in the outside, I will be equally happy too.*" (Cairo, 2010).

This perception corresponds with the Sufi notion of surrendering to the will of God, Him being the beloved in the participant's statement above. In his famous collection *al Hikam al-'Ta'iyya* (The 'Ata'i wisdom), Ibn 'Ata al-Sakandari, the prominent sunni Sufi philosopher, explains to the believer the Supreme will behind the unpleasant situations a believer finds him or herself in. "He made them harm you so that you would not resort to them. It is His will to cause you trouble with everything [other than Him], so that nothing distracts you from Him." (Sakandari, 1988:83). He [Allah or the Beloved] is the one one who chooses for the beliver what situations they should be in and it is always for a greater good, to help the believer get to higher degrees of knowing Him and surrendering to His will. Thus, the believer should surrender to His will and not ask for anything other than what God chose: "Do not ask Him to move you from a situation to use you in another - if He wanted you in another situation, he would have placed you there." (Sakandari, 1988:49). As "it would be the greatest blessing if He made you, on the outside, accepting of His will, and, on the inside, surrendered to his suppression [of your human will]" (Sakandari, 1988:65). It is the high degree of *'arif* (konwledgable) that a beliver reaches if he or she reaches this level of acceptance of their test: "The knowledgeable's hardship is never ending, and his will is never elsewhere other than with Allah" (Sakandari, 1988:63).

The notion of surrendering to God's will can be traced back to the Qur'an in numerous locations. For example, Q. 33:36 emphasises that believers should not think they have a choice to reject God's will. Also, Q 2:216 and Q. 8:24, both of which highlight the contrast between what might appear good to the individual but contrary to God's will, stress that God's choice is the best for the believer in this life and the hereafter. These notions also form an essential part of the belief system of Muslims, summed up in the 'belief in God's will both good and bad' as one of the six pillars of the Muslim faith

(Azim, 2005).

The second Islamic faith notion that had great influence on the moral stability and survival ability of the Islamist prisoners, is the notion of '*sabr*' (steadfastness, endurance or patience) and the reward promised to those who practice it, '*as-sabirin*'.   Both the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition place significant emphasis on *sabr*. There are 114 references to the word *sabr* and its derivatives in the Qur'an, most of which are verses encouraging believers to practise *sabr* and placing those who do a higher reward almost more than any other good-doer. *Sabr* is to be practised throughout a believer's life, but particularly through times of hardship ant test: "God does not deny anyone who is mindful of God and steadfast in adversity the rewards of those who do good" (Q 20:90).

In addition to practising *sabr* in the face of hardship, believers who have been persecuted because of their religion have been particularly addressed in the Qur'an and promised that God is going to be their defender and that He will grant them final victory over their opressors. A number of verses in Q.22 make this promise very powerfully: "God will defend the believers, for God dislikes the unfaithful and the ungrateful. God guarantees to those who have been persecuted (attacked) that they have been wronged and God has the power to help them (grant them victory). Those who have been driven unjustly from their homes for no sin other than saying: 'Our Lord is God'.. God is sure to help those who help His cause. God is strong and mighty" (Q. 22:38-40).

Not far from this notion is the concept of 'the test', to which believers, and indeed all humans, are exposed throughout their lives, repeated in various qur'anic sura, for example, (Q. 67:2) and (Q. 3:142). In the tradition, those who are closer to Allah are tested more than others, and the higher a person is in their piety, the harder their test: "The most tested people are the Prophets, then those who are closer to them and so on.. A person is tested according to his religion, if his religion is solid his test intensifies.." (Hajar, 1986).

The hardship of incarceration is therefore a simple test, and the stronger it is, the more *sabr* a believer needs to practise in order to gain the higher places in heaven that have been promised to those who have been tested and those who have endured their tests with patience and acceptance. Many of the poems and *nashid*s (religious songs) authored, memorised and sung repeatedly by Islamists prisoners, while encarcerated, reiterate those notions. For them, those were songs to be sung repeatedly, reminding them of their

reward, of why they were there and what they should hope for during their long and seemingly infinite waiting.

P 5, who was imprisoned at the age of 16 for thirteen years, talks about the help those religious songs provided him with througout his imprisonment: "I used to always sing this *nashid*. Also I would listen to a beautiful voice after Dawn prayer saying this verse: "Truly God's help is near" (Q. 2:214), then sing the *nashid* (below). I would not be able to go to sleep utill I have listened to this beautiful southern voice with his comforting words [so many times] till I feel that God's relief will open up from within those very words which had the greatest effect on me." [15]

يا صاحب الهم إن الهم منفرج   ابشر بخير فان الفارج الله

الله يحدث بعد العسر ميسرة   لا تجزعن فان الكاشف الله

إذا بليت فثق بالله و ارض به   إن الذي يكشف البلوى هو الله

Oh you who have so much worry.. worries will be gone

Be reassured.. God is the one who removes all hardship

God brings relief after hardship

Don't despair or God is the reliever..

If you have been tested, trust in God, and accept His will

It is he who will bring your test to an end.

The following are further examples of popular prison *nashid*s that were memorised and sung in many prisons. Their focus is on the same notion: those who are prosecuted for their religion are being tested, and should steadfast in order to be rewarded by God, who always fulfils his promise.

اقسمت بالله العظيم ستفرج

كل الشدائد والاسير سيخرج

هذا كتاب فى السماء مسطر

ان عندى للبلاء مخرج

I swear by God Almighty..
all the hardship will come to a good end
And the captive will end up free

---

15   Interview with P 5, Cairo on: 15.11.2008.

It is a fate written in heaven..

I (God) have a way out of the tests

And

الصبر زاد المؤمنين.. والنصر عقبي الصابرين

والقادر الجبار نعم العون إن عز المعين

إن عز المعين

Patience and endurance is the provision of the believers ..

Victory is the destiny of the patient

And the Almighty Able is the best support, when there is no other source

The incarcerated believers found solace also in remembrance of histories and stories of historic religious figures who suffered hardship and were unjustly persecuted. The Prophet Yusuf (Joseph) was one such example. To this day, MB members seek consolation in thinking of his long, unjust imprisonments at the hands of the Egyptian Pharaoh. The resemblance between imprisoned Islamists and Yusuf has been particularly pertinent in recent years before and after the imprisonment of President Mohammad Mursi upon his removal by a military coup led by a modern Egyptian ruler, General Sisi. In the metaphor, Morsi, who was also imprisoned several times during Mubarak's reign, resembles Yusuf, while Mubarak and General Sisi are the Pharaohs. Many EIG prisoners memorised surat Yusuf and sought reassurance in God's promises to the Prophet whose own brother attempted to kill him and who was imprisoned unjustly (Q. 12:6, 21, 56-57), and held on to hope because 'only the disbelievers lose hope in God's mercy' (Q. 12:87).

This is not an invention unique to this modern experience. Over a millennium ago the Qur'an instructed Prophet Muhammad and his followers to follow the example of previous prophets in practising patience: "Be steadfast like those messengers of firm resolve" (Q. 46:35). Although many theologians do not see Yusuf as one of the Prophets referred to in this verse, some Qur'an commentators do. Yousuf was certainly used in the Qur'an as an example of *sabr* in the face of injustice and prosecution. One whole sura was dedicated to his story of *sabr* followed by reward (Q.12).

Various faith communities that have been persecuted, tortured and eventually rewarded have also been used consciously by imprisoned Islamists as role models. These include *Ahl al-Ukhdud* (The Christians of Najran)

who were mentioned with reverence in (Q.85), Hajar, Prophet Ibrahim's wife who was left in the desert without food or water, and companions of the Prophet such as Bilal b. Rabah and Nusaiba b. Ka'b, who were tortured by the disbelievers of Mecca and who withstood their torture and were rewarded. Imprisoned believers often identified with and reminded oneanother of those historical characters, aspiring to maintain such high levels of *sabr*: endurance and patience with acceptance as practised by those idealised historical characters.

Dhikr was also an essential spiritual tool for Islamist prisoners. It is described as a highly spiritual and flexible voluntary type of Islamic worship that has healing and meditating propertiesa and effects as experienced by Muslims (Saniotis, 2015). It is famous as a sufi practice centred on repeted recitations of God's names and attributes, but nevertheless, it is far more widely practised in a variety of forms, other than the particular sufi form of '*halaqat dhikr*' (circles of remembrance).

In the following, I shed light on the effective role of two forms of *dhikr* that were used by Islamists in Egyptian prisons.

According to several participants, concentrating in repeated prayers (i.e. *dhikr*) helped them through the most difficult moments of maltreatment in prison. Participant 8, a man in his early twenties who was imprisoned and interrogated for three months in the aftermath of the military coup, described being hanged from the ceiling in an upside-down position for hours while being beaten and abused constantly. Focussing on continuously repeating zikr prayers such as '*astaghfiru-llah*' (I ask God for forgivness), '*alhamdu lillah*' (thank God), '*subhanallah*' (praise be to God), '*la ilaha illa Allah*' (no God but Allah) and '*Allahu Akbar*' (God is greater), and so on. has stopped him feeling the pain he was experiencing to the extent that, at some point, he was bleeding from a head injury sustained after being hit on the head with a hard weapon, but he could see the blood dripping without experiencing any fear or pain because he was focussing only on his intensive *dhikr*. (Egypt, 2014). Indeed, scholars such as (Saniotis, 2018:855) have concluded that psycho-physical distress may be reduced through the use of *dhikr. (Nurbaeti, 2015)* has also found that *dhikr* can be effective in reducing others forms of anxiety and physical pain such as the stress and pain of of labour.

Another way *dhikr* was used in prison was after dawn (*Fajr*) and before

sunset (*Maghrib*) prayers. Those are known as day and night *dhikr* (*adhkar al sabah wa almasa'*), commonly recited from a pocket-size booklet known as *Hisn al-Muslim* (the protections of the Muslim), (Wahf, 1969) or from leaflets entitled *adhkar as-sabah wa al-masa* (*dhikr*s of day and night) and are typically published as a charity and made available for free at mosques or sold at low price in Islamic bookshops in Egypt. *Dhikr*s of day and night are deemed by many devout Muslims to be important for protection from all forms of evil and maintaining good morale, and even a higher productivity, throughout the day.

Recitation of day and night *dhikr* twice daily can last anything from fifteen to ninety minutes at a time and was a permanent part of the daily life of Islamist prisoners, as it is an important part of their religious training outside the prison environment too. This could be performed individually or collectively but it was always observed, and the room excutive always reminded prisoners when the time came to do them. MB members usually did it collectively in groups or circles, following thir special group prayer known as '*du'a ar-rabita*' where the halqa or the group leader would say the *du'a* (individual prayer) for others to repeat after him, loudly or silently. This provided a very strong sense of unity and brotherly support. EIG followers did it individually following a reminder by the room excutive. Many participants believe that those prayers were a source of much comfort and a sprirtual protection mantra at the beginning of very hard days and nights.

2) Muslim prisoners in the UK

Spalek & El-Hassan (2007) interviewed a small number of Muslim converts in British jails, individuals who had converted to Islam whilst imprisoned. Spalek & El-Hassan (2007) found that new converts spoke about the support of other Muslim prisoners as being key to their conversion within prison, support in terms of how to follow the key tenets of Islam, for example:

> *Other prisoners were very supportive, taught me how to pray, taught me how to pray in Arabic, through the window they would shout and I'd write it down. They (other prisoners) would describe to me, like giving me leaflets.. 'read this'* (Spalek & El-Hassan: 2007:108).

The converts in this study also spoke about how Islam has helped them to deal with imprisonment:

> My cell mate in my last prison is white, a white guy from Brixton and he

took his shahadah about four or five months after me, and we prayed together every day, obviously on certain politics we differed, but we came to Islam, we educated each other . . . If we ever had an argument we'd pray together straightaway. Obviously when we were together, being locked in a cell we'd have some arguments but as soon as we did we just prayed together.

Listen, this living's not easy because like, there's like 20,000 prisoners in this whole prison and like you meet all kind of Tom, Dick and Harry, you know what I'm saying? And, at the end of the day, it helps me to cope and keep myself on the reality. . . it helps me to know what's wrong from right.

(Spalek & El-Hassan: 2007:109-110)

One inmate in Spalek & El-Hassan's study (2007) indicated that Islam helped him to complete his prison sentence, as it helped to structure his day, keeping him mentally and physically active:

The prayers five times a day that takes up most of your time during association, so

by the time you do your prayers, read the Qur'an the day's finished, so they make

the sentence fly by.

Another said:

When I came to Islam, when I've seen the Imam, I noticed the rules, you have to pray five times a day, you have to wash, you have to be clean, you have to watch your tongue, so to me that hit me as the rules of life'.

I think it's given me a lot of discipline . . . like let's say by chance I miss a prayer or something it will make me lazy, if I miss fajar (first prayer) I'll be lazy for the day so I won't be active but if I'm doing my prayers I will be doing my cell workout, I'll be keeping healthy, I'll be reading books, I'll be at home, when at home I used to be sitting around in my bed I'll be active now.

(Spalek & El-Hassan: 2007:109-110)

In terms of providing converts with a sense of belonging, one inmate in Spalek & El-Hassan's (2007) study argued that:

It's definitely a brotherhood in Islam . . . I did have a sense of belonging before but to belong to people that have the exact same beliefs as me that's more important cos obviously I know where I'm from, I mean I know my people in terms of

my country but they don't all believe in the same things as me and they don't even believe the same thing as each other but as Muslims we have an identity and we all believe in Allah, Mohammed.

(Spalek & El-Hassan: 2007:110)

The quotations presented above can be linked to Maslow's (1943; 1954) hierarchy of needs. It seems that in converting to Islam within British jails, these prisoners were satisfying some of their physical, emotional and psychological needs linked to safety, belongingness, and transcendence. These quotations highlight how religion can act as a mechanism through which not only to attain transcendence but also as a way of staying safe within a prison context and as a way of belonging to a group identity. Broadening our focus out to spirituality, by which we mean deriving purpose of existence (Swinton, 2001), the quotations suggest that conversion to Islam also enabled the prisoners to develop a heightened sense of purpose – they no longer viewed themselves as mere individuals who had done wrong things, but rather, they now saw themselves as being part of a larger collectivity linked to God and the inherent meanings that come from this belief, with the potential for redemption. The focus on religion and spirituality in the context of British jails raises the question of how well equipped practitioners are to work with these aspects. For example, how important, if at all, is it to be a Muslim when working with Islamist offenders or prisoners who have converted to Islam whilst in jail ?   How can and how do practitioners build trust with Muslim prisoners and how relevant are religion and/or spirituality in trust-building?

Islamist prisoners can explain the purpose of their actions through religion – some may regret any violence that they have committed, however, this regret does not extend to their religion and its teachings. This maybe because radicalised Islamists may have travelled to conflict zones where they have encountered supportive, non-violent, people who take care of them and who may draw on Islamic practices within their cultures. Islamist prisoners may view being in prison as an opportunity to practise their religion, as practising one's religious duty, and this will therefore impact on their ability to adjust to prison life and to make some sense out of this.

Indeed, Islamist prisoners interviewd after their release, stressed that they now miss the hilghy spiritual religious life they led in prison, where their time was free from the responsibilities and distractions of the daily life

on the outside. On the outside, they coud only lead less spiritual, and therefore more stressful life. And, as they leave prison and go back to their homes located remotely from each others', they miss the comfort of constantly being in the company of like-minded religious fellows, 'brothers', who understood their religious orientation and supported them.

Religious practices can actually structure everyday life in prison through praying five times a day, reading the Qu'ran, reciting Hadith and singing Nashid. These activities can help keep prisoners busy and can help them. Islamic practices may also help Muslim prisoners to externalise any distressing feelings they have in terms of isolation and hopelessness, anxiety or depression, through helping them to regulate emotional activation processes in their minds and bodies. A concept like *Tawakkul* is relevant here, which means returning to God when in distress, and this is frequently mentioned in the Qu'ran, the Sunna and the teachings of some of the great imams (see Ibn Taymiyyah: The Book of Faith).

a) Religion and Spirituality In Relation To Islamist-Linked Violent Extremism, And Muslim Prisoners

A large volume of research has been generated exploring pathways into, and out of, extremism and violent extremism. For the purposes of this article, the following definition of extremism will be used: 'the attitudes, beliefs and actions that condone, glorify or foment the use of violence as a means to a political, religious or ideological end' (Spalek & Davies: 2012: 356). There is also a substantial body of research on radicalisation and de-radicalisation (Thornton, 2015), with Kundnani (2012) arguing that experts and policy makers use the term radicalisation when exploring the causes of terrorism. As the focus of this article is on working spiritually and religiously with Islamists and Muslim prisoners deemed at risk of radicalisation, it is related to de-radicalisation research, because working with Islamists can include an element of de-radicalisation. De-radicalisation can include working with individuals in order to influence their behaviours and attitudes so that they are less likely to commit acts of violence; it can also include supporting individuals to leave extremist organisations (Rabasa 2011). Measures of success in de-radicalisation programmes are notoriously nebulous (Romaniuk & Fink, 2012) and this article will not be engaging in debates around success.

Islamist-linked violence has generated particular research and policy fo-

cus due to the volume and intensity of terror attacks, particularly those committed by so-called 'homegrown terrorists' (Briggs et al. 2006). The research points to multiple pathways in and out of extremism and violent extremism, with many factors associated with vulnerability, including identity and belongingness, social injustice and foreign policy, exclusion and discrimination, amongst others. Researchers have also explored some of the political, religious and ideological motivations behind terrorism, illustrating the complexity of Islamist and indeed other types of violence (Bigo & Bonelli, 2008).

Muslim prisoners have generated considerable policy and media attention, particularly those prisoners who convert to Islam whilst incarcerated (Spalek & El-Hassan, 2007). This is because of a significant number of terror attacks having been committed by converts and by those who converted whilst in jail. However, there is not much research exploring religion and spirituality in relation to Muslim prisoners, where spirituality might be considered to be 'making sense of life situations; deriving purpose of existence' (Swinton: 2001: 25 in Gilbert: 2013:33).

Key research studies include those by Beckford (2003), Zoummeroff & Guibert (2006), Spalek and El-Hassan (2007), Gilliat-Ray et al. (2013) and Khosrokhavar (2017) and these will briefly be presented here. Beckford's (2003) study looked at prison chaplaincy in relation to the religious and other needs of Muslim prisoners in Britain. The study acknowledged that a significant number of the prisoners taking part were Black Caribbean converts. The study also highlighted that there were problems and prisoner complaints about issues such as inadequate facilities or the inauthenticity of particular foods, and prison officers can be overtly or covertly prejudiced against minority faith groups (Beckford 2003). Guibert's (2006) study found that some Islamist prisoners may enjoy respect from other prisoners and material advantages, with prisoners giving these individuals gifts and commodities (Guibert, 2006). Spalek and El-Hassan's (2007) study explored conversion to Islam inside two British jails. The study found that for those prisoners who were interviewed, Islam provided them with a moral framework from which to rebuild their lives. Islam was found to be a coping mechanism for these prisoners, who spoke about how their newly acquired faith had enabled them to cope more positively with the prison environment, reducing their

motivation to use aggression and violence. Interestingly, a study exploring Muslim chaplaincy in prisons in the UK by Gilliat-Ray et al. (2013) illustrated that Muslim chaplains are not only leading prayers, providing sermons and drawing on religious rulings in prisons, but they are also significantly involved in working with prisoners to meet their spiritual and moral needs. Khosrokhavar's (2017) recent study of Muslim prisoners in French prisons reveals that there are degrading and violent conditions inside French jails, and that prisons can be a significant recruiting tool for violent jihadists. The prison statistics in the UK show that there has been a year on year increase in the number of prisoners incarcerated for terrorist or extremist offences, from under 100 in 2010 being held having been convicted of, or on remand for, terrorism-related offences; to 183 prisoners on 31st March 2017. Of these 183 prisoners, 57% (105) defined themselves as Asian or Asian British and 21% (38) as White. The majority of prisoners (90%) in custody for terrorism-related crimes on 31st March 2017 defined themselves as Muslim, with 5% (9) defining themselves as Christian (Allen & Dempsey: 2018: 23-24). At the moment the British carceral system disperses terrorism convicts across six maximum security jails, and these individuals are regularly transferred between these institutions to prevent them from building close relationships with other inmates.

Clearly, prison settings are spaces where radicalisation and recruitment into violent jihadist groups can take place. How to prevent prisoners from becoming radicalised within prison settings, and how to rehabilitate prisoners who have committed acts of terrorism, or terrorism-linked offences, are significant policy and practice-based issues. At the same time, prisons provide the opportunity for de-radicalisation, given that they are spaces that are contained, allowing inmates to focus on rehabilitation, education, developing an increased self-awareness and so forth. How to work effectively with such prisoners and the space for spirituality and religion in any rehabilitative or supportive work is rarely addressed within research, whether this involves counselling, mentoring, education or chaplaincy. The next section looks at spirituality and religion in the context of Islamist-linked terror offenders' lives and those deemed at risk of violent extremism, and their psycho-social needs, as a way of beginning to explore the potential impor-

tance of spirituality and religion when working with Islamist prisoners and prisoners at risk of being radicalised whilst in jail.

B) Exploring Religion And Spirituality In The Context Of Islamist Offenders' Lives And Their Psycho-Social Needs

According to Swinton (2001), spirituality might be thought of as consisting of the following five features: meaning – making sense of life; values – beliefs and standards that are cherished; transcendence – experience and appreciation of a dimension beyond the self; connecting – relationships with self, others, God/higher power and the environment; becoming – an unfolding of life that demands reflection and experience (in Gilbert: 2013: 33). Spirituality can include religion, as religions contain spiritual traditions, where religion is a framework encompassing rituals, narratives, doctrine, symbols, rites and gatherings (Gilbert, 2013). Spirituality can also be exclusive of any religious tradition, and in this sense can perhaps be viewed as shared human experience (Farias & Hense, 2008).

Within debates around pathways to radicalisation, there has been an exploration of individuals' conscious and unconscious drives. The research within this field suggests that issues around identity, belongingness, seeking adventure, seeking change and group dynamics are relevant in terms of understanding pathways into and out from extremism and violent extremism (Bigo & Bonelli, 2008). These aspects to radicalisation can be linked to the work of Maslow who, in 1943, argued that human beings are driven by various biological and psychological needs. It is these needs that motivate us to act upon our World, which include biological and physiological needs; safety needs; needs in relation to love and belongingness; needs associated with esteem, feeling valued by others; cognitive needs in terms of creating meaning; aesthetic needs for beauty; needs around self-actualisation, to realise our full potential; and needs associated with transcendence which can include pursuing various political, religious and other ideologies and belief systems (Maslow, 1943; 1954). Maslow's (1943, 1954) approach has been termed humanistic, in that it stresses looking at individuals holistically, not just through any one particular lens. Humanistic approaches within counselling and psychology also stress the uniqueness of every individual human being, their creativity and their agency.

We can think about approaching individuals who have engaged in, or

who are at risk of, violent extremism humanistically, which would include a focus on spirituality and religion (amongst other factors) as comprising some of the basic needs of offenders and would-be offenders and implications for practice. Ali (2015) argues that when mentoring those deemed at risk of violent extremism it is important to distinguish between religious, emotional, political and ideological motivations concerning radicalisation. Ali (2015) argues that a neo-Socratic approach can be used whereby the underlying normative assumptions lying behind religious, political and other ideological beliefs can be explored and challenged. Exploration and challenge are interesting aspects to de-radicalisation, since research suggests that those individuals who are extremist tend to have very rigid, 'us' and 'them' thinking (Davis, 2008). Thus, Socratic dialogue can perhaps raise individuals' awareness of their thinking styles and can help them to develop more critical thinking skills where they become more comfortable with viewing complexities. Therapeutically this links to cognitive-behavioural therapies (CBT) alongside person-centred, humanistic approaches. CBT-based practitioners often distinguish between the content and the pattern of thoughts (Wilding & Milne, 2008; Briers, 2009; Greenberger & Padesky, 2015). It may be that supporting Islamist prisoners or those deemed at risk of radicalisation in jails can involve a CBT-based element, through raising individuals' awareness of their own at times unhelpful or rigid thinking patterns, such as all-or-nothing thinking – thinking in totalities rather than in shades; catastrophising – expecting the worst case scenario; or filtering – focussing on the one negative aspect to a situation or issue, ignoring positive aspects (Greenberger & Padesky, 2015). The content of thinking can also be explored and challenged. It might be that those deemed extremist can begin to see that their thoughts and the ideologies that they follow are simply perspectives with no one necessary truth. This can be deeply troubling initially for a person, and may take time. Within person-centred approaches, trying to understand a client's worldview is central (Rogers, 1961). Working with radicalised individuals through a person-centred modality therefore involves giving them time to articulate their thoughts, their experiences and sensations. In Rogers' (1961: 108) opinion, underpinning people's experiences and life challenges are three key thoughts: *Who am I really ? How can I get in touch with this real self, underlying all my surface behaviour ? How can I become myself ?* There is much to be taken from these perspectives. The integration of a CBT with a person-centred approach can help practitioners to work at

the religious and spiritual level. The significance of religion and spirituality is particularly apparent when considering research that has been undertaken with Muslim converts in prison and with Islamist detainees.

Conclusion

This paper has looked at the significance and the role of religion and spirituality in relation to Islamists and those deemed at risk of radicalisation in prisons. In particular, the UK and Egypt have been focussed on. The authors have argued that religion and spirituality can aid prisoners' experience of prison conditions and can also be linked to their identity, belongingness and other emotional and psychological needs that Maslow has identified. In the Egyptian Islamists that were interviewed, it seems that the experience of religion and spirituality has been a highly positive one. It was a route to self-reform and was key to maintaining a positive perception and productive existence within what is a rather negative experience meant to destroy them morally (by destroying their ideology) and physically (by maltreatment and severe hardship).

In the UK context, research data highlights that religion and spirituality can be key components to prisoners' survival and sense-making.

The two experiences by individuals from very different backgrounds are largely similar and reinforce the idea that religion and spirituality can be utilised in many ways that would benefit imprisoned religious individuals, particularly when the religious life of those prisoners is guided and supported by credible and trusted religious leaders.

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Prison Chaplaincy and its Institutional and Legal Status in the Slovak Republic

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Introduction

History of chaplaincy in prisons is associated with the history of spiritual services in public institutions in general. Provisions of the Slovak constitutional law are contained in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic[2], and in the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, which is, according to the Constitution, a part of the constitutional order of the Slovak Republic (Moravčíková, 2015). The chaplaincy in public institutions is not mentioned in the Constitution.

The possibility to conclude agreements with the State was granted to churches and religious societies by Act 394/2000 Coll. amending Act 308/1991 Coll. on the Freedom of Belief and the Position of Churches and Religious Societies (Šmid, 2001). The Catholic Church and eleven other registered churches made use of this possibility. An important highlight in the Slovak church policy was the adoption of the *Basic Treaty between the Holy See and the Slovak Republic no 326/2001 Coll.* On 11 April 2002 the President signed the *Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Registered Churches and Religious Societies in the Slovak Republic No 250/2002 Coll*, which had been granted prior consent by the Government and the National Council. Although of different nature, the wording of this Agreement is almost identical with the Basic Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See. The Basic

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2   Act No 460/1992 Coll.

Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See has settled, *inter alia*, that the parties would conclude four other partial treaties. The first one, the *Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See on Pastoral Care for Catholic Believers in the Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic no 648/2002 Coll.*, came into force on 27 November 2002 (Šmid, 2001). Almost identical is the *Agreement between the Slovak Republic and Registered Churches and Religious Societies on Pastoral Care for Believers in Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic no 270/2005 Coll.* In addition, *The Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See on Catholic Upbringing and Education no 394/2004 Coll.* and the *Agreement between the Slovak Republic and Registered Churches and Religious Societies on Religious Upbringing and Education no 395/2004 Coll.* were made. Principal questions of status and activities of churches and religious societies in the Slovak Republic are regulated by *Act 308/1991 Coll. on the Freedom of Belief and the Position of Churches and Religious Societies as subsequently amended*. The law does not contain the definition of the religion or spiritual. Pursuant to section 7 of this Act, persons carrying out the spiritual activities perform these with the commission of churches and religious societies according to their internal regulations and generally binding regulations[3]. The churches themselves assess the competence of persons to perform their spiritual activities and, accordingly, determine their classification. In accordance with their internal regulations, religious and religious leaders are appointed to function, possibly even for a particular territorial area. The Slovak Republic guarantees the inviolability of holy places, which are in accordance with the Canon law intended for religious acts. Under the inviolability of a sacred place, the Parties understand the protection of this place by preventing its use for purposes other than those it serves in accordance with Canon law, and to prevent the violation of its dignity.[4]

1) The Legal Framework and Its Effects

Religious assistance in public institutions in the Slovak Republic is organized by churches and religious societies in cooperation by the State (Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Affairs and Family) and public institutions (Gyuri, 2010).

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3   Labour Code no 311/2001 Coll. as amended.
4   Article 5, Basic Treaty between the Holy See and the Slovak Republic, and Article 5, Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Registered Churches and Religious Societies in the Slovak Republic.

According to Basic Treaty between the Holy See and the Slovak Republic, Article 5, The Catholic Church has the right to perform apostolic missions, particularly liturgical rites and religious practices, to proclaim and teach Catholic doctrine. According to Article 14, the Catholic Church has the right to perform pastoral service in the armed forces and police corps. Armed forces officers and police officers have the right to participate in worship services on Sundays and days of religious holidays, unless this is inconsistent with the fulfilment of serious duties. They may participate in other religious rites at the time of employment, with the consent of the relevant service body. According to Article 15, the Catholic Church has the right to perform pastoral care for the faithful in the institutions of detention and in the correctional institutions. As the Article 16 reads, the Catholic Church has the right to develop activity of a pastoral and spiritual nature, and religious training and upbringing in all formative state institutions, educational and medical institutions, state institutions providing social services, including those used for obligatory institutional education, and for the care and social reinstatement of drug dependent persons, in accordance with conditions agreed between the Catholic Church and the respective institution. The Republic of Slovakia will ensure that conditions are fit for the exercising of this right. Persons who are under the care of these institutions have the right to participate in the Mass on Sundays and on days of obligation and are granted the liberty to fulfil all religious acts. Nearly identical provisions can be found in the Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Registered Churches and Religious Societies in the Slovak Republic. The *Act no 308/1991 Coll. on the Freedom of Belief and the Position of Churches and Religious Societies* in its section 9 reads: "Persons appointed to carry out clerical activities have the right to enter buildings of public social care and health care establishments and homes for children, as well as buildings designed to accommodate military units and provide detention or imprisonment, and places of mandatory curative treatment and protective education. Churches and religious societies shall, in absence of rules applying to the entry of such buildings and/or places under generally binding regulations, negotiate such rules with the respective establishments and/or units. All persons in such buildings and/or places have the right, particularly in cases endangering life and health, to spiritual service usually provided by a cleric of their own choice. In addition, they are entitled to keep spiritual and religious literature of their own choice." Sacral premises, especially chapels and pastoral centres are built

according to the rules of churches and religious societies and in line with the rules which are followed by the public institutions concerned. In general, we can say that the organisation of the service of chaplains in public institutions is carried out by churches which seek to constructively cooperate with the State and public organisations (Čeplíková, 2011).

2) The Chaplaincy in the Armed Forces and Armed Units

The prison chaplaincy is a part of the spiritual service in Armed forces. Armed forces are the Army of the Slovak Republic and armed units are Police Corps, Fire and Rescue Corps, and the Unit of Penitentiary Guard. In the modern history of the Slovak Republic, the service of clerics in the Armed forces began only in 1994; a year after the Slovak Republic was established. In the same year, two clerics started carrying out their activities at the Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic: one was appointed by the Slovak Bishops´ Conference and the other was appointed by the Ecumenical Council of Churches. A year later, a common Office for Military Clerics was set up with the Ministry of Defence; the Office started its activity on 1 February 1995. Systemized vacancies for military clerics were created in the General Staff of the Slovak Army, commands of corps and in the military universities. Organisationally, the military clerics were subject to the relevant commanding officer, professionally to the director of the Office for Military Clerics irrespective of confession. As the concept defined, the military clerics were to perform their activities in the spirit of ecumenism and respect for other religious tradition. Care for soldiers of other religious orientation was to be ensured individually and in cooperation with representatives of the relevant church. The main role of the Office of Military Clerics was to fill systemized vacancies in the Department of Defence and prepare clerics for such mission. When the *Basic Treaty between the Holy See and the Slovak Republic* was adopted, in which the parties agreed to enter into a partial agreement on the service of clerics in the armed forces, its preparation started almost immediately. On 28 November 2002 the *Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See on Pastoral Care for Catholic Believers in the Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic* was ratified. On the basis of the *Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See on Pastoral Care for Catholic Believers in the Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic no 648/2002 Coll.*, in January 2003 the *Ordinariate of Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic* was established, having

the status of a diocese, and the Ordinary was appointed on 1 March 2003, having the status of a bishop. The Ordinariate has both canonical and state legal subjectivity. The Ordinary is appointed by the Holy See, he is member of the Bishops´ Conference of Slovakia and organisationally is included in the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic. (Ujlacký, 2013). The Treaty regulates the pastoral care for Catholics in Armed Forces, Police Corps, in the Unit of Penitentiary Guard and Railway Guards, and for persons deprived of freedom by a decision of a State authority. Similar is the *Agreement between the Slovak Republic and Registered Churches and Religious Societies on Pastoral Care for Believers in Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic No. 270/2005 Coll. The Centre of the Ecumenical Pastoral Service in the Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic* was officially opened by ceremony services on 10 March 2007. It is the supreme body of the second structure of pastoral care in the armed forces and armed units and a parallel structure of the Ordinariate. Both structures are financed by the State (Ujlacký, 2010). The chaplains of the Ordinariate of Armed Forces and Armed Units are the clerics of the Roman-Catholic Church and Greek-Catholic Church. The priests of the Ordinariate are in the service in the individual units of the armed forces, armed units and rescue corps and respect the regulations corresponding to their service class. Legal status of the clerics of the Ordinariate is guaranteed by Canon law, laws of the Apostolic Constitution "Spirituali militum curae", Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See on Pastoral Care for Catholic Believers in the Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic and applicable laws of the Slovak Republic, fully respecting their special clerical status. The military clerics may not be charged with duties which would be in contradiction with their service performance. The clerics of the Ordinariate may not have service weapons, they may not carry them nor use them.[5] The Ordinary appoints the clerics to the service and offices in the Ordinariate according to the rules of the Canon law. Such appointed clerics are accepted to the service relationship and offices by relevant service superiors in the armed forces, armed units or rescue corps.[6] The Ordinariate has tree vicariates: Vicariate for the Armed Forces, Vicariate for the Ministry of Interior and the Vicariate for the Unit of Penitentiary Guard. Currently, the Slovak Bishops´ Conference is involved in intense discussions with the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Interior about the exercise of rights resulting from the *Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See on Pastoral Care for*

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5   Article 27, Statute of the Ordinariate of Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak republic.
6   Article 22, Statute of the Ordinariate of Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak republic.

Catholic Believers in the Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic.

The Centre of the Ecumenical Pastoral Service covers activities of several churches. By percentage, the number of the clerics of individual churches is as follows: 49% Lutherans, 20% Reformed Christian Church, 15% Orthodox Church, 2% Methodists, 2% clerics of Brethren Church, 2% Baptists, 2% Old Catholics, 2% Hussite Church, 2% Jewish Communities. Likewise the Ordinariate, it has three offices according to the competence: Office of the Ecumenical Pastoral Service in the Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic, Office of the Ecumenical Pastoral Service of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, and Office of the Ecumenical Pastoral Service of the Unit of Penitentiary Guard. The clerics of the Centre are obliged to perform the service in the spirit of ecumenism irrespective of their confessional affiliation. The Centre is led by General Pastor appointed by the Ecumenical Council of Churches. General Pastor decides about the acceptance, reassignment or removal of the clerics, according to internal rules of the churches and religious societies involved. Pastors who perform pastoral service in the armed forces and armed units have the rights and obligations defined by internal rules of their churches and competences of the Centre and are in the service employment relationship of the armed forces and armed units. Chaplains hold ranks of officers in line with the positions within the armed forces.

3) The Chaplaincy in the Penitentiaries

The legal basis for the operation of chaplains in the penitentiaries *are Basic Treaty between the Holy See and the Slovak Republic (*Article 15)*, Act no 308/1991 Coll. on the Freedom of Belief and the Position of Churches and Religious Societies*, Article 9, *Agreement between the Slovak Republic and the Registered Churches and Religious Societies in the Slovak Republic*, (Article 15), *Treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Holy See on Pastoral Care for Catholic Believers in the Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic* and *Agreement between the Slovak Republic and Registered Churches and Religious Societies on Pastoral Care for Believers in Armed Forces and Armed Units of the Slovak Republic*. As part of the church administration, the Vicariate of the Unit of Penitentiary Guard and the Centre of the Ecumenical Pastoral Service of the Unit of Penitentiary Guard have been established. The Vicariate is divided in deaneries and parishes, in line with the Canon law (Němec, 2010). The organisational structure

of the Centre is identical with the one of those institutions where prison pastors perform their activities. Chaplains hold ranks of officers in line with the positions within the armed forces. The Treaty and the Agreement established status of chaplains, the inviolability of the person and the handling of information of a personal and discrete nature or of a confessional secret. The treaty also stipulated the economic security of the clergy and the performance of the cult via State budged via budget of the Ministry of Interior (Šabo, 2013). The advantage of signing the Treaty and the Agreement are clear rules for the State and the churches too, to provide spiritual services in the prisons. An advantage for churches is the provision of regular spiritual care for their believers in these institutions as well as for persons deprived of their liberty by the decision of the state authority. Those registered churches that did not come to the agreements must count on the constraints that arise from the adaptation of spiritual activity to their believers running of the institutes for the execution of custody and execution of the prison sentence, adaptation to the daily regime of convicted persons, which are not, however, obliged to inform the responsible officers as it is not a publicly available fact. Recently, attempts by unregistered religious societies and other organizations to carry out spiritual care for convicts have been increasing. They have the legal status of a civic association that cannot primarily carry out spiritual care (under the paragraph 1 (3) c, Act No 83/1990 Coll. on Civic Associations). Therefore, they offer various trainings and lectures. It is the task of those who are responsible to consider very carefully whether to allow such associations to enter into custody and imprisonment, as these need to have a positive educational impact on convicts, which is often very problematic to prove. It is also important to ensure that the convicted person is properly informed about what association they are in order to avoid misleading questions about faith and morals. Another problem is the possibility of unquestionable but unregistered religious organizations such as Islamic organizations to provide the pastoral care for their believers (Šabo, 2014).

Conclusion

The role of Law is to protect the freedom of people. Freedom of thought, conscience and religion as basic human rights must are in the center of our interest. The role of Law is not only to protect the freedom of people fairly and reasonably, but also to protect and promote values. Religion is not only

a conservator of values, but also a promoter and a teacher, via religious leaders, priests, chaplains. It is the role of the State to create effective tools for the pastoral work of religious organizations in public life. The legal framework is one of the most effective instruments for operating of religious organizations in public institutions.

State–Church relations in the Slovak Republic can be evaluated as a relation of partnership and cooperation. It is manifested in many areas of public life, including prisons and other public institutions. Significantly contributing to these relations are treaties between the State and the churches and religious societies. In the future we may expect growing interest in religious or ideological issues and legal regulation of the presence of religion in public sphere.

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Spiritual Counseling and Guidance in Healthcare Institutions for Disabled Foreigners with Different Religious, Ethnic and Cultural Identities

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Introduction

The necessity and importance of spiritual counseling and guidance for individuals with different religious, ethnic, and cultural identities in healthcare institutions was examined through a study using qualitative methodology. The participants were asylum seekers, refugees, and individuals who came for necessary treatments for health and who were guests of the host country during treatment. In this study, the concept of foreign disabled persons was used to refer to people who had migrated for compulsory reasons. In this respect, this research focuses on individuals whose identities differ from those of the indigenous population. In this text, the participants are referred to as "IDPs with disabilities" and sometimes as "foreign disabled persons." These two concepts are intended to convey the same meaning; they both refer to disabled people in Turkey who fled the Syrian war.

1. Information on Disabled Refugees

The fact that there are wars in many countries, especially in the Middle East, suggests that we can call the present time period a "war era." And warring countries affect their neighbors. For example, Turkey shares its southern border with Iraq and Syria, two countries recently undergoing wars that

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have affected Turkey socially, culturally, psychologically, and economically. Moreover, the consequences of the wars in these two countries have been felt in many countries around the world. For example, refugee crises emerge, which requires great amounts of support funds by the nations socially affected by refugee migration, which stretches the economies of those nations. Terrorist groups have also spread out to other countries from the locations from which they originated, making other parts of the world less secure and at greater risk.

The number of forcibly displaced people worldwide appears to be over 68 million (UNHCR, 2018). We can estimate the number of disabled people in the general population examining the approximate number of disabled foreigners in various countries around the world. UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) -BM (United Nations) suggests that a number of 2.3 million to 3.3 million disabled refugees is an approximate estimate. (UNHCR, 2018). It is estimated 1/3 of disabled people are children.

The International Disability Alliance, which aims to promote the rights of the disabled across the UN, states that the number of people with disabilities is around 9.3 million (International Disability Alliance, 2018). Similar figures appear in the published estimates by WHO (World Health Organization 2011). According to this information, %15 of the world population consists of individuals with disabilities.

2. Risks Awaiting Disabled Foreigners

Refugees are forced to settle as foreigners in a new country. Being a refugee means being disadvantaged in social life. There are priorities among refugee groups, such as those who are disabled, women, the elderly, and children. The present study consisted of individuals who were disregarded in the world's refugee communities and not provided with enough opportunities. There is no detailed database on disabled refugees globally that indicates their location, where they are concentrated, and the details about the obstacles they face. This is a deficiency to be overcome (International Disability Alliance, 2018).

Disabled foreigners, most of whom are women, elderly, and children are often exposed to a variety of economic, social, and psychological threats. In particular, the dangers awaiting them include exclusion, violence, illness, sexual abuse, gender-based violence, and the lack of access to adequate as-

sistance to the degree attained by other refugees (International Disability Alliance, 2018).

3. Priority Needs of Forcibly and Displaced Disabled Persons

It has been stated that the risk of death for persons with disabilities during war or any other disaster is greater than that for the normal population. The Global Refugee Agreement emphasizes that the plight of disabled refugees is insufficient in terms of survival, housing, and other primary needs. In particular, in times of war and disaster, people with disabilities are a riskier group to move from one place to another in order to access health services. Also, for the individuals in question, toilet facilities, clean water, and other personal hygiene and nutrition needs are at a relatively greater risk of not being satisfactorily met (Griffo & Falavigna, 2017). Griffo and Falavigna (2017), in their report titled *the Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in the Global Refugee Agreement*, state that disabled refugees remain in the camps for months without adequate nutrition and hygiene. Therefore, they argue that the priority needs of disabled refugees are food, health, and shelter, and secondly a provision to serve other needs.

Disabled refugees are seen as hidden victims of war. They are "the invisibles" in comparison to the other refugees. This is evident in the study entitled "Hidden victims of Syrian Crisis", published in 2014 by HelpAge and Handicap. Further, Italian DPO and FISH conducted research in 2015 on disabled refugees by collecting data that concerned "Migrants and Disability: Invisible in the Emergency", which indicated that a priority should be to see individuals with disabilities as full humans and focus on their problems.

4. METHOD

5. Research Model

In this study, spiritual counseling and guidance services for people who were victims of war in their original country and who were disabled, needed to be provided in healthcare institutions that reflected a different ethnic and cultural identity. The study examined the needs of foreigners with disabilities and whether there was a need to provide spiritual support services while the participants were receiving regular health and care services. In this study, qualitative research was done to examine data from semi-structured

interviews and observation methods, each applied within a case study format. The case study depicts a situation in a real life, collects data through observations and interviews, describes the situation in question, and sets out the themes that will express the it (Creswell, 2013; Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011). Case studies include description, explanation, and evaluation (Ünlüer, 2010).

The aim of this study was to determine what the needs of foreign victims disabled in war are, in terms of spiritual counseling and guidance. Specific questions were asked to them in order to understand their needs, problems, and reasons for participating. These questions were about their thoughts about spiritual counseling and guidance (SCG), the reasons for SCG, and how SCG can be done. The questions were intended to make them make a judgment by making a case about SCG with their answers.

6. Research Participants

This working group was comprised of 8 adults who were disabled due to the war in Syria and who had emigrated to Turkey after their injuries. It consisted of 6 men and 2 women. Seven of them lived in Istanbul and 1 in Sanliurfa. All participants were between 24-52 years of age. Each participant granted permission orally and in writing to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted with 6 people at the disability refugee association and the other 2 people were interviewed online. When writing the research, they were asked whether they wanted their real names or another name used. Four participants wanted their name used; the other four were named with two letters.

7. Data Collection

Questions were prepared by the researcher for use in the semi-structured interviews conducted in this study. The questions were first presented to the field experts. In the light of their recommendations, deficiencies in the questions were eliminated and the questionnaire was finalized.

All interviewees volunteered to participate in the study. All interviews were recorded. They were held in September 2018. The interviews conducted in Arabic, as that was the participants' native language. Before any questions were asked, the aim of the study and necessary information about the researcher were explained. At a later stage, when the answers given in Arabic were translated into Turkish, confirmation of the accuracy of the translation was obtained from a native Arabic speaker.

8. Data Analysis

The data obtained from the interviews were subject to inductive analysis. In order to perform the analysis, the data were first translated from Arabic to Turkish. The data were transferred from audio files to word files. The castings obtained were read several times. Then coding was done by using the NVIVO 11 program, and themes were created. The encodings were controlled to see whether there was any redundancy or excess.

9. RESULTS

The below table includes some demographic and disability information about the people involved in this qualitative research.

Name / abbreviations were preferred in this research	Age Range	Gender	Marital Status	Disability Status	Amount of Time in Turkey	Education Status
Abdülfettah	50-59	Male	Married	Arm paralyzed	3	Primary school
Ahmet	18-29	Male	Single	Cut the leg	X	Primary school
A. N.	18-29	Female	Single	Two legs paralyzed	5	Abandoned University
Luay	18-29	Male	Single	Cut a leg	2	High school
Mahmut	18-29	Male	Married	Cut an arm	X	High school
M. M.	40-49	Male	Married	Arm paralyzed	6	Secondary school
R. N.	18-29	Female	Married	She has a prosthesis in here arms	5	University
S. A.	50-59	Male	Married	Two legs paralyzed	3	Secondary school

The table above contains the demographic characteristics of our research participants.

Disability Stories

The war has made the most disabled among the victims feel as if they were invisible. To understand how they became disabled during the war,

to show which traumatic event(s) they were subjected to, they were asked, "What traumatic events did you have during the war?". The answers showed that they had more difficulties with death, and had more difficulties when they escaped from one environment to another, and felt completely helplessness. Here are their stories:

-*My obstacle, the shrapnel piece, went through my neck and pierced my shoulder, tearing the arm nerves, my arm paralyzed ... It doesn't work.* (Abdülfettah, lines 5-7).

-*I lost my foot. I'm a tailor, I've been working. Then the bomb was thrown off the plane! I lost my foot! I can't work.* (Ahmet, lines 20-21).

-*I got hurt five years ago. Both of my legs suffered a lot of damage all over. Stopped my walk!* (A. N., lines 5-6).

-*So I don't know how to get started and I was drafted in 2011 at the 9th month, and after seeing how and what the regime did, I didn't accept it and I had to run away. I hid there and stayed for about five years until 2016. My family had to migrate but I didn't go anywhere, sometimes I sold women's clothing, sometimes I sold fruit, sometimes I worked as a laborer in agriculture. One day from home to work or work to home, I was hurt and I was injured a little bit extended by the damage, but that was the way the house was destroyed when I was injured. I was taken to the hospital. I was operated on and when I came to myself, I met my destiny! Allah's writing!* (Luay, lines 5-13).

-*My first traumatic event was my injury. I can't remember what kind of bomb it was. I was hurt walking in the market. Then we moved to another place, Masaken Hanano. The scud grenade was thrown there. There I was wounded again and my mother and sister were injured. My mother had broken bones in her waist. My sister can't hear or speak! After that, after my mother's situation was slightly better, more recovery after we came to Turkey.* (Mahmut, lines 30-34).

-*War is cruel! When I was injured in 2012, I experienced my biggest traumatic event! When I was injured, there was no one to help me! Naturally, of course, he had his own trouble with life. And then I realized I was wounded! I was already running at the very beginning, and when I told her to help the women and children, the woman said to me, "Blood flowing out of your arm!" Then I found out I was hurt! Then slowly began to come to the blood-fluid not in the piece-piece… When an ambulance had a person who could help! The planes were flying over us ... Then my situation began to deteriorate* (M.M., lines 39-45).

-*The bomb fell while I was walking down Aleppo! I'm hurt! The pieces of shrapnel hurt my place! He paralyzed me! I can not walk!* (S.A., lines 6-7).

10. Losing a Loved One Due to War

During the interviews the participants explained that they not only experienced difficulties due to being a disabled person, but also revealed that they were deeply saddened to lose their loved ones and their family members due to the war. Spiritual Counseling and Guidance is considered to be a process that may involve a variety of methods or variations for such individuals. Participants stated that they had a loss and that it was very difficult for them:

-My mother passed away in battle! (Ahmet, line 5).

-My greatest pain was the death of my brother in the month of my injury and the injury of my other brother, and all of this was a great pain! My family was shattered! My father's psychological problems increased (A. N., lines: 67-69).

-I lost the people I loved in the war. I'm wounded, big losses for me! (R. N., line 25).

11. Hospital Experiences

All individuals in the study with disabilities due to the war saw a hospital as their first point of contact in Turkey, as they were transmitted there via ambulances when they arrived at the border. Some of them were brought separated from their family, some had a later chance for a family reunion, the rest were separated from their family not knowing if they still alive and thus were struggling with the difficulties by themselves.

Participants consisted of persons who continued the treatment process related to their disability. To learn about their hospital experience, they were asked the following questions: "In Turkey, which hospital have you mostly been in?", and "What are the greatest challenges/difficulties you experienced in residential services while in the hospital?". The interview data indicated that the opportunity to reach a hospital and escape the war environment was a reason for gratitude. However, in their hospital experience, having to communicate in the new language of new country was a problem, because they were not able to express themselves and explain the difficulties they encountered. Verbatim answers are as follows:

-In this injury, the bones, muscles and nerves have had a lot of problems. Immediately after the incident, the second day I was sent to Turkey. First, I was treated in Malatya. I stayed there for three months. They were very interested and cared, but I never thought of it. I will come to Turkey. After all, this is a foreign country.

I was forced, I came to Turkey for the first time and I was staying in the hospital directly. Of course, doctors talk about me, but I couldn't understand them. Three months later, the doctors gave me a rest period. At that time my family came to Urfa, settled there. I had to continue treatment in Sanliurfa. Of course there was always a language problem. The results of the treatment there were not good at all. I already had inflammation problems with my bones. During this period, it has increased a lot. Approximately a year and a half I have been staying in hospitals, then when they discharged home, a Turkish businessman heard about me and immediately he sent me to a hospital in Istanbul. I have had very good progress in Istanbul, my situation has improved and I started to improve the language problem, but there were interpreters of the association, they were always with me. Alhamdulillah so far, my treatment continues in Istanbul. (A. N., lines 9-23).

-I went to Haseki hospital and the language problem was the biggest obstacle and difficulty. I'm going for treatment, but I don't know how. Brown spots on my body comes out I can't always explain it (Luay, lines 28-31).

-We've had a hard time here, we can't explain our problems in hospitals. We couldn't even get an appointment. (Mahmut, lines 11-13).

-They were very interested in Mustafa Kemal Hospital. Emel hospital, the state hospital in Reyhanli and Taksim hospital for the appointment 182 number I went, very well interested. Thank you very much to the government and all hospitals. My wife has given birth here, the Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Hospital there is also a very good interest. You know what's the best feeling? You are in Turkish territory late at night, but they are very interested in you even though you are not Turkish. The ambulance comes and saves your life! On the other side there are people who are left to die while they are in your own country, and people who have been killed. Did you see the difference? Thanks to these events we have seen how good this government is, we are treated here without paying anything. (M.M., lines 16-24).

-I was treated in hospitals in Sanliurfa. I had difficulties, language problems. I couldn't communicate with the doctors. A new language and I could not speak that language. (R. N., lines 7-9).

-I'm going to the Bahcelievler hospital. I have gone to the hospital every three months, and I print out the drug and do my controls. I have too much health problems, as you can see, I have to go to my bladder or something. I go to the Bakirkoy Hospital there ... (S.A., lines 13-16).

12. Difficulties in Daily Life

During the interviews, it was understood that there were difficulties faced by the participants in daily life. Among these difficulties, the difficulties of meeting the basic needs eating, drinking, cleaning and other needs are expressed. The statements in this regard are as follows:

-You don't have any difficulties in this process, you can't do anything and you need everything but you can't ask for anything! A very difficult situation, people are constantly depressed. You can't do your bathroom! You can't go anywhere! You can't even prepare your own food! I've been so hard. Still, I've been able to walk with the walker so far, but I still can't do anything on my own and I don't want help from anyone and I always live inside (A. N., lines 38-43).

-I can't move as you can see! My life's gone... What can I do anything I can walk. Life doesn't matter to me! I have no benefit for my children, my children. For example, if school called parents to meet in the school, my children can't ask from me, they go to the mother. They can't come to me. I am nothing… Housewife's wishes, there are shortcomings, I can't afford them. Let's talk about the truths now, I cannot present anything to them (S.A., lines 49-54).

13. Economic Difficulties

One of the most important difficulties mentioned in our interviews with disabled IDPs was that they had economic-based problems. They could not get a job because of being disabled, and they could not work for themselves, thus they felt worthless. It is possible that being a business owner would not only relieve their economic burdens, but also would be a psychological support for them. The views on this subject are as follows:

-I want nothing more than a job. I can work, if it happens at the market, I can bring it. my power is enough to do it! I do every job, and according to my salary, I can live, I have no other request (Mahmut, lines 39-41).

-Alhamdulillah, I'm fine here, but I just have some financial difficulties. Only 600 TL comes from the Red Crescent, nothing else (Abdülfettah, lines 15-16).

-We have a lot of financial problems here! Maybe we will be better off if our financial situation is good (M.M., lines 53-55).

14. Who Has the Real Obstacle?

When people see a person with a disability, they probably view that person with a sense of pain. This kind of gaze may show us that a person has lost one of their limbs, or has lost one of their abilities such as sight or hearing, or that one has a mental disability and is disturbed looks at him or her with pity or contempt. Such looks do not help a person with a physical disability, but may cause him or her to isolate socially – to stay away from other people. A beautiful thing one can do in such situations may be to reduce the socially adverse risks for the disabled person in order to make their lives easier A.N. (lines 24-34) as follows:

-I hate being treated like a patient. Don't let me look at them with disabilities! I know that my family loves me because it makes me special, but I don't like it when they like me. I don't want them getting tired and upset for me. Okay, I'm always sitting there, but I don't want to be a burden. Maybe this is about my personality. It's my opinion ... These behaviors have ruined my psychology. I started moving away from people. Until I get a doctor who comes to physical therapy for me. He was always so hard on me, he always used sentences like you could do it for me, get up and see for yourself. You can do whatever you want, no one has to serve you! He treated me like I had nothing. Maybe that makes me feel good, alhamdulillah.

15. Coping

To understand how the participants were trying to cope with the events that had happened to them, they were asked, "What have you struggled with most about the difficulties you have faced in your life? Can you tell us how you cope?". Displaced persons with disabilities often were helped by the use of religious references to overcome negative life events. This included prayer in the mosque and worship to find their solace:

-I'm good just by reading the Quran and praying. So I go to mosques or something (Abdülfettah, lines 20-21).

-I go outside. I go to the mosque. I do my prayers. I go on Friday prayer. I pray to God. (S.A., lines 36-37).

Feeling the love of Allah in all the difficult processes, and taking the support of a divine and sublime power in circumventing the process of being found in a bomb attack, A.N. expresses:

-I've been told two times that both of my feet have to be cut. Both in Sanliurfa and Istanbul, the doctor may have to cut me during the surgery, he said. Of course I was very scared and never accepted! I'm starting to think I'm already disabled, and if I lose my legs, I couldn't accept people's pity and look at me as a missing person. Too bad. I've had too much weight loss, I'm down to 30 kilos. I was fed with serum. For the second time, all doctors in Istanbul said that my legs had to be cut. Because my bones never had inflammation. On the contrary, it was increasing. They said the same thing: we might have to cut it. This time I was a little stronger and I started to think healthier. So I said the last solution is to do this if necessary. I had to accept it in some way. Fortunately, I have survived all these processes without losing my legs. Maybe if I told you I was happy with my life and all this, it would be a little weird. Because these events have changed my life. OK, I can't stand up, but there are many who are worse than me! Maybe this is my test! This life taught me to be more patient and stronger. Allah always knew this very well with me. Every time I go into surgery, my Lord, I don't want anything from you, you know I know everything and I know that you know the best! Allah is always there and he loves me very much! (A. N., lines 45-62).

Apart from these, the interviews reflected that they lived in the time period when people have certain goals in their lives. Luay (lines 43-46), who is disabled, fell under war-caused rubble that destroyed her family and then collapsed near the front of the house, where he was found.

-I had a target. That target kept me alive. The target was to reach my family. With the idea of seeing them, I defeated all the difficulties. If I see my family, I will. When I saw that I was a bit further away after coming here, I was dead.

There were also those who stated that they could not overcome their problems due to their traumatic events. Luay (lines 56-59), who was exposed to various traumatic events such as witnessing killing, being trapped under a rubble, cutting his leg, losing a loved one in the family, and having to live in a country different from the other family members, expressed this as follows:

-I've had a lot of traumatic events. I don't know how I can deal with this war. I still haven't survived the war! I'm very hard to sleep when I wake up always worry, sadness. I want to get over it but it doesn't… I've been here for two years but still continues.

Mahmut (lines 19-22), whose hand was cut off at the wrist, said that the biggest factor in overcoming the difficulties was the economic problems. He

said that he did not want to be seen as disabled and that he wanted to work and take care of the needs of his son and wife. He explained his coping with the difficulties he experienced this way:

-Difficulties, but no results! Most importantly, the official transactions… I'm burdening my family. I'm going everywhere, giving all my paperwork, but they don't see me as disabled, but they don't let me work. I have to support my family, I have to do something but I can't do anything!

16. Theodicy

In order to understand whether the participants questioned the justice of Allah after what had happened to them, we asked the question, "Have you ever questioned, after the incidents that happened to you, whether God is fair or not?". Six people responded. Four of them said that they did not question the justice of God. They perceived the incident as fate:

-No, definitely our destiny, Allah wrote. (Abdülfettah, line 23).

-No! Never! The fate of Allah and my presence. (Mahmut, line 24).

Two people stated that they had questions from time to time about divine justice. They expressed their opinions as follows:

- I wake up at night and speak with my Lord. I have not stolen, I didn't commit adultery. Maybe I don't know how to cleanse my sins or test my Lord. My Lord, this little piece of meat has made me like this, you can do anything me any time you want. There is a verse that I constantly read (When you say, it happens…). I used to work so hard that I'd been working 20 hours a day, 20 hours. I've even been working more. My wife would come home, most recently. For me the business was above all. Maybe my Lord wants me to sit down and have a rest. (S.A., lines 38-46).

- -I think of all the options ... I know this is my destiny, but there is a wisdom behind what I've been through, but ... What is it? Sometimes I'm in very good shape, and I say, "It's my writing." Sometimes I question: Why? (Luay, lines 48-51).

17. Forgiveness

Among the millions of victims of war worldwide, those who became disabled during the war are among the victims who are ignored, yet they continue to survive with the many risks they face as "invisible victims" in society. For example, due to the loss of a limb in the war, they told us we should understand what they think about forgiveness. We asked the question, "Can

you forgive those responsible for your suffering?". All participants stated that complete forgiveness would not be possible. Also, while some participants said not to forgive, but to declare the need to take revenge, most explained how they expected Allah to punish those who harmed them. Some of the views on forgiveness are as follows:

-I will leave people to their Lord. I know that my Lord takes my revenge, and He does not leave them. People always call me the curse of the person who threw the bomb, they always cursed but I was always silent. I couldn't say anything! My Lord will take my right. (A. N., lines 70-73).

-No, I don't. (Ahmet, line 22).

-Of course not! Never forgive! Maybe I'm going to say some very dangerous words. Obviously, I started to hate everything! Freedom, the people standing up, the war, everything else ... I hate and oppose war. (Luay, lines 60-64).

-I never forgive you! God bless my revenge! I mean, if I had a problem with you, why would I hurt someone else, may Allah repel me from them? Why, why? (S.A., lines 55-57).

18. Gratitude

That someone who is in a difficult situation has a sense of thanks and gratitude about it may mean that he or she is able to make sense of the suffering he or she experiences. One way to overcome the difficulties is to have a sense of gratitude and understand that individuals can be aware of the issues that warrant praise. The participants, who experienced various traumatic events, were grateful to disabled war victims. They said, "What is your gratitude?" in the form of a question. Their opinions, expressed as their response to this question, suggested that they were able to see more difficulties in situations than others. Also, some were with family members, grateful that they could perform various vital activities and that there were opportunities to live in a safe country where there was no war. Their opinions are presented below:

-I'm thankful. Health, blessings given to us… All thanks to Allah! (Abdülfettah, lines 34-34). *God bless, both the people and the President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, they behave very well*. (Abdülfettah, lines 39-41).

-Alhamdulillah, I'm healthy, I'm alive! (Ahmet, line 23).

-Alhamdulillah, I'm better than someone else! I've seen a lot of wounded and totally bedridden people in hospitals. I am in need of help in everything, how much

I cannot go out and go to school at home I do my bathroom myself, I eat my food, I always thank. There is a prayer that I've done before every surgery: Allah give me the grace to do my own volume. Alhamdulillah this is enough for me! Thousands of thanks, I'm better than most people. (A. N., lines: 74-80).

-Alhamdulillah, I got out of Syria! I came to Turkey. Allah helped me, I did it, alhamdulillah. (Luay, lines: 64-65).

-I'm thankful for this life, and I'm praying. I hope to be a producer, not just a consumer! (Mahmut, lines 37-38).

-I thank Allah, I can take a breath, I can take ablution and prayer. I have problem with my leg, have problem with my arm, the leg is more difficult, thanks to every-thing (M.M., lines 51-52).

-I'm always thankful for a healthy safe and good life! (R. N., line 28).

-My children, my wife didn't leave me and thank goodness! There are too many women who leave their husbands! She didn't leave me! My life is so hard! She takes care of me, dresses, feeds, drinks. Sometimes I make pasta, sometimes I make kids toast. So I do very simple things, I can do my best. (S.A., lines 58-62).

19. Resilience

Frankl's (2013) notion that *the person who has a reason for life finds out exactly what it will be like* suggests the idea of *resilience*. This became visible in our interviews. For example, during the meeting with A.N., it was clear that she saved her "hope" to overcome the difficulties she faced. It was clear that she had a strong sense of power within herself. She believed she could move to a situation better than the present situation:

-I got hurt five years ago. Both of my legs suffered a lot from damage all over the floor, preventing me from walking. But I have the hope of getting up and walking at the end of the treatment! I won't heal completely, but I hope I can step on my feet. (A. N., lines 5-7).

20. Psycho-spiritual Benefits of Being in Turkey in terms of Cultural Similarities

After the participants faced many difficulties because of the war and became disabled, they had to leave their homeland. The country to which they migration can have many advantages and disadvantages for them. Thus, the participants were asked, "What is the benefit for you being in Turkey?". The

most important benefit stated was that there is a religious similarity between their home and host countries. This is reflected in their statements, which reflect their feeling of being in a relatively safe environment:

-I think we are better being in Turkey than in any other country! This place has very closely related culture, and everything looks very similar. Our prayers are the same alhamdulillah. (A.N., lines 86-89).

-Alhamdulillah nothing has changed. We hear the Azan! We can fast and go to mosques. This is a great blessing, alhamdulillah! From a religious point of view it is very good. (Mahmut, lines 43-44).

- -There are mosques here. We are in very beautiful environments. Especially in the month of Ramadan, tables are set up everywhere. Everybody's helping each other. Reading the Quran before prayers in mosques! These are beautiful things. (M.M. lines 57-60).

-Of course, we live in a comfortable way in Turkey because it is a Muslim country. We live our religion as we wish. It made our lives so much easier. Thank you Turkey! (R.N., lines 32-34).

- - "Allahu ekber" keeps me here. Or I would run away on the boat like other people. It is a perfect feeling to hear the call to prayer every time here, and at the same time there is humanity here! It's a great feeling that the driver on the bus gets up from his seat to help me open the apparatus for the disabled! Some say it's his duty to do it, of course, but I say no as soon as he wants to. If this human being is not a Muslim, he does not do it without feeling, but because he is an understanding person, it is a very nice feeling. (S.A., lines 66-72).

21. What Does Spiritual Counseling Mean?

Before the participants were informed about spiritual counseling, it was not clear how they understood this concept. In order to explore this, they were asked, "What do you think when you say "Spiritual counseling and guidance? -- What does this concept mean to you?". The responses revealed that a knowledgeable person supported the treatment process. In addition, it was stated that drawing upon someone's beliefs could be helpful in the counseling process. In this context, those counselors who expressed smiles and spoke in friendly language were especially remembered. Participants showed a very positive attitude towards Spiritual Counseling with no prior knowledge of it. The opinions they expressed are as follows:

-He is knowledgeable of people and helps us in such situations (comes to mind). Get support in the treatment process so that people can hold on to life better (R.N., lines 10-11).

-My condition is bad, both materially and spiritually! A smiling face is enough for me; a sweet tongue! If you serve a biscuit, it has little value as money but it can be very valuable to me! They want us to be nice, they're friendly, we don't want anything else. The meaning of spiritual support is good for me! These things are good for me. (S.A., lines 28-33).

-Faith can cure a human when he or she has faith, people can control themselves and their feelings in faith! Whether or not it is war time, whether or not the time is difficult, people can heal themselves. (M.M., lines 25-27).

22. Expectations of Spiritual Counseling

After a definition of spiritual counseling was stated, participants were asked, "Do you need MDR in hospitals? Why?". This was done in order to find out what their expectations of spiritual counseling and guidance were, for foreigners with disabilities in hospitals, and whether they felt this was needed. Their responses showed that they had many expectations about SCG. The most remarkable point was that the participants feel a great need of it. To them it reflects someone showing interest and compassion, and analogous to their family and parents' hand. Interestingly, however, A.N. complained that in her experience this was seen only as "a job" on one occasion. This suggests that the Spiritual Counselor should adopt a posture of being a volunteer when helping the client. Opinions expressed are as follows:

-I don't want anything, only that they should care us! (Ahmet, lines 24-25).

-They came to me once in Malatya, but it didn't help me. I think people can't get much support from a foreign person. Maybe they have a lot of benefits, maybe they could have helped me if they came more than one. But I think someone you know can support you better, understand you better. They only see their work as jobs. (A. N., lines 81-85).

-Yeah, I definitely need it! Yes, yes, very necessary! I need to a doctor and someone to help as a counselor! Of course, I would like someone who understands me and guides me (Luay, lines 39-41). *Give them what I'm looking for! Maybe I'll find them, yes, find me my strong point and enlighten me! Let them lead me, for*

example, to me as a mother and father! Let me out of this situation and this mode! (Luay, lines 66-69).

-Yes, I think it must be absolutely, because in such cases, people may become frustrated. The support coming when needed -- it is good to know someone! (R. N., lines 13-14). *Very often they meet with the patients to illuminate them, perhaps reading a book by saying maybe something… The most important thing is that they be able to communicate well. I think someone who stays as a counselor in the hospital for a long time is very good.* (R. N., lines 29-31).

-What can be the benefits to me, as I said a little earlier, a smiling face doesn't matter at all. Children running on the road make me happy... (S.A., lines 63-65).

Among the general expectations of disabled and displaced foreigners, we see that they want to learn the language and desire to communicate with the locals. One of the functions of Spiritual Counseling is in this area and can be an important psychosocial support for individuals with a disadvantageous and diverse cultural identity, as well as for indigenous people. The vision is expressed as follows:

-You touched the subject of us and ours. People should care for us a little more! Let us be given opportunities to fuse together with the Turks. Let's be together! Let's be like a family. Disabled people who lost their hand, arm, leg or any part of their limb need to be helped. Support! Let us become a producer, not a consumer, but a producer! I wish we could have it! (Luay, lines 76-81).

23. Discussion

The results of this study suggest that Spiritual Counseling is necessary in the healthcare services, at least for disabled refugees from war, asylum seekers, and others who are guests during treatment. The reasons are clear: There is a break, or injury, to someone's system of meaning after experiencing traumatic events of the sort that occur in a war. The model of Paloutzian and Park (2013: 359) on meaning-making and the restoration of meaning supports the data obtained in this study. Obviously, the idea of having a meaningful life is related to the idea of theodicy, the nature of humans, religious beliefs such as that there is a Hereafter, and values. Perception of life meaning can be damaged after a stressful life event. Losses can lead to the loss of belief in something sacred. In the process of loss of meaning, questions about God's power and related issues can be raised, and individuals can make new evaluations of them (Paloutzian & Park, 2013). Such confrontation of basic life issues is

expected in the disabled people displaced due to war, in Turkey in 2018. It is important that the spiritual counselor gives support to these individuals, in their process of re-making meaning.

Because the participants are disabled and displaced due to war, it is important to understand why their religion is an auxiliary for them when dealing with the stressful events they experienced. Pargament (1997: 301) found that in the US it is the elderly, poor, less educated, black, widows, and women who were more likely than others to benefit from their religion in coping with stressors and other problems. In general, they were more religious than others. He also explains that these findings are due not merely to demographic differences among people, but also to specifically religious support in relation to the severity of the stressful life events they faced (Pargament: 1997: 302-303). This is consistent with the data obtained in the present study. They are living in the aftermath of unusual multiple stressful events. As Pargament puts it, it makes sense that someone would cope with the current situation by getting greater support from one's religion as the severity of the stressful life event increases. In this connection, Sagir (2018) found that Syrian refugees in Turkey averaged 6 on a 7-point scale (for which 7 was the maximum possible score) on a question assessing refugees' subjective perception of their religiosity. Thus, the participants in the present study were similar to those in Sagir's (2018) study in how their religion was centered in their lives and how they regarded their faith as very important in their lives. The importance given to their religiousness and the blessing derived therefrom indicates its degree of importance as a source of coping in their difficult situation. However, these results cannot be generalized and we should not overlook the existence of special cases and negative religious coping.

Among the functions of Spiritual Counseling for the disabled is a supportive role in the recovery of meaning. This can be facilitated by taking advantage of the religious, spiritual, and cultural resources that are available to help victims relieve suffering and attain some degree of healing. For example, some opinions reported in the present study suggest that virtues such as forgiveness have been damaged; that individuals carry a lot of negative feelings including feelings of revenge and hatred. Psychologists see forgiveness as a control of such negative emotions (Ayten, 2014). In fact, forgiveness is a way of living in peace and happiness. But it can be extremely difficult to forgive the most

severe offenses (Paloutzian & Sagir, 2019). Perhaps spiritual counseling and guidance can have an important role in such cases. For example, it is not realistic to expect people who have lost their loved ones and relatives and became disabled in a war to forgive those responsible for the harm done (Paloutzian et all., in press in 2020). However, such victims can be assisted in taking control of other negative emotions such as feelings of revenge, self-harm, or harm to others. For this reason, clients who hold a belief in the Hereafter may be helped by discussing how their religion teaches that criminals are punished by Allah, the temporality of the world, and that their trials maybe function as a test of their trust and patience with Allah. Of course, it may be necessary for the counselor to let the client know that it is OK to ask the spiritual counselor for help to overcome the above and other issues.

SCG can contribute much to foster gratitude in those who face difficulties. When someone receives a gift or a promotion under ordinary circumstances, a sense of gratitude is understood as normal. But it has also been argued that offering gratitude and thanks in hard times fosters people's strength when facing difficult life issues (Emmons, 2009; Lies et. all., 2014). In the present study, it may be argued that participants who felt a sense of meaning in life also seemed more satisfied with their situation, even though it was due to very violent negative life events – a notion consistent with the proposed relation between gratitude and emotional strength. In addition, noting that feeling gratitude may be rooted in God's love and compassion may draw attention to the psychological functions of one's religion in the face of difficulties (Rosmarin et. all., 2011; Göcen, 2014).

24. Conclusions

People who were disabled and displaced due to the war in Syria who applied for help in the health institutions in Turkey served as the interviewees in the present study. All participants faced economic problems as well as physical obstacles. In addition, they manifested various psychological problems. Consistent with predictions, they showed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and somatization. In addition, most of them felt sad, despair, fear, and worry. Feelings of being lonely and helpless also stood out among them (For similar results on these topics, see Binay, 2016; Bilen, 2019; Üstün, 2019; Tuğberk, 2019; Sağır, 2019).

A very positive circumstance for the refugees in Turkey is that they were able to go to hospital for no fee. For them this was a real gift, after having escaped the war environment.

The biggest problem in the hospitals was related to the difficulty in communicating, because the refugees spoke mostly Arabic and the hospital staff spoke mostly Turkish. Each found it difficult to accurately communicate the nature of the health problem to the other; doctor, health worker, patient – all faced a barrier in expressing things correctly in the other's language (For further study results on the language barrier, see, Kaya, 2017; Sağır, 2018; Tanrıverdi, 2019).

As in the case of disabled refugees worldwide, those in Turkey have suffered exclusion, exploitation, and disease while being exposed to more risks. Identification of displaced individuals with disabilities and the creation of databases relevant to their medical, health, and life circumstances are needed not only in Turkey but also in other countries.

In the present study, it became apparent that individuals who continue to live as disabled foreigners in the society do not have sufficient schooling and employment. In addition, in their new host society, in which their original culture is absent, they do not know the language and may live in an isolated way, separate from the indigenous people.

Although some participants considered the harm done to them as fate or a test, and were welcomed in the host country due to the negative life events that took place in their home country, some of them felt as though they got divine justice. Our working group of displaced people did not forgive those responsible for the events they lived through, and their feelings of forgiveness and feelings of revenge were mixed together. In particular, believing that Allah will punish the perpetrators seemed to relieve some of the feeling of revenge for them.

Participants' use of notably religious references in coping was an indication that they were using religious coping methods in facing their difficulties. Praying with each other, asking for help by reading the Qur'an, finding support by talking to Allah at night with tears, worshiping at the mosque, finding solace within their religion, feeling the love of Allah, seeing the negative events as part of a trial and fate – all these helped coping styles come to the fore. People's religiosity was documented from interviews with individuals who had a key role in the challenging times (Similar results were seen in

disabled Syrians living in Elazig. For detailed information, see Sağır, 2019).

Resilience seemed related to hope. Those who expressed hopes that they would be better through or relative to their present suffering were more resilient.

The meaning of people's attitudes towards the participants is important. Others should avoid having a "pitiful" attitude toward them as foreigners with disabilities, and should instead pave the way for reducing the risks in their lives. It matters greatly to the participants that people in the outside world exclude them, despise them, and make them feel worthless.

Given the traumatic events the participants had experienced in their society, including the deaths of loved ones as well as becoming disabled, their presence and comfort in Turkey has been extremely important. Although the problem of not being able to speak the same language is encountered, the call to prayer, the mosque, and common religious-spiritual cultural values in the presence of a more comfortable environment was singled out in the interviews as being especially valuable.

In discussions about the need and expectation for spiritual counseling of the disabled, the participants emphasized that spiritual counseling and guidance could be of vital importance in supporting them in hospitals and other life circumstances. Only one greeting and reading a book together, or even a smile, has been found to be meaningful to disabled foreigners who are having a hard time.

Effective Spiritual counseling exists for disabled foreigners. This may help them avoid negative thoughts such as considering suicide, despair, low self-worth, feelings of vengeance, or hate. Or, at least, Spiritual Counseling may help keep such thoughts to the minimum.

25. Suggestions

Spiritual Counseling should be available in hospitals and other social service institutions in order to help individuals while on site as well as after they leave the institution. This includes caring for disabled foreigners -- refugees, asylum seekers, guests during treatment.

Suggested qualifications for people to offer Spiritual Counseling services for disabled foreigners:

- Training in trauma psychology.

- Knowledge about intercultural differences.

- Knowledge of the client's language, or at minimum have a good translator.

- Respect for the religious, spiritual, and cultural identity of the client.

- Training in symptoms and treatment of secondary trauma.

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Legal Structure And Administrative Functioning of The Religious Counselling And Care System, In Hospitals And Prison In Romania

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1) The Importance of Religion for the Romanian Contemporary Society

The Contemporary Romanian society knows varied forms of religious vitality. Religion is an active presence in all sectors of public life and it carefully concerns the Romanian parliamentary and governmental institutions. The religious education is present in public schools as well as in hospitals, military units, prisons or other state institutions. The religious cults develop numerous religious assistance and philanthropic activities. Representatives of the Religious Cults in Romania are regularly invited to officially participate in major public events and historical commemorations, where they have a leading role in the conduct of specific religious ceremonies. In the National anthem, in the Romanian coat of arms, in the Romanian Parliament, in tribunals, in schools and in many official public buildings, the Cross is present as a religious symbol specific to the spirituality and the Christian identity of Romania. The cultural and spiritual identity of historical and contemporary Romania is strongly influenced by the Orthodox Christian religion.

In national censuses and in official statistics, trust in the Orthodox Church is very important for Romanian citizens. More than 86% of Romanians, i.e. 16,307,004 citizens, declared their Orthodox identity, out of a total of 20,121,641 Romanian citizens, and 99% of the country's citizens said they

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had an explicit religious identity, expressed under various identity forms. Only a weak percentage of less than 1% of the country's population said it was religiously or agnostically indifferent (Tănase, 2008). The Orthodox Church has its own television, *Trinitas* television, a Radio station, a daily national paper, as well as a news agency, which represents an appreciable performance in the competition for the efficiency of public communication in the masses. Besides the public communication institutions of the Orthodox Church, there is another religious television in Romania that of the Adventist Church, Speranța TV, and a religious channel with a general neoprotestant identity called *Alpha and Omega*. There are numerous national or local religious radio stations. On social networking sites and on the Internet, religion is an important concern for mass communication. With all the above-mentioned aspects, however, we are tempted to believe, based on constant observations on religious life, that the religiosity that is actively manifested in Romanian society is currently superficial, with a dominant identity, ethnic and cultural content. It actually hides an advanced degree of religious secularization that will soon accelerate under the influence of the European common space, the European mobility and the ideas of social modernity.

2) Doctrinal And Religious Aspects That Define The Meaning And Significance Of Religious Assistance In The Christian Church

In countries of Christian religious tradition, as is Romania, the Church has developed systems of social support and religious assistance, complementary to the official structures and institutions of the State. While the state's social care institutions are based on modern ethics and on strictly functional, pragmatic political and economic relations," in addition to these, the church adds Christian *love and mercy*, activating in this respect their own system of intervention and social care." (Cosal, 2009)

Recently, Patriarch Daniel of the Romanian Orthodox Church, referring to the Church's responsibility in the relationship with the people, has stated that the Church is obliged to offer mercy (unconditional aid) to those in need. Mercy is of two types, the Patriarch said; „*material comfort, that is, food, clothing, shelter, or spiritual mercy when we offer someone a good word, a sign of unforgetability, an encouragement in times of trouble, comfort in times of sorrow, a wise counsel, accompanied by prayer for health and the salvation of the one we help*"(Dumitrascu, 2018).

So, the system of religious and social care of the Orthodox Church is based on the love of the neighbour, *philanthropy* (love of people, Greek language), which is equally important in the theology of the Church as love for God. Jesus was asked:" *which is the greatest commandment he teaches to his disciples, and Jesus said: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with thy entire mind. This is the first commandment and the second, equally important as the first is, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself (Bible: Matei XXII, 35-46)".* In other words, to give your neighbour the attention and love you would like to receive from your neighbours. *This Christian theology is at the heart of organizing the whole system of helping the neighbour and granting religious assistance.*

In Western European theology of Catholic or Protestant tradition, the term used for helping others is the term of *charity*, a term derived from Latin. In Oriental Christian theology, specific to the Orthodox Christian countries, the term used is *philanthropy*, of Greek origin. The importance of this approach, of helping and serving his neighbour, has the strongest argument in the person of God, Jesus that in his relationship with the whole human race has given evidence of the care and love for men. His example becomes the most powerful impulse for people in relation to the help and love for their fellows. But equally, the love for the neighbour is also motivated by the fact that God created men equal (Vicovan, 2001), and every man is created by God according to the image of God expressing himself in man by *will, reason and sentiment*.

Our attention to love must be directed to *any person without ethnic or religious identity similar to ours*. And this is the theology developed by Jesus that has an important universal characteristic, precisely because *the Christian's love must go beyond ethnic or subjectively religious barriers and address anyone who needs support and help*. In this sense, the teaching of Jesus expressed in the example of the Merciful Samaritan is very clear. (Bible: Luca X, 25-37).

But beyond the altruistic meaning of the term philanthropy, in modern times, the Orthodox Church in Romania has developed numerous social care actions, especially for those who" *are temporarily in difficulty and cannot achieve by their own means and efforts a natural, decent way of life!"*(Irimia, 2009). Thus, even if these are seemingly confusing terms, *religious social care* and *religious assistance in the Romanian state institutions*; they still have clearly defined areas of action, social responsibility and pastoral responsibility.

3) State - Church Partnership in Social Care and Religious Assistance

In our analysis, we want to see, from a historical, legal and sociological per-spective, *how did the relations between the State and Religious denominations in spiritual and religious counselling evolve in hospitals and penitentiaries?*

In order to make possible the collaboration between the State and the Church in the field of counselling in hospitals and prisons, *it is necessary to have a legislative system that builds the necessary structures and protects the devel-opment of the counselling system.* The training of counsellors, their payment, and access to hospital units or penitentiaries, are just a few of the issues that must be clearly legislated by Parliament to have a good functioning counsel-ling system in hospitals and penitentiaries.

4) The First And Most Important Step

The first and most important step was when the new Romanian Constitution was drafted and adopted in 1992. It should be noted that the communist regime, which lasted 41 years after the Second World War, was a *totalitarian regime with an atheistic, secular propaganda but respectful of religion, which it con-sidered an interesting expression of cultural and national Romanian identity.*

After the communist regime's abolition in December 1989, it followed a period when Religion actively returned to the public space and influenced most of the acts that define the current legal framework. Some of the coun-try's religious leaders, priests, bishops, or pastors have been for various periods of time members of the Parliament of Romania also. Under these socio-political conditions but also in accordance with the principles of the modern European Treaties, the new Constitution of Romania was drafted and voted in 1992.

Article 29 of the Romanian Constitution, guarantees:" *freedom of thought, opinions and religious beliefs* (para. 1), expressed *in a climate of tolerance and mutual respect*" (para. 2). The Constitution also states that the general regime of the Cults is one of autonomy towards the State, a position on which the religious actors „*enjoy its support, including by facilitating religious assistance in the army, in hospitals, penitentiaries, hostels and orphanages" (para. 5).* So, para. 5, of art. 29 of the Constitution of the country, clearly state the future collabora-tion between the State and the Church for the provision of specific religious and social care.

5) The Second Step

In 2000, the Social Democratic Party promotes in his election bid the idea that the representatives of religious life are *"a major partner of cooperation in the society"*. (Nastase, 2007).

It will be in 2006 when the Constitutional text becomes the basis for Law no. 489/2006, *the Law of Cults and Religious Freedom*, which stipulates that „*no one can be prevented or compelled to adopt an opinion or adhere to a religious belief contrary to his beliefs"* (Art. 1, para. 2). A particularly important statement of the Law of Cults is in the field of the relationship between the State and the Religious Cults, Romania being a secular state with a net separation between the State and the Church. The fundamental principle of the Law of Cults is to promote the State's neutrality towards cults, non-interference in their work and respect for religious freedom and conscience. But, despite these clarifications of general legal principle, the Law of Cults states in art. 7, that the State recognizes the role of Cults and their social and historical importance and for these reasons it considers them „*social partners and factors of social peace*".

Here is how the full text of art. 7: „*The Romanian State recognizes the spiritual, educational, social-charitable, cultural and social partnership role of the Cults as well as their status as factors of social peace (para.1). The Romanian State recognizes the important role of the Romanian Orthodox Church and of other recognized churches and cults in the Romanian national history and in the life of the Romanian society (para. 2)"*.

Starting from these considerations of socio-historical appreciation of the role of the Cults in the Romanian society during history, the State considers it necessary for the public authorities to be obliged to ensure „*to any person, upon request, the right to be counselled according to his own religious convictions by facilitating the religious assistance*". (Art. 10; para. 8). Here is how the text of the Law of Cults, regarding this aspect of the collaboration between the State and the Church in the social field is: „*The State supports the activity of the recognized Cults as providers of social services: the public authorities ensure that every person, upon request, has the right to be counselled according to his or her religious beliefs by facilitating religious assistance." (art.10, para. 7-8).* These particularly important legal provisions have substantiated all subsequent policies between the State and the Cults in all areas of religious assistance.

6) Third Step:

The Romanian Orthodox Church, the majority religious actor, began collaborating with the National Administration of Penitentiaries from the earliest years following the 1990 Revolution by signing several protocols dealing with the religious assistance of detainees accommodated in prison units. But the economic and democratic difficulties encountered by the Romanian society after the fall of the totalitarian regime delayed for a long time the consolidation of an efficient and pragmatic system of protection and social care. It is considered that" only after 2000 the system of protection and social care has begun to shape a coherent strategy and to develop standards and techniques for the use of social care specialists" (Petrica, 2013).

An important detail is given by the fact that the legislation on drafting and approving the protocols on religious assistance concluded between the public institutions and the BOR was internally regulated by the Church through Chapter III of the Statute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, adopted in 2007. This Statute has the authority of the law because it is approved by the Government of Romania at the proposal of the Cult and is therefore in line with the Romanian Constitution and the Law of Cults. Moreover, in order to emphasize its legislative authority, it was published in the Official Gazette, Part I, no. 50 of January 22nd 2008. The Statute for the Organization and Functioning of the Romanian Orthodox Church mentions the responsibility that the ecclesiastical institution has in relation to the provision of religious assistance in *medical, educational or penitentiary facilities. (Art. 135, para. 1)*. The clerical staff involved in the religious service is recruited from the graduates of the Faculty of Theology, Bachelor, Master or Doctorate graduates, with the consent of the bishop of the place; his appointment, transfer and revocation being in accordance with the protocols signed between the church institution and the employing units (Art. 136, para. 1-2) (Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2018).

7) Religious Assistance In Penitentiaries

For the field of religious assistance in penitentiaries, which is of particular interest to us in our congress, the recent legislation is from 2013. One of the central cadres who regulated the religious assistance of the persons deprived of their liberty under the custody of the National Administration of Penitentiaries was Order no. 1072 / C in 2013 (The Official Gazette, 2013). The

normative act stipulates in Article 1 of the Annex that the religious assistance is „*ensured with respect for freedom of conscience and religion, as well as religious pluralism, under non-discriminatory conditions*" (para. 1).

Representatives of Cults and religions associations recognized by law may provide religious assistance to inmates through Chaplain Priests, employees of the National Penitentiary Administration and paid by the Penitentiary Administration from the State budget as special civil servants, or through voluntary representatives, requesting approval from the unit manager. The written request is submitted by the end of November of the current year and is accompanied by a nominal list of delegated persons to carry out specific activities, the approval being valid for one calendar year (art.2, para. 1-4). Article 3 mentions the obligation of the penitentiaries to offer premises for the exercise by prisoners of their freedom of belief and the reception of religious assistance after a program established by the administration of the unit (without its interference in the content of religious programs, acc. art. 6, para. 1-2). In addition to religious assistance provided by cults, people deprived of their liberty may request food in accordance with religious prescriptions, (of fasting, kosher or halal), this being „subject to the statutory package acceptance regime" (art. 6, para. 4).

Order no. 1072/C in 2013 is repealed by the entry into force of Order no. 4.000 / C of November 10, 2016 (Official Gazette, 2016), which maintains the validity of 1 calendar year of access approval for persons who will coordinate religious assistance activities in the penitentiary and reconfirms the possibility of concluding protocols for collaboration between religious denominations and the National Administration of Penitentiaries. Further, Article 9 stipulates the right of Cults and Religious Associations to provide moral and religious assistance activities in the form of *volunteering* and *missionary* work, complementary to that offered by the Orthodox or Catholic Chaplain priests.

7) The Valences Of Religious Assistance In Penitentiaries:

In penitentiaries, religious assistance has two expression valences, namely;

a) *Occasional religious* assistance, which complements the pastoral activity of the clergy in penitentiaries, with a direct focus on self-knowledge, discovery and respect for social, civic and moral religious values. Through occasional religious assistance" *visits to penitentiaries are organized to support detainees with clothing, footwear and hygienic items on religious occasions"* (Irimia, 2009);

b) The second valence of religious assistance in prisons is permanent religious assistance consisting of *" performing educational and counselling activities for young people and minors in detention, such as: literacy programs, viewing conferences supported by theologians, recognized as great cultural personalities, or painting circles for icons; with the declared purpose of recovering morally and spiritually those convicted for different offenses, and who are under the custody of legal deprivation of liberty,*[2] *chorus, pilgrimage, cenacle, catechesis - guidance, by explaining the importance of icons and their religious symbolism* (Broşură de prezentare, 2018).

If we look at the figures of the activity of the Orthodox Church, religious assistance and counselling in budgetary institutions of the State, a very young activity, both in terms of existence of human resources, specialists and institutional development, we observe an interesting development of statistical elements. It is necessary to specify that all this activity of counselling and religious assistance in the budgetary institutions of the State has developed after the communist period and especially after the year 2000, as presented above.

8) Statistical Data - Religious Assistance And Counselling In Budgetary Institutions Of The State

In a statistic conducted by the Romanian Orthodox Church we find that 606 churches and chapels were built in budgetary institutions (73 - army, 39 - penitentiaries, 31 - Ministry of Interior, 5 - in special military units (security and protocol service, special communications and Intelligence), 236 - hospital chapels, 85 - in educational units of different degrees, 76 chapels in special institutions of social care and protection, 151 State cemetery churches 24 - in other institutions (e.g. chapel at airports) (Biserica Ortodoxă Română, 2014).

Regarding the number of priests in these state budget units, the figure provided by the State Secretariat for Cults (2016) specifies:*" Religious assistance in military units, penitentiaries, hospitals and social care establishments is provided by 513 priests, of which: 18 in units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 96 in military units, 39 in penitentiary and 360 in hospitals, social care establishments, educational units, etc."* (Romanian Orthodox Church, 2018). It can be seen, therefore, that the number of chaplain priests or religious caretakers is lower than the number of chapels existing. This is explained by the fact that some

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2   *Ibidem.*

chaplain priests volunteer in a small military unit or in a regional minor hospital, and he has a permanent responsibility in a parish community.

The Orthodox churches (buildings) for religious assistance, in principle the only ones accepted by the State of Romania, out of the 18 religious identities recognized by the state, were built on special laws or partnership protocols. There are 606 churches, as mentioned above, representing a percentage of 3.72% of the total churches and places of worship of the Orthodox Church of Romania, i.e. 16,287 Orthodox places of worship, for a number of 16,307,004 believers who declared themselves members of the Romanian Orthodox Church at the 2011 Population Census (State and Religious Cults, 2018). Other Religious Cults or Religions in Romania do not have access forbidden in penitentiaries for granting religious assistance upon request, but the Orthodox Church, as a result of being the majority in the society, has the approval to build a permanent place of worship and religious assistance. Where compact ethnic or religious communities are different from the Orthodox identity, it is permissible to construct a chapel in the tradition of the majority religious or ethnic identity.

Each chapel or church, located in a State budget institution, is serviced by a chaplain or priest who has as main object the provision of *religious and counselling assistance in the penitentiary, hospital, army, gendarmerie, etc.* Contrary to the architectural practice of the Orthodox Church, which excels in the ornamentation of parish churches and cathedrals with many ritual liturgical icons and objects, the chapels designated to accompany religious assistance are often austere, arranged in a real estate room or hospital that has changed its destination of living, simply endowed with a few icons and candles. Otherwise, what is important is the chaplain's own counselling activity.

9) Conclusions

In conclusion, beyond the constitutional aspects and specific fundamental principles of freedom of religion, conscience and religious manifestation, there are numerous collaborations between State and religious denominations in various fields. From the presence of religious education in state public schools to the presence of priests and pastors in military service or in prisons or hospitals, we have a vast collaboration between State and religious denominations. Into that's circumstances, the principle of separation between State and Church, must be understood in the logic of respecting

the identity religious and freedom of religious manifestation, but also in the logic of administrative and institutional collaboration where the interests of Romanian society must be served both by the State and by religious denominations.

Based on research conducted in religious assistance and field experience, especially in hospitals and penitentiaries, we can conclude that the activity of chaplains is primarily a work of spiritual counselling, of confession of sins, specific to the Eastern Christian Orthodox Church, and less counselling to heal a trauma through psychoanalysis strategies. What I want to emphasize is that chaplain priests and religious counsellors are just starting out, lacking a specialized experience, absolutely necessary in the particular field in which they operate. Perhaps in time, a certain demand will also be required when hiring a chaplain priest or adviser, who must prove complex theological and psychosocial training.

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Muslim Chaplaincy and Spiritual Counseling in Bosnian Prisons: Case Study of Tuzla Muftiluk

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Introduction

According to the last official census in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter BH or Bosnia), conducted in 2013, 1,790,454 (or 50.70%) of the 3.531.159 inhabitants of the country declared themselves as 'Muslims' by religion (State Agency for Statistics, 2013). Religious and ethnic identities overlap to a large extent in the case of all three constituent ethno-religious communities (Muslim Bosniaks, Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats) in Bosnia. Accordingly, this figure approximates the number of 1,769,592 of ethnic Bosniaks, the ethnic name that Bosnian Muslims (re)adopted in 1993 (Kamberović, 2009).

Since the arrival of Islam to Balkan lands during the 15th century, Bosnian Muslims lived and practiced consumed their religious rights under various socio-political systems and circumstances (Karčić, 1999). From then until 19th Bosnia was part of the Ottoman Empire where Islam, in accordance with the principle of the organic unity of the religious and political authority, had the status of the state religion. In 1878 European powers, during the Congress of Berlin, agreed that Bosnia was to be occupied by the Hapsburg Monarchy.

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Accordingly, local Muslims continued their life in a predominantly Catholic country in which Islamic Community was one among five *recognized religions* and corporations of public law whose administration did not enjoy full independence in administration of its affairs, thus loosing many of their rights. Similar trend continued after the disintegration of the Hapsburg Monarchy in 1918 and consequent establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – later on to be named the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

With the end of the World War II, Communists took over the power in new Federal Socialist Yugoslavia, establishing the new state organization and political regime. The new Socialist regime regulated its relations with the religious communities on the basis of principles of the separation of religion from state and religion being a private affair of the citizens. Initially these principles at the hands of the Yugoslavian Communists practically stood for "subjugation of religious communities to state, their treatment as allies of the capitalists and the persecution of those known to be believers" (Karčić, 1999:543). Such attitude towards religion and religious organizations, however, was loosened in the 1960s, leading eventually to a new State Constitution in 1974 and the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities of 1976 that proclaimed "religious communities were separated from the state" (The Law on the Legal Position, 1976, Article 3), while religion was to be strictly "a private matter" (1976, Artticle 1). Finally, the Law prohibited any sort of discrimination against religious communities as well as citizens of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of their religious preference. In comparison to the earlier legislation, the Law loosened state restrictions on activities of religious communities and accordingly resulted in a progressive religious and Islamic revival in the country. In reality, however, all activities of the religious communities remained to be carefully scrutinized and to the possible extent controlled by the Communist regime system through loyal *insiders* all the way until the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 (Smajić, 2017).

The first democratic elections in Bosnia and other republics of former Yugoslavia held in 1990 and consequent aggression against the Bosnian state probably mark a point of historical brake with the Socialist understanding of social role of religion in the country. Today, more than 20 years after the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a secular state with no state religion. It is divided into the Federation of BH mostly inhabited by Muslims and Cath-

olics and Republika Srpska with majority of Orthodox inhabitants, with the strategic town Brčko in the north as a separate district. The state has defined its relations with churches and religious organizations in the Law on Freedom of Religion and Legal Status of Churches and Religious Organizations in BH passed in 2004. The law provides for freedom of religion and religious non-discrimination, the legal status of churches and religious communities, and the establishment of relations between the state and religious communities. In addition, in 2006 the Catholic Church, and in 2008 the Serbian Orthodox Church, signed basic agreements with the state, while the Islamic Community in BH (hereafter ICBH) in January 2010 submitted its proposal of the agreement and since then has been negotiating its contents. The model of secular state practiced in today's BH could be best described as "neutrality with respect" or as "separation with adjustment or cooperation" (Alibašić and Zubčević, 2009:45). It has significantly broadened the scope and modalities in regard to the institutionalization and manifestation of religion in the country, including the corrective institutions and prisons (Smajić, 2017). Thus according to the Law of 2004, "everyone has the right to freedom of religion or belief, including the freedom to publicly profess or not a religion" and „in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in any manner in worship, practice and observance, maintenance of customs and other religious activities" (2004, Article 4). Similarly freedom of religion or belief includes „the right of everyone, individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief, including *inter alia* the right in daily life to practice the principles of his religion or belief and act in accordance with them" (2004, Article 7). In addition, Bosnian government has so far signed several international documents protecting human and religious rights of citizens, including UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (1981) and the European Convention on Human Rights (1950).

The above legislation was further developed with the respective laws and prison regulations adopted later at the level of state and entities. Accordingly, the Federal Law on Implementation of Criminal Sanctions (Zakon o izvršenju krivičnih sankcija, 1998) refers to the right of inmates to consume their religious needs and that prison administration is responsible for providing preconditions for fulfilling religious needs of the imprisoned (Article 12) as well as for possibly attending the burial of their deceased (Article 56) and timely informing the inmates about the way and conditions of fulfill-

ing their religious needs (Article 100). The State Law on Implementation of Criminal Sanctions (Zakon Bosne i Hercegovine, 2016) similarly confirms the above mentioned right adding that inmates are entitled to consume the right in accordance with the teachings of their respective religious communities (Article 58). The Law also refers to the right to consume the food in line with the requirements of their respective religion (Article 56) and responsibility of prison administration to provide *house rules* explaining the way and conditions of fulfilling religious needs (Article 120). Accordingly, prison regulations of different correctional institutions in BH (Pravilnik o kućnom redu, 2011) have required that procedure of menu selection takes into consideration cultural and religious demands of the prisoners (Article 25). They also allow inmates to fulfill their religious and spiritual needs individually or as part of larger congregation in the prison, to use relevant religious literature, and to attend religious rituals and events. According to the prisons norms, a separate room should be provided for *each* religious community. They, furthermore, stipulate that prison administration will provide for regular visits of qualified religious officers in a case of *enough* number of believers as well as will make decision as to whether or not to employ religious officers as full time or part-time workers (Pravilnik o kućnom redu, 1998, Article 37).

ICBH, along with other religious communities in Bosnia, since the aggression against Bosnia in 1992-1995 had used this and similar legal provision to accommodate for religious needs of Muslims prisoners and to provide them with adequate spiritual counsel. According to the respective officers in the IC (Ahmetagić, 2018), these activities have been specially intensified with the adoption of the Law of 2004. Currently twelve imams as a part of their regular activities provide religious service to the inmates of Bosnian prisons. The responsibility of three of them includes the jurisdiction at the prisons on the territory of Tuzla Muftiluk. The Muftiluk, a middle level administration unit of the ICBH covering are of several municipalities, of Tuzla stands for the largest and, for some people, best organized one. It is inhabited by 600 000 Muslims from twenty four municipalities, whose 371 imams are responsible for religious life in 351 Muslim congregations (Muftiluk tuzlanski, 2018). Serving religious needs and spiritual counseling of Muslim inmates that serve their sentences in three prisons under jurisdiction of the Muftiluk is also one of their responsibilities. For last ten years the Muftiluk administration has been making efforts to accommodate for religious needs of the Muslim inmates in the prisons under its jurisdiction. To our best

knowledge, no study of Muslim chaplaincy and religious life in these and other prisons in Bosnia has been done so far. Accordingly, this is rather an exploratory and descriptive study with the overall aim to investigate state, prospects and challenges of Muslim chaplaincy and spiritual counseling in the three prisons under jurisdiction of the Tuzla Muftiluk. More specifically, the study aims to investigate 1) conditions provided for religious praxis of Muslim inmates in the prisons, 2) activities provided as part of the of Muslim chaplaincy and religious counseling, 3) state and motivation of religious practice among the Muslim inmates, 4) educational and other competencies of the Muslim chaplains as well as challenges they are faced with during their chaplaincy service, and 5) state of Islamic counseling as specific activity of Muslim imams.

1) Method

a) Participants

In order to accomplish the above aims, the study included the administration of the Tuzla Muftiluk, administration representatives of the targeted prisons, Muslim imams serving in the prisons and their Muslim inmates. Accordingly the research sample consisted of an officer of the Muftiluk, principles of the three respective prisons in cities of Tuzla, Bijeljina and Orašje, three imams serving in the prisons as part-timers and 87 Muslim inmates. Among the later, 38 (44%) have been serving their sentence in Tuzla, 43 (49%) in Orašje and 6 (7%) in Bijeljina. Importantly, the Tuzla corrective institution is in a part of BH mostly inhabited my Muslim Bosniaks, while the Orašje is mostly inhabited by Catholic Croat people and Bijeljina by Orthodox Serbs. As result, we have had an opportunity to comparatively analyze the state and challenges of Muslim chaplaincy in different prisons.

b) Procedure And Instruments

The data has been collected during the period of February and April 2018. On-line and telephone interviews were conducted with representatives of the Muftiluk and the prisons as well as with the imams to obtain data about prison conditions pertaining religious practice of Muslim inmates, religious activities of imams in the prison as well as their prison experience and perception of the required competencies for Muslim chaplaincy and counsel-

ing in this environment. With the prior approval of respective ministries, we used questionnaire purposely constructed for the study to collect data among the inmates. Using a five point Likert scale we asked them about the prison conditions as far as religious practice is concerned (I am informed about the religious rights in the prison; In the prison I have possibility to practice all Islamic duties; Prison conditions for fulfilling Islamic duties are excellent). To collect data about their religious practice prior to and while serving the sentence we used frequency scale (Never, Rarely, Sometime, Often, Always) when asking the questions pertaining various Islamic duties (I used to fulfill Islamic duties before arrival to the prison; I pray five days a day; I attend Friday Jum'ah prayer in the prison; I fast during Ramadhan in the prison; I attend religious lectures in the prison; I listen to Qur'an in the prison; I attend religious-cultural ceremonies organized in the prison; I use Islamic literature in the prison). On the question about their satisfaction with the religious service in the prison, the inmates answered with Yes or No. As for the state and their experience of individual counseling with imams, the Muslim inmates were asked about their frequency, usual themes as well as themes of their preference and interest.

2) Results

a) Prison Conditions For Practicing Islamic Duties

According to the relevant state legislation (Zakon Bosne i Hercegovine, 2016, Article 58), prison administration in cooperation with religious communities should provide conditions for fulfilling religious rights of the inmates. Informing the imprisoned about their religious rights, the way and requirements of their consumption is an initial aspect in fulfilling the responsibility. Whether Muslim prisoners are informed about that possibility and to which extent, however, is questionable. Prisons imams and principles seemingly have no doubts that conditions for fulfilling religious duties are fairly good on one side. On the other side, however, out of 87 Muslim inmates, 17 (19%) of them (Table 1) disagreed or were uncertain about the claim "I am informed about the religious rights in the prison". Even more than that or 28 (32%) were not able to agree with the statement "In the prison I have possibility to practice all Islamic duties". Eventually, the item "Prison conditions for fulfilling Islamic duties are excellent" was not approved or confirmed by

total 40 (46%) prisoner participants in the study. Here it is telling that in our interviews principles of the prison expected imams to inform the imprisoned about their right to practice religion inside the corrective institution. Their reply, on the contrary, was that they cannot explain religious rights without prior initiative and demand of the imprisoned themselves. Similarly, comparative analysis of the (dis)satisfaction with the conditions in this regard in various prisons reveals a significant difference between corrective institutions in the Federation (i.e. Tuzla i Orašje) and the others in the RS entity (i.e. Bijeljina). Thus almost all Muslim inmates in Bijeljina reported about dissatisfaction with the possibility to practice Islamic duties (83%) as well as with general conditions for their practicing (100%) inside the prison.

Table 1: Satisfaction of Muslim inmates with the prison conditions

No.	Item	Absolutely disagree	Mostly disagree	Uncertain	Mostly agree	Absolutely agree	TOTAL
1.	I am informed about the religious rights in the prison	T - 3	T - 1	T - 4	T - 11	T - 19	T - 38
		O - 1	O - 2	O - 5	O - 14	O - 21	O - 43
		B - 1	B - 0	B - 0	B - 1	B - 4	B - 6
		5	3	9	26	44	87
2.	In the prison I have possibility to practice all Islamic duties	T - 2	T - 2	T - 9	T - 6	T - 19	T - 38
		O - 4	O - 1	O - 5	O - 11	O - 22	O - 43
		B - 5	B - 0	B - 0	B - 0	B - 1	B - 6
		11	3	14	17	42	87
3.	Prison conditions for fulfilling Islamic duties are excellent	T - 2	T - 3	T - 12	T - 14	T - 7	T - 38
		O - 6	O - 4	O - 7	O - 13	O - 13	O - 43
		B - 5	B - 1	B - 0	B - 0	B - 0	B - 6
		13	8	19	27	20	87

* T=Tuzla, O=Orašje, B=Bijeljina

b) Role Of A Muslim Imam And Religious Activities Of The Muslim Inmates In The Prison

Given the above described conditions for practicing Islamic duties, what is the role of imams in the three prisons on the territory of Tuzla Muftiluk, what are the main activities through which they try to fulfill religious needs of the Muslim inmates and how they are delineated? Similarly, to what extent are

the Muslim inmates involved in these activities and satisfied with the provided religious service? According to the earlier mentioned laws, religious activities inside the prison are eventually to be decided and agreed upon through mutual cooperation between prison and religious authorities once a significant number of inmates explicitly express their interest in consuming religious rights. That is the moment when prison authorities contact Chief Imam at the city asking for support in providing the religious service for the inmates.

These religious activities usually include conducting weekly Jum'a prayer, biannually 'Eid prayers and ceremonies, collective fast breaking and Tarawih prayers during the month of Ramadhan, occasional religious lectures and providing selected religious literature and individual counsel for the inmates. However, the mentioned activities are not conducted with the same frequency in all three prisons analyzed here. The best organized corrective institution in that sense is the one in Tuzla where all mentioned activities are present on regular basis. In the other two, however, they are conducted only occasionally and sporadically. Accordingly, religious activities and role of imams in the prisons of Orašje and Bijeljina has been mostly reduced to conducting 'Eid prayers and ceremonies twice a year. In addition, noteworthy is willingness of prison administration to accommodate for attending burial services in case of death of the family members.

The Muslim inmates, on the other side, report (Table 2) about their relatively weak attachment to religion prior to the imprisonment. Out of 87 prisoners, 22 of them (25%) report about often and regular practicing religious duties before the arrival to the corrective institution. This confirms general tendency that less religious individuals are more prone towards criminal behavior. The similar trend continues in the prison with relatively similar portion of the Muslim inmates report about regular praying five times a day (9 or 10%), attending Jum'a prayer (17 or 20%), fasting month of Ramadhan (29 or 33%), attending religious lectures (18 or 21%), listening to recitation of the Qur'an (18 or 21%), attending religious ceremonies (27 or 31%) and using Islamic literature (26 or 30%) inside the corrective institution. It seems that practicing religion in the prison is possibly very much related to the religious attitudes of the inmates before the imprisonment. The exception in this regard is possibly inmates of Bijeljina prison where half of them (3 or 50%) often practiced Islamic duties prior to the imprisonment. In the prison

this frequency significantly dropped with none of six prisons praying five times a day, attending Jum'a prayer or attending religious lectures of the imam, and only one attending religious ceremonies and two fasting month of Ramadhan. This shows that the level of religious activities of the Muslim inmates is seemingly related to the place they serve their sentence and the extent to which the environment and its conditions are supportive towards the practice of Islamic religious duties.

Table 2: Religious practice of the Muslim inmates prior and during the imprisonment

		Never	Rarely	Sometime	Often	Always	**Total**
1.	I practiced Islamic duties prior to the imprisonment	TZ – 3	TZ - 16	TZ – 10	TZ – 7	TZ - 2	TZ - 38
		OR - 4	OR - 9	OR - 20	OR - 3	OR - 7	OR - 43
		BN – 2	BN - 0	BN – 1	BN – 3	BN - 0	BN - 6
		9	25	31	13	9	87
2.	I pray five times a day in the prison	TZ – 19	TZ - 12	TZ – 2	TZ – 2	TZ - 3	TZ - 38
		OR - 24	OR - 8	OR - 7	OR - 2	OR - 2	OR - 43
		BN – 6	BN - 0	BN – 0	BN – 0	BN - 0	BN - 6
		49	20	9	4	5	87
3.	I attend Jum'a prayer in the prison	TZ – 14	TZ - 10	TZ – 2	TZ – 7	TZ - 5	TZ - 38
		OR - 26	OR - 9	OR - 3	OR - 2	OR - 3	OR - 43
		BN – 6	BN - 0	BN – 0	BN – 0	BN - 0	BN - 6
		36	19	5	9	8	87
4.	I fast month of Ramadhan in the prison	TZ – 17	TZ - 1	TZ – 5	TZ – 5	TZ - 10	TZ - 38
		OR - 17	OR - 9	OR - 5	OR - 4	OR - 8	OR - 43
		BN – 3	BN - 1	BN – 0	BN – 0	BN - 2	BN - 6
		37	11	10	9	20	87
5.	I attend religious lectures of imams in the prison	TZ – 19	TZ - 3	TZ – 7	TZ – 5	TZ - 6	TZ - 38
		OR - 23	OR - 7	OR - 6	OR - 1	OR - 6	OR - 43
		BN – 6	BN - 0	BN – 0	BN – 0	BN - 0	BN - 6
		48	10	13	6	12	87
6.	I listen to recitation of the Qur'an in the prison	TZ – 13	TZ - 7	TZ – 9	TZ – 2	TZ - 7	TZ - 38
		OR - 20	OR - 3	OR - 11	OR - 2	OR - 7	OR - 43
		BN – 5	BN - 0	BN – 1	BN - 0	BN - 0	BN – 6
		38	10	21	4	14	87

		TZ – 8	TZ - 7	TZ – 9	TZ – 4	TZ - 10	TZ - 38
7.	I attend religious ceremonies in the prison	OR - 20	OR - 5	OR - 6	OR - 2	OR -10	OR - 43
		BN – 5	BN - 0	BN – 0	BN – 0	BN - 1	BN – 6
		33	12	15	6	21	87
		TZ – 11	TZ - 4	TZ – 9	TZ – 4	TZ - 10	TZ - 38
8.	I use Islamic litera-ture in the prison	OR - 18	OR - 6	OR - 5	OR - 3	OR - 9	OR - 43
		BN - 4	BN - 1	BN – 1	BN – 0	BN - 0	BN – 6
		33	11	15	7	19	87

* T=Tuzla, O=Orašje, B=Bijeljina

The above conclusion is somehow supported by the finding that 25 inmates out of 38 (66%) in Tuzla and 22 out of 43 (51%) in Orašje are satisfied with the state of religious service in the prisons contrary to the corrective institution in Bijeljina where none of them positively replied to the question (Table 3). On other side, majority of them, 82% and 86% in Tuzla and Orašje respectively and 33% in Bijeljina, are satisfied with the work of imam. It seems that the Muslim inmates understand that the quality of religious service to certain extent depends on the cooperation of the prison administration and its support and not solely on the efforts of imam himself.

Table 3: Inmates' satisfaction with the religious service and work of imam in the prison

Are you satisfied with the religious service in the prisons?

	Tuzla	Orašje	Bijeljina	Total	%
Yes	25	22	0	47	54
No	13	21	6	40	46
Total	38	43	6	87	100

Are you satisfied with the work of imam in the prison?

	Tuzla	Orašje	Bijeljina	Total	%
Yes	31	37	2	70	80
No	7	6	4	17	20
Total	38	43	6	87	100

Finally, where do the Muslim inmates find inspiration for their religious engagement in the prison and who are the people encouraging them to practice religion? According to their answers (Table 4), it is mostly family members that motivate them to seek refuge in the religion. On the second place they mention some other factors and only thirdly imam in the corrective

institution.

Table 4: The inmates' source of religious motivation

Who motivates you to practice religious activities in the prison?				
	Tuzla	Orašje	Bijeljina	Total	%
Family	20	25	3	48	55
Prison officers	2	0	0	2	3
Other inmates	2	5	0	7	8
Imam in the prison	4	4	0	8	9
Other	10	9	3	22	26
Total	38	43	6	87	100

c) Personal Profile And Competencies Of The Prison Imams

The imams interviewed in the study included six individuals, three of them who are currently engaged in providing religious services for Muslim inmates and three who did this job during previous years. None of them is fully employed by the prison administration but rather provide religious services for Muslim inmates as a part of their regular duties in nearby Muslim congregation. In addition, imams in the prisons of Orašje and Bijeljina provide their services voluntarily, while imam in Tuzla is rewarded by the local administration of the IC for his part-time services. In regard to their educational background, all of them are graduates of the Faculty of Islamic Studies in Sarajevo, capital of BH, with the degrees in Islamic sciences. According to the interviewed imams, they do not posses any additional formal education in regard to the challenges of chaplaincy in the prisons and appropriate ways in facing them. Similarly, they feel they are in need for additional education in areas of psychology and sociology as well as for improving their competencies in regard to interpersonal communication and counseling having in mind demands of individual counsel and the rehabilitation and resocialization as ultimate aims of the imprisonment sentence.

On the other hand, the interviewed imams expressed their satisfaction and sincere interest in work with the Muslim population in the prisons where, admittingly, conditions for Muslim religious service are fairly good. The inspiration for them primarily comes from the perception they are eventually doing good deed, fulfilling their duty as imams and facing a new chal-

lenge. As the greatest obstacle they find inability to reconcile their eagerness for the chaplaincy with the demands of prison administration and rules, on one side, and sometime nonexistent interest and initiative of the inmates to consume religious rights, on the other.

d) Islamic Counseling In The Prison

Individual meeting with prison imams is one of religious rights guaranteed to the Muslim inmates by the respective legal provisions in the corrective institutions in the Tuzla Muftiluk. The meeting is not a regular activity of the imam but rather an occasional event taking place on initiative of an inmate at the moment of perceived need and crisis. Similarly an imam is allowed to ask for meeting with a person when seeing it appropriate or possibly at the time of particular events taking a place in the life of a prisoner. The meeting is a good opportunity to tackle different themes that may burden the soul and mind of an inmate, thus offering him a different perspective and inner peace as well as motivating towards useful activities and meaningful rehabilitation and resocialization. Therefore, it is an important question as to how often and in which way Muslim inmates consume this legal right and use opportunity to share their secrets and private difficulties with the imam.

During the interviews imams underlined their perception that the prisoners are interested in talking to them about different topics. According to the obtained results (Table, 5), however, 49 of the interviewed inmates (56%) either have never met the imam for individual counsel or do not have anything that possibly would discuss with him. Majority of these individuals come from the prisons in Bijeljina and Orašje. Out of these 49 individuals, in the case of Bijeljina all six participants (12%) expressed this view, while in Orašje 28 (57%) and in Tuzla 15 (31%) shared this opinion. In another words, out of 38 inmates who have met imam for individual counsel, none is coming from Bijeljina prison, while 18 (47%) and 24 (63%) are from corrective institutions in Orašje and Tuzla respectively. Individual counsel as a mean of communication with the Muslim prisoners and mechanism of their personal grow and rehabilitation seemingly is not existent in some of the corrective institutions, while in others is relatively underdeveloped.

Table 5: Frequency of inmates' individual meeting with imam

How often do you meet with imam in the prison for individual counsel?

	Tuzla	Orašje	Bijeljina	**Total**	%
Constantly	0	5	0	5	6
Every day	2	0	0	2	2
Once a week	4	2	0	6	7
When feel need	17	8	0	25	29
Have nothing to talk about	1	0	2	3	3
Never	14	28	4	46	53
Total	38	43	6	87	100

Among the topics discussed with imams, these inmates have mentioned religious education, family issues, life difficulties, organization of life in the prison, political themes and other issues without naming them. When asked about themes they preferably would like to discuss they have referred to good deeds (30%), repentance for sins (23%), marriage and family issues (11%), useful work (9%), education and job (2%) and some other issues (25%) failing however to name them. Discrepancy between discussed and preferred issues possibly points to direction of future efforts as well as to the reasons behind the limited success of spiritual counseling among the Muslim prisoners.

Discussion

Presence of religion in Bosnian corrective institutions, including the ones under jurisdiction of Tuzla Muftiluk, witnessed a significant progress with the Law of 2004. Since then the Muftiluk administration together with headquarter of the ICBH in Sarajevo made considerable efforts to improve state of Muslim chaplaincy and spiritual care in the prisons, thus accommodating for the religious needs of the Muslim inmates. The extent of their success, however, remains limited and questionable on the basis of several mutually related indicators. Firstly, irrespective of over time improved legislations regulating the religious rights and environment requirements, the Muslim prisoners seem not to be fully satisfied with conditions provided for practicing Islamic duties in the prison. This dissatisfaction is especially evident in Bijeljina prison – a corrective institution with small number of Muslim prisoners, which is located in an area where Muslim Bosniaks represent minority population. Similarly and as the second, almost half of the prisoners have expressed their dissatisfaction with the quality of religious service, which is again especially present

among Bijeljina inmates. Thirdly, according to the statements of Muslim inmates, the practice of individual spiritual counsel is almost nonexistent, and especially so inside the prisons of Bijeljina and Orašje.

What can possibly account for discrepancy between eagerness of Muslim imams to devote themselves to religious work and spiritual care, on one side, and lack of interest among the inmates for religious activities and especially individual spiritual counsel, on the other? First of all, providing the religious service for Muslim inmates is matter of cooperation between prison administration and authorities of the ICBH represented by the imam. The earlier mentioned diffusion of responsibility in informing the inmates about their religious rights shows that this cooperation sometimes does not work out. The fact that there is no detailed guide clarifying religious rights of the inmates and the ways they can possibly consume them only adds to such situation. Furthermore, inmates are mostly people without history of strong religious attachment prior to the imprisonment and these attitudes towards religion obviously have tendency to persist. Finally, a prison is working environment that significantly differs from a regular Muslim congregation. Existence of difficulties among imams in adapting to demands of Muslim chaplaincy and spiritual care in prisons can be deduced from their need for additional education in counseling. Altogether, these findings possibly reveal the reasons behind the limited success of religious service and spiritual counseling among the Muslim prisoners as well as bring attention to recommendable means of cooperative action of Muslim religious authorities and prison administration in the future.

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Imam-Chaplains in The Penitentiary System of Ukraine

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1) Prison Jamaats and Green Prisons

Active changes in the world, such as migration crisis, development of transnational networks of radical ideology (namely Al-Qaeda or "Islamic State"), slowly lead to an understanding of the role that imam-chaplains have in the state institutional system, primarily, in an army and penitentiary system. Not so long ago the researchers of radicalization noted that generally just a few jihadists were radicalized in a prison. Jerome P. Bjelopera stated that "the lack of conclusive prison-based radicalization among the jihadist terrorism plots and foiled attacks since 9/11 suggests that the threat emanating from prisons does not seem as substantial as some experts may fear" (Bjelopera 2011: 24).

Nevertheless, the situation is dramatically changing nowadays. In the post-Soviet countries, especially in Russia, so-called "prison jamaats" are actively developing, they first emerged after the First Chechen War (1994-96). As CSIS expert Denis Sokolov believes, a mass inflow of Muslims into the Russian prisons started after the launch of the Second Chechen campaign. Since then, Islam has been getting more and more popular in Russian prisons. Over recent years, it has become equal to so-called "Black Prisons" ("Black Zones" – *Chernaya Zona*)[2], where informal power belongs to criminal leaders, a new term emerged, namely a "Green Prisons" ("Green Zone" – *Ze-*

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2   "Zone" being a slang term for "prison" in Russian.

lyonaya Zona) to describe prisons, where informal control was taken over by the Muslims (Tumanov, 2016).

Since the 2000s, natives of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan have been appearing among the convicts; they often had undergone through a special training to recruit members for radical organizations. According to the first deputy director of Federal Penitentiary Service (*Federal'naya Sluzhba Ispolneniya Nakazanii* – FSIN of Russia) Anatolii Rudoy, there are now 29 thousand convicts from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan in Russian prisons; their number might increase due to labor migration (Kurilova, 2018).

Not only a weak control over labor migration but also strict reprisal policies in the states of origin towards the adherents of radical groups contributed to their entry into Russian Federation. Such persons, especially those convicted for criminal extremism (crimes of extremist subtext and terroristic nature), refused to accept the status of an "ordinary" convict, considering themselves to be "prisoners of war" (members of illegal armed units acting in the North Caucasus) or "prisoners of conscience", convicted for their beliefs (such as "Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami" members) (Sysoev 2014 : 93).

Moreover, as the director of Center for Studies of Religion and Society of Institute of Europe of Russian Academy of Sciences Roman Lunkin believes, criminalization of Islamic communities and strengthening of prison jamaats can be largely explained through the adoption on June, 25, 2002 of the federal law "On Combating Extremist Activities" (Kurilova, 2018). As a result of this law, a lot of Islamic groups were criminalized, from Said Nusri followers up to members of Tablighi Jamaat.

According to the data of FSIN of Russia, in 2013 there were 279 Islamic communities (embracing about 10,600 Muslim convicts), 51 mosques and 228 prayer rooms (musallas); more than 85 Muslim courses on Traditional Islam were organized for convicts, there are more than 7,800 students. A growth in the number of convicts, propagating extremist ideologies, is also to observe, at about 40% annually (Chislo propovednikov… 2013).

The situation with the prison jamaats got substantially worse, as the "Islamic state" terrorist organization emerged and its adherents started to get into prisons. It should be taken into consideration, that it was the post-Soviet countries, especially Russia, that became the source for the "IS" recruits. Recruitment networks of the "IS" militants within Russian prisons contributed

heavily to it. Particularly, an investigation into the FSIN's functioning, conducted by the Prosecutor General of Russia, established that prisoners were being recruited. The convicts were induced to pledge the allegiance for the "IS" (Osuzhdennyh… 2018).

A similar situation, though with its own peculiarities, emerged in Ukraine, that over the last years has become a transit base for radical Islamists. In particular, there are channels of illegal migration and further transit of the former "IS" militants to the EU states. For a long time, there has been a similar migration channel from Turkey to Ukraine. As an activist of the muhajir movement, Salman Sever, states, Turkey offered to those with Russian citizenship (or from post-Soviet countries in general), who were expelled on suspicions in terrorist activity, to choose the third, safe country; this is why the main flow went to Georgia and Ukraine (Tuaev, 2016).

Former "IS" militants estimate that in Ukraine there could be up to several hundreds of formers combatants from war fields in Syria and Iraq. Several factors contribute to the accumulation of illegal jihadist migrants in Ukraine (mainly from the former USSR-countries). To name a few: 1) popularity of Russian language in Ukraine; 2) confidence that Ukraine does not extradite aliens to the countries of origin; 3) neutral stance towards Muslims; 4) simplicity of obtaining forged documents to travel freely. As the leader of Nogai diaspora in Turkey, Abu Mansur Nogaiskii, notes, confirming the aforementioned Salman Sever's position, Ukraine is a temporary haven for those captured in Turkey and deported to Ukraine (Sergatskova, 2017).

Moreover, Ukraine remains an attractive destination for members of the political movement of "Hizb ut-Tahrir"; they also propagate actively their ideology in prisons, where a lot of illegal Muslim migrants are. After 2014, "Hizb ut-Tahrir" members departed en masse from the Crimean peninsula to the Kyiv-controlled territories. Thus, imam-chaplains in Ukraine are forced above all to combat the distortions of the Islamic dogma among the most vulnerable Muslim groups — those in prisons.

2) Prison Imams And Their Role In Ummas

Islamization of the underworld, emerging prison jamaats, growing numbers of those returned from the "IS" and other regions of high terrorist danger challenges modern society to combat radicalization in prisons. Several scholars believe that one of the possible ways to do this is to introduce service of prison imam-chaplains. As noted by A. Wilner, correctional service must em-

ploy enough qualified imams to attend to prisoners' religious needs, screen them properly to be sure they are not part of the problem rather than the solution, and train them in confronting extremism effectively. And correctional service must scrutinize the literature available in prisons, removing texts that support terrorism and providing ones published by tolerant religious authorities (Wilner, 2010).

Meanwhile, one should not put too much hope onto prison imams. According to G. Marranci, "prisoners of Muslim backgrounds, after having ceased to practise Islam, rediscover their religion more through an 'epiphany' than a theological commitment. This process has an impact on how some Muslims react to the official version of Islam sponsored by the prison authorities and which the prison imam embodies. The emotional impact of prison, the frequent extreme lack of dignity perceived by some Muslim prisoners and the feeling that, despite their crimes, they are in prison because of a deeply rooted, eschatological injustice, provoke not only those 'cognitive openings' that many Muslim prisoners experience, but also a rarer spontaneous exegetical rejection. Imams within the prison (as indeed outside) operate inside a 'doctrinal mode of religiosity' that is based upon doctrines derived from scriptures (as in all monotheistic religions). However, since the majority of Muslim prisoners have had very little exposure to the doctrinal mode of Islamic religiosity, the traumatic experience of prison facilitates 'insights' and 'mystical' experiences (i.e. spontaneous exegetical rejection) in which emotions and feelings matter more than theological orthodoxy (of which very few Muslim prisoners have pre-prison knowledge). It is perhaps, then, unsurprising that the doctrinal mode of Islam offered within prison has little, if any, appeal to some Muslim prisoners" (Marranci, 2009: 18).

On the post-Soviet space, especially in Russia and Ukraine, there is one more problem linked to the prison imams' activities, namely diversity of Muslim religious unions that often have contradicting ideological stances. Roman Lunkin points out the notion that Muslim clergies in Russia also belong to various directions. There are spiritual administrations not ready to call Salafists and Wahhabis extremist. Hence, in jail people from various religious directions may be unsatisfied talking to imam form another school of thought (Kurilova, 2018).

Additionally, imams' job in prisons is complicated due to the fact that adherents of radical views do not essentially acknowledge imams from official religious structures. According to Shamil Arslanov, the head of the

department of cooperation with armed forces, law enforcement and prison service of Spiritual Administration of Russian Federation (DUM RF), there are cases when Muslim prisoners refuse the services provided by an official imam since the latter isn't imprisoned. Adherents of radical beliefs in Islam think that an imam should be in opposition, he should be a martyr, a prisoner, since authorities are evil (Shyrizhik, 2018).

Conflicts between radical Muslim prisoners and imams from official religious unions can lead to fist fighting. The imam from Kazan Burnaiev mosque, Farkhad Mavliutdinov, tells that there are several adherents of radical views among Muslim prisoners; the former strive to convert their inmates to their own version of Islam. If that doesn't happen, they try to use force, thereby propagating the rightness of their aquidah (belief system). Mavliutdinov gives an example of an imam beaten up in one of the Kazan prisons as he came there to preach a sermon on the necessity of following Hanafi, a traditional for Tatars Islamic school (Suleimanov, 2012).

3) Prison Imams In Ukraine

The situation in Ukraine is more difficult. Unlike Russia, Ukraine has more diverse religion policies, there is no list of forbidden organizations (in Russia those are "Hizb ut-Tahrir", Tablighi Jamaat etc.). Moreover, Ukrainian Umma is highly fragmented, that intensifies competition between religious centers. By 2013, despite the small scope of Ukrainian Muslim community there were 7 spiritual Muslim centres, organized mainly by ethnics[3]: Spiritual Administration of Muslims in Crimea (DUMK), Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Ukraine in Kyiv (DUMU), Spiritual Center of Ukraine's Muslims in Donetsk (DCMU), Religious Administration of Independent Muslim Organizations of Ukraine (RUNMOU) "Kyiv Muftiate" in Kyiv, Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Ukraine "Umma" in Kyiv (DUMU-Umma), Spiritual Center of Muslims in Crimes (DCMK) in Eupatoria and All-Ukrainian Spiritual Union of Muslims "Yedinenie" ("Unity") in Makiivka. After 2014, DUMK and DCMK (whose alumni created Central spiritual board of Muslims "Tavric Muftiate") got out of Ukraine's legal field, whereas "Yedinenie" and DCMU turned out to be on the territory of an armed conflict (self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic and Luhansk People's Republic). The other spiritual administrations (the aforementioned DUMU, DUMU-Umma

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3   Aside from Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Ukraine and, with some reservations, DUMU-Umma.

and RUNMOU, as well as registered in late 2017 Spiritual Board of Muslims of Autonomous Republic of Crimea, DUM ARC), and independent Muslim communities, not joined one of the spiritual board, continue their activities on the Kyiv-controlled Ukrainian territory.

Ideological disunity and low level of Ukrainian Muslims' religious knowledge also contribute to the competition between religious centers. Since the early 1950s, Islam has not existed de jure in Soviet Ukraine. It was reduced to the level of local communities, gathered around a small group of people who still had certain religious knowledge and skills.[4] Such a situation could be observed in 1960-80s within the main communities of Volga Tatars in Donbas and Crimean Tatars in Kherson oblast, as well as in exile. Hence, a small part of Ukraine's Muslim communities continue the communities created then, still leaning to this "tradition", matured in the Soviet era, when public practice of Islam was not possible, and the religious rites associated with religious holidays (Eid al-Adha, Eid al-Fitr, and Mawlid) and life-cycle rituals (naming, circumcision, nikah, janaza, funeral) remained viable (Brylov, 2018b: 182).

Currently, it is possible to distinguish two main religious centers that are in a fierce confrontation, including competing with each other on the field of prison chaplaincy: the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Ukraine (*Dukhovne upravlinnia musulman Ukraïny* – DUMU) headed by Sheikh Aḥmad Tamīm; and the All-Ukrainian Association of Social Organisations Al-Ra'id (which in Ukraine is referred to simply as Alraid) together with its proxy-muftiat, called *Dukhovne upravlinnia musul'man Ukraïny 'Umma'* – DUMU-Umma (mufti – Sheikh Said Ismagilov), that draws on the activities of Arab students who study in Ukraine.

The DUMU emerged as an off-shoot of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims in the European Part of Russia and Siberia (DUMES) that was re-established in 1948 in Ufa (Soviet Bashkiria) and which had also been formally responsible for the needs of Ukrainian Muslims, even though it did not engage in any activities on Ukrainian soil. On 14 August 1992 the DUMES agreed on the creation of a Ukrainian regional unit (*mukhtasibat*) within the DUMES, and appointed Ahmad Tamim as its head (with the function of imam-muḥtasib). In April 1993 this mukhtasibat was re-registered as the Kyiv Muftiate, known as the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Ukraine (DUMU) with Sheikh Ahmad Tamim operating independently from Ufa.

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4   This group usually consisted of mullahs, their assistants, and women specialized on Quran reading and funeral rites (*abïstay* in the Volga Tatar tradition).

The DUMU is an association of members from various ethnic groups, not only from the Hanafi and Shafi'i schools of law that are predominant in Ukraine but also from the two other Sunni madhhabs. In addition, the DUMU aims at uniting representatives of different Sufi groups. Most common are the groups that are widespread in the North Caucasus and Central Asia, especially the Naqshbandiyya (in its various branches), as well as the Qādiriyya and Shādhiliyya; there are also followers of the Rifā'iyya in the DUMU.

The Alraid was established in 1997 and represents the reformist trend in Ukrainian Islam. Ideologically, organisationally and financially it is connected with the global Muslim Brotherhood movement. As Ukrainian researchers have argued, the Alraid typifies a new type of Islamic organisation that reflects the efficiency of contemporary Middle Eastern Islamic movements, bringing together the traditions of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and modern methods of social project management. Because of its charitable-organisation status, Alraid could not register as another Muftiate in Ukraine; the solution to this problem was the establishment in 2008 of the DUMU-Umma, seen as the 'front Muftiate' for Alraid in Ukraine (Brylov, 2018a: 160-161).

The system of prison chaplains in Ukraine started its formation not so long ago, and now the main structure responsible for prison chaplaincy is the Pastoral Council for religious guardianship in the penitentiary system under the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine. The Council coordinates pastoral care of convicts and detainees in institutions, penitentiaries and investigation departments of the State Penitentiary Service of Ukraine, as well as the staff of these institutions.

According to the Statute, the Pastoral Council is a permanent interfaith advisory body working on a voluntary basis. Its members may be official representatives of registered religious centers and administrations.

The Pastoral Council has the following tasks.

Coordination of activities of pastoral care of convicts and detainees, pastoral care of prison staff and institutions, as well as making proposals on these issues to the Ministry of Justice.

1. Promotion of tolerant and friendly relations, mutual respect among believers of different churches (religious organizations), prevention and elimination of the causes of possible interfaith conflicts, development of interfaith cooperation in matters of pastoral care in penitentiaries and related institutions.

2. Discussion of current issues and preparation of mutually agreed proposals on draft legislation on humanization, implementation of citizens' right to freedom of conscience, reform of the penitentiary system.

3. Monitoring of the state of compliance with the right to freedom of thought and religion in penitentiary institutions and centers.

Additional functions of the Pastoral Council are the following.

1. Approval of candidates for positions of the clergy (chaplains) in penitentiary bodies and institutions, authorized by the governing bodies of churches (religious organizations) to take the pastoral care of convicts.

2. Restoration (construction, reconstruction) of religious buildings and other premises for worship and religious meetings at penitentiary bodies and institutions, and organization of their activities.

3. Study and analysis of the results of pastoral work with convicts.

4. Organization of spiritual, educational and charitable events of interfaith cooperation in penitentiary bodies and institutions, as well as providing assistance for education, correction, and reintegration of former convicts into society.

5. Approval of the procedure of special training for clergymen (chaplains) and granting of power to carry out the activities of pastoral care of convicts and detainees, the staff of penitentiary bodies and institutions in coordination with the Ministry of Justice (Minyust sozdal… 2017).

The Council consists of representatives of all major denominations of Ukraine, including representatives of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Ukraine (DUMU) — the largest Association of Sunni Muslims in Ukraine. Within the framework of cooperation with the Penitentiary Service of Ukraine, imams of the DUMU visit Muslims serving sentences in different regions of Ukraine. The DUMU, through its communities in the regions, regularly maintains contact with prisoners, visits them, tries to help morally and financially, for instance, providing necessary drugs, clothing etc. Moreover, an important place in the work of the DUMU imams is given to the religious education among prisoners, the transfer of reliable religious knowledge to them in order to assist in compliance with the rituals (primarily – Friday prayer, Salat al-Janazah, etc.), performance of their duties, repentance from past sins, and also assists in the opening of religious libraries for prisoners. The DUMU also tries to help some prisoners by applying for a review of

the sentence or reducing of the term of conviction, after release they help to find a job and adapt to this society. Particularly, the DUMU imams are active in the Southern Ukraine (Kherson and Mykolaiv oblasts). For example, on February 10, 2013, there were meetings between the convicts and the head of Mykolaiv city and oblast community, imam Ruslan Binali-ogly, in the penal colonies № 72 and № 83 (Blagoslovennyi Maulid… 2013).

Aside from working directly with Muslim prisoners, representatives of the DUMU conduct training courses for employees of the penitentiary system of Ukraine. During such courses, the instructors of the DUMU explain the religious needs of Muslim prisoners, such as the need for daily five-fold prayer, Friday prayer, Halal food, and others. Additionally, the employees of the penitentiary system get explanations of the danger of extremist ideas among prisoners, the mechanisms of recruitment by adherents of radical ideologies who remain in freedom (Kazhdyi imeet shans ispravit'sya… 2018).

In addition to the DUMU, whose imams are part of the aforementioned Pastoral Council, Muslim prisoners are actively working with representatives of the Alraid and DUMU-Umma, connected to the global network of "Muslim Brotherhood" (Brylov 2016). Unlike the imams of the DUMU, who try to work centrally, through the management of the Penitentiary service and the administrations of the colonies, Ukrainian Islamists work targeted, at the request of the prisoners themselves. Namely, DUMU-Umma supports 173 convicts from Ukraine and neighboring countries (Russian Federation, Belarus, Czechia). Each of these persons once showed their initiative and started to correspond with the religious administration. The address was to find in the literature sent to prison libraries. Through private correspondence, the Muslim convicts get moral support as well as literature and prayer mats. Those Muslim prisoners with no relatives outside the prison walls to help them are provided with clothing, shoes, and food if necessary. According to Igor Karpishen, chairman of the DUMU-Umma, the empowerment of prisoners depends solely on them; no one outside will be able to arrange their routine and provide conditions for the implementation of religious practice if they do not show initiative (Malen'kaya mechet'… 2012).

Among the institutions of the penitentiary system of Ukraine, where representatives of Alraid and DUMU-Umma work actively with Muslim prisoners, one should mention Kholodnogorsk penal colony №18 (Kharkiv oblast). There, in 2012, a prayer room for Muslim prisoners was opened.

Zhytomyr penal colony № 4 is also to name. At the same time, both colonies are for convicts for grave and especially grave crimes.

To sum up our study, one can state that today in Ukraine a system of prison chaplaincy is actively forming; Muslims take part in it. Meanwhile, the main problems that prison imams and Ukrainian penitentiary system generally face could be split into two groups. On the one hand, it is penitentiary staff's weak awareness of Muslims' distresses, spiritual needs, namely individual fivefold and Friday collective prayers, as well as food restrictions. On the other hand, in a very short period of time Ukraine has become a place of concentration for post-Soviet jihadists who use places of detention to promote their radical ideology. The state was not ready for such a turn of events. At the moment, it is difficult to determine how successful and effective the institution of prison imams in Ukraine will be. Nevertheless, one can state that certain changes have begun.

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The Concept of *birr* as a Theological Foundation of Pastoral Care
A New Approach to Establishing Islamic Pastoral Care and Social Work

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1) Challenges of Establishing Islamic Pastoral Care and Social Work

Since the early 2000s, Islamic Pastoral Care is frequently being discussed in Germany (Friedrich, Ebert & Stiftung, 2001). It does, though, continue to strive towards being established as a discipline. This is true both for its theoretical foundations and the practical implementation of Islamic Pastoral Care in the country. Overall, in regards to the theological debate, three categories ought to be determined: Firstly, the debate about the definition and identification of terminology, secondly, efforts to shift the topic to Islamic Theology in particular, and lastly an explanation why Pastoral Care has always been an integral part of Islam (Uçar, et al., 2013). Furthermore, attention needs to be drawn to other concepts related to this topic. Thus, core aspects of the discussion also encompass the relationship between a care for physical, emotional and spiritual needs, the connection between Pastoral Care efforts, medical counseling and therapy, the differences between individual and categorical Pastoral Care and as well as distinctions between professional and voluntary Pastoral Care (Uçar, et al., 2013). The underlying intentions defining these concepts are to provide proof that Is- lam is already familiar with approaches to religious care as Pastoral Care. Thus, Muslims in need due

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to accidents or other woes are not left alone but supported in their struggle to come to terms with their situations and their attempts to find answers to life-related questions. "If one subscribes to the notion that Pastoral Care is a religiously motivated and substantiated means of support, it does not simply exist since the beginning of Islam, no; it goes beyond by having an essential meaning for the religiousness according to the Islamic understanding" (Uçar, et al., 2013). Pastoral Care bears certain challenges. These ought to be established and accepted in the community and need to be present in theological research. As for the latter aspect, my article attempts to depict a new approach in order to add another concept to thediscussion. Forreasonsthatshallbecomeapparent later, thenewconcept is especially important for Pastoral Care in prisons.

When attempting to establish a theological basis for Islamic Pastoral Care, scholars often refer to literature discussing the notion of mercy in Islam. Presently, two exemplary anthologies, titled "Barmherzigkeit – zur sozialen Verantwortung islamischer Seelsorge" and "Raḥma – Notfallbegleitung für Muslime und mit Muslimen" (Lemmen, et al., 2011) are to be stated.

As their titles imply, both volumes attempt to define mercifulness as the theological basis for social responsibility, thus locating the roots of Islamic Pastoral Care in this notion. Below, I intend to examine critically the concept of mercifulness, using the example of two articles from the first mentioned anthology in order to clarify my reasons for proposing an expansion to the concept of *birr*.

Silvia Horsch attempts to derive a basis for Pastoral Care by profoundly analyzing termini such as mercifulness, *iḥsān*, *birr* and *mawadda* (Horsch, 2014). Rightfully, the author points out important technical terms. One should note, however, that her explanations of the concepts are mostly in "fiqh- mode", a point of view restricting her understanding and forming a strictly binary vision (Commanding – Forbidding). Iḥsān, for example, can be summarized as meaning "to serve Allah as if one could see him". In other words, the term refers to a conscious state of awareness of the presence of God, with the execution of good deeds being an immediate consequence (Horsch, 2014). The connection Horsch constructs between acting as if one could see God and the Islamic Pastoral Care begs certain questions: Should one's willingness to perform good deeds be motivated by a hope for divine rewards or fear of eternal punishment? Or should one's help be given be-

cause good-will and graciousness are ethical values every human being should possess? While Horsch brushes other termini aside and portrays mercifulness as "the more connective" element for a concept of Pastoral Care, notions such as *birr*, love, mildness and mercifulness must not be disregarded (Horsch, 2014). In this context, some of God's names, for instance *ar-Raḥmān* (The Most Gra- cious), *ar-Raḥīm* (the Most Merciful) and *al-Ġaffār* (the Superb Forgiver) are at the forefront of the debate. Additionally, Horsch points to other names of God, with *at-Tawwāb* (The Acceptor of Repentance) and *al-ʿAfūw* (the Effacer of Sins) being two examples. Horsch underlines her reasoning about the mercifulness by citing multiple quranic verses attesting humans to being created weak, anxious, rash and forgetful (Horsch,2014).

Esnaf Begić tries to carve a basis for Islamic Pastoral Care out in similar fashion (Horsch, 2014). In his examination of the topic, Begić attempts to construct a concept on the basis of particular quranic verses that he rightly describes as having an ethical dimension. With his observations being focused on the classical debate on *īmān* and *ʿamal,* Begić brings the term *taqwā* into focus and offers a definition that can possibly work as a basis for Islamic social ethics (Begić, et al. 2014).

Considering the many possible implications of *ʿamal* and due to no distinction between *ʿamal* as a ritual and *ʿamal* as interpersonal action being made (Begić, et al. 2014), I argue against approaches to use the term for justifications in regards to being charitable to those in need (Begić, et al. 2014). Begić also highlights the dichotomy of "doing good vs. doing bad". Thus, he denies people the ability to do good without religious affiliation: "Without religion, there is no such thing as good deeds, and without good deeds religion is incredible - *Ohne den Glauben gibt es somit keine guten Werke, und ohne gute Werke ist der Glaube selbst unglaubwürdig*". (Begić, et al. 2014). Furthermore, Begić examines the terms *iḥsān* and *birr,* all while pointing out the difficulty of translating both terms. *Iḥsān* is without a doubt a central Islamic command. Yet unlike Begić's assumption, it does not qualify as a basis for a satisfying concept in connection to Islamic Pastoral Care. "One achieves completion when one's belief (*īmān*) is confirmed by one's divine service (*islām*) and good deeds *(iḥsān)*" (Begić, et al. 2014). In regards to Begić's explanation, one can observe that *iḥsān* implies being self-serving at all times. Even though practical manifestations of *iḥsān* include the support of others, the concept's primary goal is one's own fulfillment. Begić's explanation leads

to the conclusion that according to *iḥsān*, good deeds do not have to originate from an interpersonal source. Thirdly and lastly, Esnaf Begić concentrates on the *birr* as a term standing for a concept of good.

Effectively, *birr* offers a good basis for Islamic Pastoral Care and social work. However, Begić does not examine the term in depth. Nevertheless, his examination of *birr* in the context of Pastoral Care is crucial. Logically, he cites the longest verse in the Qurʾan concerning *birr* (Q 2:177), attempting to define every member of a community as a guarantor responsible forsustaining help for others. Begić does so with good reason. Unfortunately, however, his thoughts not only lack a differentiation between voluntary individuals and institutions but would also require a more detailed definition of community (Begić, et al. 2014).

In conclusion, it can be stated that mercifulness is a central Islamic characteristic that should never be amiss when interacting with fellow human beings, with Khorchide even dubbing it a "central category" (Kasper, et al., 2017).

Thus, basing Islamic Pastoral Care on mercifulness, *taqwā* or *iḥsān* seems plausible. However, adichotomousconceptionof Islamic Jurisprudence often underlies the terms.[2]A more detailed consideration draws attention to thefactthat thisperspective equates thetheologicalbasis of Islamic Pastoral Carewith Pastoral Careingeneral. Thetermsrepentance, forgiveness, fault, sin and especially mercifulness are keywords for those who are working as Pastoral Caretakers(Abdallah, 2020). Otherthanthat, Pastoral Carefocuses on making help and support accessible for people in times of need and crisis and while dealing with strokes of fate. A previously formed bond between the person offering and seeking help is neither needed nor intended. Mercifulness requires a certain bond between both involved parties, often resulting in feelings of superiority on one side and feelings of guilt on the other. Due to an existing hierarchy and the innate possibility of the helper exerting power over the supported, such circumstances can ignite negative developments. Importantly, however, such relationships are not preconditioned for Pastoral Care and rarely ever occur. Instead, it rather is the opposite that holds true. Feelings of superiority are ethically unacceptable and interper-sonally prob-

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2   A definition of iḥsān from a sufī perspective would be fertile. Here it means that one does not fulfil his deeds for any worldly matter or even for any kind of credit from Allah, rather because Allah loves good and one loves Allah. The story of Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawīya, who went out with a torch in one hand and a bucket of water in the other and said that she is going to put out the fire of Hell and set fire to the heavens, is a sign of just that intention. Neither Esnaf nor Horsch are considering this aspect.

lematic. Moreover, they even are counterproductive in prison ministry. As for members of other religions other than Islam, this approach is subject to dogmatic and apologetic interpretations (Hilberath, et al., 2017).

Finally, one additional major aspect needs to be pointed out: Mercifulness is an Islamic ideal. However, this approach neglects the diverse literature and history of Islam by reducing every contribution of Islam to mercifulness alone. Emphasizing and analyzing similar known terms with the intention to benefit from their implications in regards to Islamic Pastoral Care and social work cannot be stressed enough and is a key task when developing the concept of Islamic Pastoral Care. The analysis of the multidimensional aspects of the term *birr*, including individual, ecumenical, social, familial religious, and other aspects proves the term to allow scholars to see beyond a binary vision. On the contrary, birr can act as a solid foundation for justifications of "doing good" in Islam.

Regardless of the aforementioned shortcomings, both authors provide an important approach and help to devise a theological basis for Islamic Pastoral Care. Thus, they contribute to the concept's theoretical founding. This essay must not be understood as a dispraise or depreciation of the former concepts but rather aims at expanding on them by adding the *birr*-concept.

2) Birr: Terminology and definition

The term *birr* (goodness or godly / pleasing to God) (Mustansir, 1987). is one of the important yet ambivalent words in the Qur'anic scripture, with exegetes of the Qur'an interpreting and defining it differently. However, all agree that *birr* encompasses all ethically, morally and religiously desirable actions. Helli defines *birr* as "striving towards perfection, accompanied by two important characteristics, namely truthfulness and doing good with best intentions - (*irtiqāʾ naḥwa al-kamāl maʿa istilzām maʿnayayn muṣāḥibayn humā: aṣ-ṣidq wa as-siʿa fī l-fiʿl*)" (Helli, 2017).

Lexically, we find different definitions in Arabic works of reference. In "maqāyīs al-luġa", *birr* is based on four different virtues and their respective basic principles, with truthfulness being among them (Ahmad, 1983). Ibn Manẓūr reports that the exegetes disagree on the meaning of *birr*. Some define *birr* as righteousness (ṣalāḥ); others as good (ḫayr). Since ḫayr contains all dimensions of good, he himself agrees with the latter.

Metaphorically, *birr* implies obedience (*ṭāʿa*), relation(-ship) (*ṣila*), the keeping of promises (wafā ʾ), the acceptance (*qabūl*) of worship and recompense (ṯawāb) from God. Etymologically, the term indicates an interesting relation to the term "Lord" (*rabb*), with *rabb* consisting of the same consonants "r" and "b" as *birr*, while the order of them is reversed: b(i)-rr – r(a)-bb. The term *rabbānīyūn* (People of the Lord/Religious Scholars) is derived from the term *rabb*. AS evident from the Q 5:44 and Q 5:63, the Qurʾan defines *rabbānīyūn* as people who supported prophets.[3] Based on this, Helli concludes that if one acts accordingly, *birr* grants one a special rank among humankind. Additionally, Helli differentiates between *birr* happening top down, vice versa or between equal partners. If the servant uses *birr* on his Lord, he does this out of obedience (*ṭāʿa*) and loyalty (*walāʾ*) in the best manner possible. If it is the other way around, coming from an independent to a dependent source, it happens out of goodness and sympathy (*ʿaṭf*). Lastly, if *birr* happens between two equal partners, this action would classify as an "altruistic action" (*ṣila wa-iḥsān*). Is *birr* used in context of duty, one can understand it as the proper fulfillment of said duty. Is *birr* is used abstractly, it contains three conditions, encompassing truthfulness and well-intended actions, a striving to do the best and the continuity of *birr*.

The Qurʾan mentions *birr* the first time in chapter 80:16 to characterize the angels as noble and virtuous (*barara*) and the Qurʾanic exegetes and translators translate the term as "piousness". Al-Māwardī lists different opinions from different exegetes and adds that if one would describe a person as *birr*, this would mean that this person is more concerned with the needs and wishes of others then with his own. Since the gain of their actions is directed at others, *barara* consequently stands for angles (Mawardi, 1995). Unlike humans, they do not act out of selfish reasons but rather to obey God's orders. According to Helli, analyzing the usage of the term, as done in chapter two for example, shows the Qurʾan adopted *birr* from the Pre-Islamic period, with the term undergoing a partial modification of its meaning. Chapter 2/44 confirms that the Jews understood the meaning of *birr*. Yet as

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3   Indeed, We sent down the Torah, in which was guidance and light. The prophets who submit- ted [to Allah] judged by it for the Jews, as did the rabbis and scholars by that with which they were entrusted of the Scripture of Allah, and they were witnesses thereto. So do not fear the people but fear Me, and do not exchange My verses for a small price. And whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed - then it is those who are the disbelievers". (5/44); „Why do the rabbis and religious scholars not forbid them from saying what is sinful and devouring what is unlawful? How wretched is what they have been practicing".(5/63)

they would cease to practice it, the Qur'an also criticizes them: "How can you tell people to do what right "birr" and forget to do it yourselves, even though you recite the Scripture? Have you no sense?" (Hallem, 2010). The Qur'anic discussion with the Jews undergoes a development with the usage of the term *birr*. It is especially striking that the term *birr* is mostly used in the chapter dating back to the Medinan period. According to Rashwānī, for those looking into the terminology of ethics in the Qur'an, the dialog with the people of the book needs to be regarded as a principal one. Additionally, the historical development of the terms and their evolvement between the Maccan and the Medinan periods ought to be considered (Rashwani, 2017). In the Meccan chapters, the term *birr* exclusively used in connection to the character of God, angels and Muslim believers. Despite the chapter's critical tone towards Jews, in Q 2:44, *birr* describes their characters. Consequently, the expression poses as an aspect where the Torah and the Qur'an agree with one another. Elsewhere in the same chapter, namely in Q 2:189, poly- theists are criticized for a similar reason. This time, however, criticism is not voiced because they do not practice it but rather because they misinterpret it and associate actions with it that are and must not be part of it. Here, the Qur'an corrects the understanding of *birr*, distinguishing it from the common use during the pre-Islamic period: "And it is not righteousness (*birr*) to enter houses from the back, but righteousness (*birr*) is [in] one who fears Allah. And enter houses from their doors". According to Helli, the Qur'anic critique of the polytheistic understanding of *birr* shows that the expression played an important role and was known as being positively connoted. In time, either consciously or subconsciously, unethical actions were added without them being apparent. So, the Qur'an adds a new definition and se- mantic charge to the term (Helli, 2017). In this context, it is especially interesting that pre-Islamic poetry regarded *birr* as the opposite of *šarr* or doing bad (Leiden, 2002). The famous pre-Islamic poet Imriʾū al-Qays, for example, describes *birr* as "the best provision for travels".

After this exposition of the different definitions and etymological derivations of *birr*, I would like to approach the question of Islamic Pastoral Care from a different and in my opinion helpfulperspective.

For this purpose, I choose to incorporate the most insightful qur'anic verse about *birr* into this observation.

3) Birr in the Qur'an: Chapter 2/177

Birr is a frequently appearing term in the Qur'an. When examining the Medinan chapters alone, it appears twelve times and is most often mentioned in the second chapter with the longest verse about *birr* being Q 2:177. The term *birr* was first mentioned in Chapter 80 as a description of the angels (s. Q 80:16) and is also used as a moral value (Q 2:177), a recommended action (Q 5:2) and for believers (Q 3:193-198). It implies acting well in an interpersonal context and in regards to religious rituals. Hence, it combines the personal and theological spheres as the core aspects of Pastoral Care. At the end of his analysis of the term's meaning and context of occurrence, Helli concludes that in the Qur'an, *birr* is a religious command Islam shares with other monotheistic religions. By means of a dialogue with Jews and an examination of the Qur'an, he deduces that the meaning of *birr* can be understood through the Torah. Here, *birr* occurs the first time as an infinitive and as an ethical value in itself, a notable difference to its previous use as an attribute (Helli, 2007).

The different categories in which *birr* manifests itself are especially evident in verse 177 of chapter two: "Righteousness is not that you turn your faces toward the east or the west, but [true] righteousness is [in] one who believes in Allah, the Last Day, the angels, the Book, and the prophets and gives wealth, in spite of love for it, to relatives, orphans, the needy, the traveler, those who ask [for help], and for freeing slaves; [and who] establishes prayer and gives zakāh; [those who] fulfill their promise when they promise; and [those who] are patient in poverty and hardship and during battle. Those are the ones who have been true, and it is those who are the righteous." *Birr* is not the direction of prayer but rather an action towards a person. Thus, the connection between rituals and interpersonal actions cannot be ignored. So, it is faith that turns someone into a person who, among other things, gives from his own possessions to others who are in need, even though he loves wealth, so that relatives, orphans, the poor, travelers or beggars, are supported. In addition, goods are used to free slaves and to help an accomplished man in need or someone who got struck byfate.

The Qur'anic exegesis provides us with insight into the meanings of the term and its complete and multifaceted structure. Abū as-Suʿūd points out that the verse mentioned above addresses controversial and non-controversial aspects of the *birr* (Muhammed, 1980). Šaltūt regards this verse as a "link

of a chain" (lit. connecting pearl) for the second chapter (Ṭaḥṭāwī & Šaltūt, 2008; Helli, 2007). The verse covers three fields of *birr*: Believe, interpersonal actions and joint actions between humans and God […]. He also points out a fourth dimension of *birr*, namely the necessity to work on oneself, which is an aspect of *birr* that is especially crucial for Islamic Pastoral Care. Being pertinacious in times of emergency, suffering and crisis, a behavior described at the end of the verse, is fundamental to both partners involved in the pastoral care process as it affects not only the pastoral caretaker but also the person seeking help. *Birr* stands for positively connoted actions that go beyond the individual range and include other people. Essentially, *birr* means doing good to others (Helli, 2007). Notably, later in the same chapter, people are warned of not regarding *birr* as an inter- personal action. Furthermore, it is indicated that otherwise, one would not fulfill one's duties before God: "Do not implicate God in your oaths to avoid doing good and being pious and keeping peace among men, for God hears all and knows everything" (Q 2:224). At-Ṭabarī interprets this verse as prohibiting one from keeping an oath that might hinder one from doing good. If, for example, someone would make an oath to break his ties to his family or to treat the needy without charity, it would actually be advisable to break his vow (Muhammad, 2001).

This appreciation of *birr* in form of interpersonal actions does not only encourage doing good to Muslims. Instead, it involves all people, including followers of another faith. Chapter 60:8 unmistakably confirms this meaning, negating the concern Islamic Pastoral Care and social work might only benefit Muslims: "Allah does not forbid you from those who do not fight you because of religion and do not expel you from your homes - from being righteous toward them and acting justly toward them. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly." Here, Helli distinguishes between *walāʾ* and *birr*, with walaʾ being a political and *birr* a morally and ethically charged term and with the latter having a deeper and broader meaning than the former (Helli, 2007). Consequently, *birr* does not equal mercifulness and pure self-interest. Ibn ʿĀšūr sees a voluntary engagement *(al-ʿamal at-taṭawwuʿī)* similarly. He defines good voluntary deeds as "what one spends in form of money or effort with the intention to strengthen mutual support between members of a community and in order to stimulate feelings of brotherliness. It aims at the fulfillment of the needs of people and forms good Islamic moral". This way, social security contributions rise, altruisms become daily phenomena and the field of social work expands without anyone having to feel ashamed or

pressured (Ibn ʿĀšūr, 1984). He distinguishes between *barara* and *abrār* (with the root of both being *birr*). *Barara* describes angles and *abrār* humans, as evident in chapter 76:5: "Indeed, the righteous (*abrār*) will drink from a cup [of wine] whose mixture is of Kafur"(Ibn ʿĀšūr, 1984).

Šaltūt uses chapter 2:177 to distinguish between *birr* by the hands of humans and *birr* from God. For humans, *birr* is an inner attitude leading to moral actions and good deeds that, paving a way to get closer to God. For God, *birr* represents his "mercy, love and rewards for humans". (Muhammed, 1980). Here, he does not clarify what he means by inner attitude. One could understand it as a reference to invisible characteristics of individuals who, for instance, possess a good heart or have an aversion to jealousy, hate and selfishness. Resulting from justice and love, moral actions imply materialistic care and encompass any kind of tangible assistance. For this reason, both erstwhile and current exegetes agree that *birr* includes all actions and characteristics valued by God and humans alike. *Birr*, as a moral value, stands for obedience to God and for a commitment to do good to other humans independently of one's religious belief system (Helli, 2007). Thereby, *birr* confirms its universal character on the one hand and its complexity on the other.

4) The *Birr*-concept as a theological basis for Islamic Pastoral Care

Despite the multitude of aspects already addressed in regards to the Qur'anic verse 2:177, further profound inner aspects ought to be examined. Thus, I would like to draw your attention to yet another interesting aspect in connection to doing good, this time linguistic in nature. Despite addressing the topic of duties, this particular verse of the Qur'an avoids any linguistic order. Instead, the declarative sentence lacks pattern. The Qur'anic concept of *birr* distinguishes itself from other concepts of "doing good" by supporting actions for the benefit of others without any expectation of reward. While chapter 2:177 expresses a quadrinomial concept, however, the two affected fields, namely belief and action between humans and God, not sufficient to describe *birr* alone. With *birr* being a generic term, the word includes many different concepts of doing good. Begić states that *taqwā* and *iḥsān* "meet each other in the concept of *birr* and are reaching their fulfillment" (Begic, et al., 2017). Unlike *iḥsān*, *taqwā* and mercifulness, *birr* is not subject to arbitrariness when it comes to reaching high levels of fulfillment through Pas-

toral Care and social work or though rituals. This means that *birr* cannot be achieved without interpersonal acts, helping others and doing social work. The Qur'an states that: "Never will you attain the good [reward] (*birr*) until you spend [in the way of Allah] from that which you love. And whatever you spend - indeed, Allah is Knowing of it" (Q 3:92). This verse also connotes the consistency and permanence in doing good for others.

Comparing the concepts of *birr* of "commanding good and forbidding evil" (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-n-nahī ʿan al-munkar*), one can clearly see that the latter primarily involves a binary vision and emphasizes personal gain: "And let there be [arising] from you a nation inviting to [all that is] good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful" (Q 3:104). This verse divides all actions and notions concerning the world into good and evil. If believers obey the "order", they will benefit from their compliance. Believers' actions are motivated both by a focus on the added value their conduct has for this world through the title of "best *umma*" and the reward they can expect to receive from God in the hereafter. Thus, actions can solely be induced by a believer's intention to avoid the danger of possibly ignoring God's commands and the fear of not being among the saved ones in the next life. In other words, such a person would rather save himself than others.[4] Herein lies the main difference between Islamic ethics and the command-forbiddance-paradigm of Islamic law. A *barr* does not primarily strive for a heavenly reward but rather out of the aspiration to be fully human. For this reason, the cited verse, being a frequently quoted example for a core principle of Islamic ethics, refrains from using a dichotomy. In fact, it conveys morals and principles that are to shape interpersonal actions: "Indeed, Allah orders justice and good conduct and giving to relatives and forbids immorality and bad conduct and oppression. He admonishes you that perhaps you will be reminded" (Q 16:90). This verse allows one to understand that God identifies all His commands and forbiddances as mercifulness, love and "inner" peace. However, the inner peace cannot be attained through rituals, but rather through actions towards fellow men.

The concept of *birr* highlights how inward peace can be achieved. Some may find inner peace through their faith in God, others through financial

4 This topic causes continuing discussions in Christian Theology too and can't be discussed here sufficiently enough. In context of another detailed work from the author (in process: will be released in the beginning of 2019 at Friedrich Pustet), with the title „social control through religious communities -- *Soziale Kontrolle durch religiöse Gemeinschaften*".

security, close bonds with family and friends or take comfort in patience.

Through social contributions and the keeping of one's promises, one can help others to find calmness and peace of mind. Ultimately, the verse establishes patience as a key aspect of Islamic Pastoral Care. Importantly, however, patience is not to be regarded as a moral value demanded from people seeking pastoral care alone but a trait caretakers themselves ought to have internalized. In order to adequately deal with frequent confrontations with suffering, lamentations and pain and to still be able to provide properly minister to those in need requires stamina and makes patience paramount. The concept of *birr* offers an additional basis for interreligious and intercultural Pastoral Care in the form of an indispensable concept of Pastoral Care aiming at providing relief in the here and now. *Birr* does not only epitomize Islamic moral values but also extends a much broader a Godly framework known to every monotheistic religion. Comprising a collective moral frame of reference, it does not contradict common sense. As mentioned above, chapter 2:44 confirms Jewish the understanding of *birr*. In terms of the question whether the verse addresses all People of the Book or is aimed at Muslims alone, positions of exegetes vary. In the absence of any reason supporting theargument that the verse exclusively targets Muslims, insisting on an interpretation excluding members of other monotheistic faiths seems uncalled-for. This is especially true as a "fulfillment of accepted duties" and "patience in times of hardship" are universal values not only concerning members of the Muslim faith. Thus, the different categories of *birr* are not based on one another but are diverse actions and assorted paths to attain inner peace and contentedness. Based on this concept, Abū as-Suʿūd is of the opinion that verse 177 of chapter two "explicitly or implicitly [covers] all good character traits tolead a person to perfection". Ibn ʿĀšūr warns against justifying disregards of tolerance and decisions to refrain from doing good based on bad experiences:

> It is no disadvantage of good deeds that they might cause one to miss out on some advantages. Man ought not to give up virtue merely because it might entail disadvantages. Rather, one should adopt necessary measures to avoid such disadvantages as possible (at-Tahir, 1964).

In this context, it needs to be mentioned that the Qur'an demands *birr* to- wards one's parents. It is not just about obedience, however, but about acting with patience, treating one's mother and father well and making decisions in their favor, especially in situations when divergent opinions or

conflicts of interest may cause strife. This is why the Qur'an describes this characteristic as a special feature of Jesus: "And [made me] dutiful to my mother, and He has not made me a wretched tyrant" (Q 19:32). If we have a look at the story of Jesus in chapter 19, we can make out an interesting linguistic trait. In this passage, the Qur'an informs us about different character traits of Jesus for which he is not to take credit. On the contrary, God bestowed them upon him: "He has given me the Scripture and made me a prophet. And He has made me blessed wherever I am and has enjoined upon me prayer and zakāh as long as I remain alive" (Q 19:30-31). Despite his prophecy and miraculous work, the Qur'an sees it fit to mention his goodness (*barr*) towards his mother, even ending the listing of his honors with this particular trait. Despite having been created without a father, Jesus could heal the ill, resurrect the dead and speak while still in the crib. The fact that he was *barr* is not to be regarded as a banality. This is especially true as his demeanor towards his mother is the only action he accomplished just by himself. Thus, this altruism is the essence of Pasto- ral Care. Common invocations, such as "*ḥaǧǧ mabrūr*" (may your pilgrimage be free of any kind of bad action) or "*ibn bārr*" (a wish for an obedient and well-behaved child, in benefit of the parents) to only name two, underline the fact thatselfishness is irrelevant. Both the terms "*mabrūr* and *bārr*" are derived from *barr*, as we can see by their common roots "b-r-r". This is why Al-ʿAskarī adds another component to *birr*. *Birr* is not simply doing good but rather "the reaching of the good that is intended by it - *siʿat al-faḍl al-maqṣūd ilayh*". With this, al-ʿAskarī points important aspects of Pastoral Care out, namely aim and consistency. Both Pastoral Care and social work are successful through their consistency and future viability. Pastoral Caretakers confirm their commitment to their ministry by helping the ones in need as long as they require assistance and support.

Being trans-regional and supratemporal, *Birr* plays an important role in the relationship to oneself, to the community and society as a whole. The understanding of *birr* as a comprehensive concept extending to all ethically, morally and religiously postulated actions, may they be aimed inwardly or outwardly,completelyharmonizeswithIslamicprinciples:"Truly,thešarīʿa is based on wisdom and welfare for the servants in this world and the hereafter. In its entirety it is justice, mercifulness, benefit and wisdom. Everything that gives up justice for tyranny, mercy for cruelty, benefit for corruption and wisdom for stupidity, is no part of šarīʿa, even if it is added to it via an interpretation." (al-Ǧauzīya, 1991).

Conclusion

The challenges Muslims in Germany face in terms of their realities of life must be discussed and reflected upon from a theological perspective. Pastoral Care as a discipline may make an important contribution to that. As previously mentioned, in order to assure the sustainability of the concept, Pastoral Care needs to be established as a discipline first and achieve acceptance in the community. Additionally, theological frameworks need to be fully developed and extensively explored. However, it is also necessary to define a community that responsible for Pastoral Care. So far, previous attempts to develop a base for Islamic Pastoral Care did not distinguish between ʿamal as worship on the one and ʿamal as interpersonal actions on the other hand. Instead, the theological basis of Islamic Pastoral Care became entangled with its own basic ideas and fundamental terminology. In this context, the concept of *birr* allows a complementary, ever-extending and comprehensive view of Pastoral Care. This explanation is but to show the full extent of the term *birr*. The term encompasses every action or character trait God invites humans to appreciate. Both core aspects of Islamic Pastoral Care, the theological and the interpersonal scopes, are included in the term *Birr*. Acting with sincerity and good intentions, struggling to do one's best, consistency and steadfastness are all characteristics of *birr*. Šaltūt expresses this appropriately by stating: "Benevolence in belief, conduct and attitude" (Šaltūt, 2008). *Birr* avoids the dichotomy of acting as a leading figure and prioritizes the benefit of the others. Additionally, *birr* offers connections to interreligious and intercultural Pastoral Care and is open to integral elements of faith-based ministry in a religiously plural society. Consequently, the addressees of *birr* are not only Muslims or followers of one of the other two monotheistic religions but all of humankind. The hope remains that the concept of *birr* will receive an increasing amount of attention in the field of academic research so that it will be an integral part of the education of young Muslim Pastoral Caretakers, thus contributing to the participation in Muslim Pastoral Care.

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The School of Joseph:
Prisons as a Place of Transformation

*David J. Goa**

Prison education is one of the areas of my work as founding director of the Chester Ronning Centre for the Study of Religion and Public Life at the University of Alberta beginning in 2004. My initial work was with the Canadian citizen, Mr. Omar Khadr, who was taken to Afghanistan by his father when he was thirteen years old and captured in a firefight by the United States military when he was fifteen. He was transferred to the American prison for those judged terrorists, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and finally returned to Canada after a decade to continue his sentence in a maximum-security prison under Correctional Services Canada (CSC). Along with several colleagues from The King's University I taught him beginning in Guantanamo Bay and continuing during his incarceration in Canada. Following Omar Khadr's release and given the interest expressed by other prison inmates, we developed the Post-Secondary Prison Education Foundation and initiated The Ephesus Project to continue our work with a variety of prisoners. My focus has been working with those charged under the Canadian terrorism law and with several sentenced as "Dangerous Offenders" with no right of parole. I developed and offer independent study courses certified for credit through The King's University. I initially teach a course titled "On Being Human" to those who express an interest in university studies. It consists of a series of philosophical, theological, and literary texts exploring the great human

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questions and gives me an opportunity to assess their academic interest and level of skill. A second course, "The School of Joseph: Prison Meditations," consists of various books written while in prison that have made an outstanding contribution to literary, philosophical, and theological thinking. These courses are done in a deeply personal way, as Corrections Canada only allows us to meet one-on-one with students in maximum-security prisons. The readings, in-depth conversations, and thinking with each of these men explores some of the finest texts on the meaning and purpose of life central to our various cultures and religious traditions (Christian and Muslim). Key texts that address the shape and purpose of our common civil life round out the syllabus. Both religious depth and civil responsibility are central to our exploration. Each of the men I have worked with turned prison into "the school of Joseph." They have engaged the rich teachings of our religious traditions and worked through the limited ideological notions of religion and faith that, in some cases, contributed to their actions leading to prison. Our study of texts associated with an understanding of the civil life has been important in restoring their sense of belonging. Sharing this experience with them underscores the thesis of this paper: that an opportunity to engage the finest thinking and writing on questions of meaning and on the gifts of civil life is transformative.[2]

1) A Dual Failure

The incarcerated men I have been privileged to teach over the last few years, whether those arrested under Canada's terrorism laws or those judged Dangers Offenders, have experienced a duel failure. Their religious formation was without the depth needed in modern society and their understanding of the gifts of our civil life—its genius and its limitations—was never taught to them. This became vivid to me in my initial engagement with Mr. Omar Khadr. He was born and raised in Toronto. His parents had immigrated to Canada from Egypt and Palestine. They became citizens of Canada, attended university, married, and raised their children in a devout household with daily prayer, fasting, charity, and a vigorous understanding of the moral duties prescribed by Islam. During the period when the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan Omar's father became deeply concerned with the growing num-

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2   I have had discussions with several social scientists that have taught in prisons. Their approach, informed by critical theory, assumes that virtually all inmates are there because of failures in the society and that learning of these social failures will be liberating. In stark contrast, our approach has been has been based on the gifts of culture, not the failure of society.

ber of orphans resulting from the war, the lack of education available to girls, and the limited availability of medical treatment. He engaged in fundraising in Canada and elsewhere to establish institutions for orphans, schools, and medical facilities. Not long after the Soviet forces left Afghanistan and following the events of 9/11 the forces of the United States of America invaded the country and the military occupation of the country continued. The Khadr family moved to Pakistan and Afghanistan when Omar was thirteen years old. Two years later, and following his father's death (according to the family account at the hands of the Pakistan secret service), Omar was taken to a "safe house" where he was used to translate videos into English for use in recruiting militants to fight the Americans. Details on Omar Khadr's capture near Bagram in July 2002 and transfer to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and the roll of the Canada government are well known. He was finally transferred from Guantanamo to the Edmonton Institution, a maximum-security prison, on May 28, 2013 (Zinck, 2013; Shepherd, 2008).

My teaching Omar Khadr at the Edmonton Institution largely focused on Islam, what constitutes the civil life in Canada, and the place of religion and its engagement with the public sphere. During several of these conversations Omar reflected on his childhood, always speaking with love and respect for his parents. He talked about growing up in a home where the disciplines of Islam shaped daily life and how one lived. He spoke of his regard for each discipline and how they became part of his life through osmosis. The family did not read books on Islam or the life of the Prophet; the Qur'an was engaged devotionally, but was not the focus of family conversation. It was an innocent religious formation and rarely was there any discussion of the faith. Only when he was transferred to Guantanamo did he begin to explore Islam, study its tradition, and discuss the faith with others incarcerated there. Some of those incarcerated cared little for the faith: they had been caught up in the circumstances of the war. Others held to one or another perspective on what the faith requires of the faithful, and these varying perspectives often disagreed. Surrounded by these varying perspectives Omar began to see the importance of working to understand the faith and consider the variety of ways Islam shaped both the understanding and decisions made by those imprisoned. He also talked with various lawyers, psychologists, and prison and military personnel about Christianity and on one occasion was granted a request to meet with a Rabbi. His interest in religion and in cultivating his

understanding of Islam burgeoned. Omar turned prison into a kind of monastery and his transformation was underway.

I had a number of conversations with Omar following the rise of ISIS. He had been transferred to a medium-security prison in Alberta, The Bowden Institution, and along with other inmates had watched news broadcasts of the rise of this movement and its beheadings of various people—actions he spoke about as a form of blasphemy, given his developing understanding of Islam. We discussed how young men (and some women) from Canada went to join ISIS and how this came about. At the time I was doing some research on the hundred or so men who had left Canada to join ISIS and whose names were publically available. I told him that all of them had been educated in Canadian public schools and almost all had attended universities. I raised what for me had become a central question: what have we taught them and what have we not taught them? Omar had not attended school in Canada since he was thirteen, and so turned the conversation in a direction he knew from his home life. He speculated that most of those who joined ISIS were likely the sons of immigrants or refugees and that they, like him, grew up in pious homes with the daily disciplines of the faith. Like him they absorbed the faith by osmosis. Likely they had never read anything of Islam or the life of the Prophet. It was also likely that they had never read the Qur'an. They were taught to be pious. As children of immigrants in a new land they were also taught to become successful in Canadian society, and that meant a university education and finding a significant professional or technical position so they could earn a good income, live in a fine house, and acquire all the trappings of an upper middle-class Canadian life. Thus they grew up in two unconnected worlds: the pious world of Islam and the public world filled with images of consumerism and worldly success. These two worlds were never discussed, much less properly integrated. The cognitive dissonance became unbearable for a few. He speculated that finding something beyond themselves to live for had made them vulnerable to the propaganda of ISIS.[3]

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3   Another student of mine incarcerated under Canada's terrorism laws was radicalized on the Internet by ISIS propaganda. He grew up in Iran and joined a Kurdish political group as a teenager. He fled Iran under fear of arrest and eventually was given refugee status in Canada. He was raised a pious Muslim in a family deeply engaged in the political aspirations of Kurds. In Canada he began to enquire into the lives of the Kurdish leadership and despaired when he realized how corrupt some of them were. He became depressed when he lost his utopian nationalism and began to explore Islam for the first time and was vulnerable to the pitch ISIS made to become part of a world historical movement.

The men I have taught who are imprisoned as Dangerous Offenders committed crimes repeatedly and have been incarcerated periodically from a young age. Prison had become normal for them—even a school for the cultivation of their criminal skills. They had heard of our teaching of Omar Khadr. When I met with each of them they had turned a corner, and had stepped onto a road of transformation. They no longer excused their behaviour or blamed others for it. They had begun to take responsibility for the harm they had done and wanted to deepen their self-understanding and find new ways of engaging the life of the world. Omar's story and his spirit had moved each of them. What he said about the educational experience he was engaged in had opened the door of hope for them, despite the fact they had no current date for release. They requested an opportunity to meet with our educational team and explore whether they might study with us.

While each of these men has particular issues—drug addiction, mental illness, habits of violence—that they had worked to resolve, it was also clear that a dual failure had informed their life. In several cases they had a parent who periodically attended a Christian church. They knew snippets of biblical narrative and assumed Christianity was summed up in the little they knew of its teaching. Like so many of their generation, they knew even less of the civil tradition of the West. One of my students had finally got help from a psychiatrist to sort out his mental illness and had been stable for several years when we met. He talked of the considerable abuse he experienced at the hands of the correction officers in the various prisons he had been in. Prisoners in Canada's maximum-security facilities are given access, under law, to legal cases in our Common Law if they request it. They can petition the court using such cases to seek legal remedies. His initial work was to use such cases to push back against officers in Correctional Services Canada whom he deemed had not treated him fairly. He also prepared such petitions for other inmates and did so with some success. This led him to an interest in the larger question of what is meant by justice, a foundational question at the heart of the Canadian legal system. Our first conversations opened with his enquiry into the tradition of thinking about justice. We began our study together with readings of Plato and Aristotle on justice and soon moved on to readings in the philosophical tradition of the West exploring the development of the concept of justice. I brought him Frederick Copleston's *A History of Philosophy*—a nine-volume work that explores the whole range of philosophical themes including metaphysics, ontology, epistemology, and eth-

ics. Following our meeting in which I gave him these books the prison was locked down for a month or so, a time when we are not given access to our students. When we finally met again he came into the room with several of these volumes under his arm and in a state of excitement exclaimed: "Why hadn't anyone told me about this? Why didn't our teachers tell us we were part of a tradition in which so many had thought so deeply about the ideas that I have so recently come to care about?" Over the next eight months or so he devoured this work, requested original texts, and came to each teaching session with a sheaf of papers full of questions, annotations, and notes on his developed ideas. He had begun to find his place within a tradition both large enough to engage his questions and in which questions he had not yet considered surfaced.

2) The Ephesus Project

Since July of 2013, the Post-Secondary Prison Education Foundation has been organizing qualified local volunteer academics to deliver and fund credited and non-credit university course at The Edmonton Institution. The need for this arose because although the Correctional Services of Canada statutes allow inmates to study at the post-secondary level, there is no financial and little structural support for these studies. Costs associated with the volunteer teaching work have been covered by the participating professors. Student demand continues to grow as our work becomes known through word of mouth within the prison system, so we have established a charitable foundation to raise the necessary funds. Our intention, for various reasons, is to only cover the costs directly necessary for students to do this work—books, tuition, etc.—and to continue recruiting professors on a volunteer basis.

We have called our work at the Edmonton Institution The Ephesus Project. The ancient city of Ephesus had a great library and it was in this city, around the year 52 of the common era, that tradition suggests Apostle Paul was imprisoned. On that occasion his request to his friend echoes what we have heard in our work with those incarcerated in our city: "Above all bring the books!" Eligible students are identified and selected by Correctional Services Canada personnel according to the Correctional Services of Canada Directives and case management policies. Classes are conducted one-on-one since the maximum-security environment does not currently allow group meetings. Once Correctional Services Canada has identified a potential stu-

dent two members of our teaching team meet with the person and discuss their aspirations and their educational background. We also explain what we may offer and what The King's University requires. Our normal pattern has been to provide an initial non-credit introductory course over a thirteen-week period tailored to the student's interests. This gives us an opportunity to take the measure of the student. Professors normally meet with the student for two or three hours, once a week. Once this course is completed, students are eligible to begin credited courses.

I have developed two course: an initial non-credit course titled "On Being Human," and a credit course in the theological and philosophical stream of The King's curriculum titled "The School of Joseph: Prison Meditation." "On Being Human" is designed to give the student an opportunity to read a set of core humanities texts that explore fundamental human questions. Students study the appointed texts and prepare a reader-response essay along with questions and themes that arise from their work. In each of the thirteen one-on-one meetings we discuss the readings and their response, thinking along with the author. In our conversations I bring the perspective of other intellectuals and artists into the discussion, which often bring to the surface aspects of the student's own thinking and experience. Socrates, who modeled teaching as a form of midwifery, informs my approach: to call forth the gifts and challenges present in the mind and heart of the student. It is both curious and heartening to see how the capacity of the student to join in the "great conversation" of the humanities tradition is cultivated for the first time in those I have taught. In *The Aims of Education*, the eminent philosopher Alfred North Whitehead points to a three-fold process of learning: education begins when we falling in love with the subject, with its ideas and ways of thinking; it deepens when we learn about the depth and texture of the ideas; and it culminates in our developing the capacity, based on the initial two steps, for thinking.

In most of my teaching in religious studies over the last forty years I remind myself of a set of ubiquitous human questions: What does it mean to be human? Why do I exist? Why do I suffer? May I become whole? Am I loved? May I live to love? Our religious traditions have been the primary way the human family has shaped these questions that well up in the mind and heart. Religious traditions are replete with responses, and provide a landscape of thinking and wisdom including divine revelation, narrative,

idea, spiritual discipline, and invitations to the ethical life. These questions stand behind the "On Being Human" course. Each of the themes in the syllabus has three readings ranging across ancient texts of wisdom and revelation, philosophical and theological writing from particular periods, and pertinent reflections from the novel, short story, and poetry tradition. All the readings are beautifully written and free of scholarly jargon. The themes in the syllabus include the following: the human nature and human longing; scientific aspirations; to heal sometimes, to comfort always; are we our bodies?; life's stages; freedom; among the generations; immortality; vulnerability and suffering; living in the present; and human dignity.

My students have nothing but time. Each of them reads and rereads the texts I have provided. They write extensively and raise questions, themes, and issues they wish to discuss. They always come unprompted with prepared questions—questions about the readings and questions prompted by the readings that have drawn to the surface aspects of their experience and emerging self-understanding. The conversation moves seamlessly between texts and aspects of their deep and long spiritual struggles. For most of them our work has been the first opportunity they have had to read great literature and join in the great conversation that shapes human culture. Recognizing their growing sense of belonging to and standing in a culture larger than themselves is one of the most gratifying experiences I have had in my forty years of teaching.

Following the "On Being Human" introductory course and with lengthy conversations and thinking between us, we discuss the course they would like to take for credit. I then shape a syllabus and discuss this with them to ensure our next course builds on both their interests and my sense of what will be beneficial as academic work and in their religious and spiritual flourishing. On this ground, the academic work and the spiritual work are not separate but deeply connected. Let me describe one example to illustrate what this can mean.

One of my students, Michael, a Dangerous Offender with no release date, had spoken about how much he loved reading *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (1995). Given my understanding of his interests and the themes he continued to wrestle with, I shaped the syllabus for a course titled "The School of Joseph: Prison Meditations." The selected texts were written in prison and engaged the experience of imprisonment.

Each author pulled life from the experience of prison and has written about the religious and spiritual life in ways I thought would engage Michael's growing self-understanding and sense of his place in the world. A key set of ideas focused my teaching: culture, society, and transformation; justice and mercy; service and sacrifice; law and grace; revelation, tradition, and spiritual discipline; and how virtue may be cultivated in any and all circumstances. Michael loved the idea so we began with "The Joseph Story" (Genesis chapter 37 – 50). I encouraged him to also read the stories in Genesis of all the patriarchs, the forefathers of Joseph. I brought him Thomas Mann's marvelous essay "Freud and the Future," where Mann discusses the great interpreter of dreams in light of the prisoner, Joseph, who interpreted Pharaoh's dream. Two works of the Russian writer Fyodor Dostoevsky followed: his monumental novel *The Brothers Karamazov* (1990), and *The Idiot* (2002). Dietrich Bonhoeffer was next in our syllabus. Bonhoeffer was executed at the very end of World War II by the Nazis, and his prison work is collected in a volume titled *Letters and Papers from Prison* (1953). Martin Luther King's *A Testament of Hope* (2003) and Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* (1995) brought us into the contemporary period and rounded out the curriculum.

Michael wrote lengthy reader-response essays on each of the works and a final essay integrating his reading and thinking along with what he had learned in my teaching on a set of key ideas. Each book invited him to think about an aspect of his life, from childhood to prison. Along with our discussions of themes in each book, I listened as he reconsidered how he had understood his decisions and actions in the past. What he identified with in the Joseph story, in the work of Dostoevsky, Bonhoeffer, King, and Mandela shone a new light on his experience and what he had made of it. His patterns of blaming others, taking advantage instead of responsibility, and the burden of guilt, underwent a transformation in our conversations—and this without a direct word from me. Great literature opens the door of transformation in vivid ways. A short time into our work together he told me he was working on a letter to his father, with whom he had not spoken for over a decade. He spoke of the goodness of his father and how his father had broken off their relationship because he was so ashamed of Michael's criminal behaviour. For years he had simply blamed his father. During our next visit I asked how the letter had come along. He had written over eighty pages—a life-long confession—to his father and completed it and sent it by courier so his father would have it for his sixtieth birthday. Michael's ability to respond instead of simply reverting to the old patterns of reacting had returned to him.

Conclusion

It needs to be said clearly and firmly: the failure to pass on the best of our religious culture and the best of the ideas that inform our common civil life is a form of child-abuse. I had thought this for many years, but teaching in the maximum-security prison has highlighted this issue. Not giving young people something to live for larger than themselves has led some of my students into a life of criminal behaviour. I have long harboured the notion that fine religious texts and the best writing in the tradition of the humanities can furnish the mind and heart and enlarge the soul in ways that open the possibilities for an excellent life, giving a person what is needed for the healing of mental, psychological, and spiritual wounds that quite naturally accrue in each life. Remaining bereft of these furnishings opens the door to anomie. It is hard to imagine how such a lack could do anything but lead a person to turn in on himself or herself, giving free rein to human passions, destructive behaviour, and eventually despair. In our work through The Ephesus Project we "bring the books" along with a concern to care for the mind and heart and soul of each student. Some of our students will eventually be released. In some cases they may even enter the world with credentials suitable for employment. What is far more significant, in my view, is that they will understand themselves and the world in new ways and understand they belong to a rich tradition of learning and friendships that spans the ages. I have always enjoyed teaching. Teaching in prison, in the School of Joseph, is the deepest privilege I have experienced.

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Islamically Integrated Treatment of Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder Scrupulosity (Waswasa) in Muslim Patients

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Obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) is a mental illness characterized by obsessions (intrusive, recurrent and persistent thoughts, urges, or impulses) and/or compulsions (repetitive behaviors or mental acts performed in response to obsessions), causing significant distress and impairment in functioning (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Compulsions can include hand washing, ordering/organizing, checking, praying, counting, repeating words silently, or other actions that the individual feels driven to perform in response to an obsession or according to rules that must be applied rigidly. The compulsive behaviorial or mental acts are aimed at alleviating the sudden onset of distress associated with the obsession or preventing some anticipated irrational fear of a catastrophic event or situation. These behaviors or mental acts are not rationally connected with what they are designed to neutralize or prevent and are evidently excessive.

The manifestation of OCD symptomology can vary according to the context of the patient. In religiously-observant populations, OCD symptoms can interact with religious belief and practices. The religious manifestation of Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder is known as Scrupulosity. Abramowitz and Jacoby (2014) provide a clinical description of Scrupulosity, as being in

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a state of "fearing sin where there is none". According to Yorulmaz, Gençöz and Woody (2009), scrupulous individuals have compulsive thoughts and behaviors that stem from contradictions in the individual's religious beliefs, moral or personal ethics. It is a disorder primarily characterized by pathological guilt or obsessions both associated with moral or religious and often accompanied by compulsive moral or religious actions and is a disorder that is highly distressing to the individual (Miller & Hedges, 2008). The intensity of psychological distress can be very high due to magnification of the irrationally-feared potential consequence of their obsessive thought, where the consequence is believed to be eternal damnation in the afterlife. In fact, Al-Solaim and Loewenthal (2011) found that young Muslim Saudi Arabian women who suffered from OCD reported that religion-based obsessions elicited more negative feelings and were viewed as more disturbing compared to other obsessions.

Generally, reprehensible thoughts are associated with a perceived consequence for their mere presence and are typically accompanied by an over-compensatory response aimed at 'correcting' the perceived sin. This can include excessive prayer. In an article by Abramowitz and Jacoby (2014), four types of presentations of Scrupulosity are discussed: (a) intrusive thoughts that are interpreted in a religious framework, (b) thoughts that would generally be considered blasphemous and ritual neutralizing strategies that may or may not involve religious themes, (c) thoughts of religious nature that develop into obsessions as well as checking and reassurance-seeking rituals, and (d) obsessional doubts about whether religious rules or commandments have been followed correctly, or whether one is "faithful enough". They propose that non-clinical, healthy individuals are not susceptible to Scrupulosity because of their faith, which is based on trust or confidence and doesn't require repeated reassurance or proof (Abramowitz & Jacoby, 2014). A good diagnostic indicator of Scrupulosity and differentiating it from abundant devout religious practice, is that patients with Scrupulosity typically pray to acquire relief from the anxiety as opposed to prayer for intrinsic spiritual gain or normative religious practice. Patients with Scrupulosity typically lack concentration in prayer and are praying as a neutralizing response to their internal perceived faulty cognitions or obsessions.

This paper examines the current psychological literature, Muslim scholarly and classical ritual legal case precedents to provide a characterization

for the manifestations of OCD scrupulosity in Muslims populations and to inform integrative treatment approaches. Given that the spiritual beliefs significantly impact the context of patients scrupulosity symptoms, these treatment strategies are provided within an Islamically integrated orientation and approach.

1) Etiology

In Abu Zayd al-Balkhi's treatise translated by Badri (2013) titled *Sustenance of the Soul*, he notes that the etiology of OCD can be attributed to either or a combination of heritable dispositions and potential environmental causes. He adds that its etiological origins can also be connected to the metaphysical presence of the whispers of the devil as well.

The current evidence suggests that OCD can be caused by biological origins such as genetic predispositions (Hanna, Himle, Curtis, & Gillespie, 2005), particular infectious diseases (Swedo et. al., 1998), and brain abnormalities (Zohar et. al., 1988). The psychological aspects of OCD have been related to aspects of childhood development. According to Salkovskis et. al. (1999), individuals with OCD, as children, had:

- too much responsibility
- too little responsibility
- exposure to rigid or extreme rules
- incident where their actions led to serious misfortune
- incidents where they wrongfully assumed that their thoughts or actions led to serious misfortune

Behaviorists have explained the development of OCD through classical and operant conditioning where obsessive thoughts are conditioned stimuli that have been associated with anxiety and compulsions serve as negative reinforcements to these thoughts (Rachman, 1971). Additionally, the content or manifestations of the illness can be determined by the social context of the patient. For example, someone raised or having embraced religious practice later on may exhibit more scrupulous types of obsessions and compulsions in contrast to those that do not subscribe to any particular religious faith tradition or practice. Moreover, persons of certain personality types can be more susceptible to obsessive thoughts and compulsions (Ok & Goren, 2018).

2) Religiosity and OCD

Yorulmaz et al. (2009) posits that religiosity characterized by rigid and strict adherence to moral codes might contribute to the high emphasis of thoughts because such individuals are susceptible to intrusions involving blasphemous thoughts, images or impulses – all of which can cause distress for a devout individual. Ok & Goren (2018) found a strong positive correlation between religiosity and OCD in a non-clinical Muslim sample, with the personality traits neuroticism and conscientiousness playing a predictive role in OCD scores. However, agreeableness and conscientiousness together accounted for only a small portion of religiosity with OCD symptoms. This study suggests that neurotic and perfectionistic tendencies are perhaps strongly associated with the potential obsessive-compulsive practice of religion. Religion may seem to provide a setting for the expression of OCD symptoms rather than being a distinctive theme or cause of OCD, elucidating the theory that religious manifestations is the social context or coating of OCD found in the religiously observant as opposed to the cause of Scrupulosity (Ok & Goren, 2018). Inozu, Clark and Karanci (2012) inferred that, in patients with OCD, religion provides a fertile context for misinterpretation of unwanted, unacceptable, and intrusive thoughts and conduct as well as high moral standards, inflexibility, guilt, and beliefs about the importance of thoughts. In contrast to OCD patients, healthy religious adherence would allow for a more accepting attitude of intrusive and unwanted thoughts, thereby creating a healthy mindset pertaining to their religion (Ok & Goren, 2018).

a) Waswasa: OCD Scrupulosity in Islam

There are extensive writings in the Islamic literature – from scripture and prophetic narrations to texts by theologians, Muslim physicians, and classical Islamic jurists – on obsessive thoughts and compulsive behaviors regarding the presence and the role of intrusive repetitive thoughts coupled with its impact or lack thereof on Islamic ritual practices (Mawsili, 1937; Farfur, 2002, Badri, 2013; Bint Abdur Rahman, 2013). The term to describe obsessions in the classical sources is '*Waswasa*' whereas, in modern Arabic, a clinical qualifier has been added to make it '*Waswas al-Qahri*' in order to differentiate it from non-clinical obsessive rumination that does not significantly compromise psychological functioning (bint Abdur Rahman, 2013). The word '*Waswasa*' is found in the Qur'an and in prophetic narrations (Quran,

50:16). It literally translates to 'whispers' but can have several meanings. One meaning of *Waswasa* is a subconscious drive originating from the lower ego (possessing untamed, hedonistic inclinations) that surfaces into conscious awareness. Alternatively, it can be attributed to metaphysical whispers of the devil who may indulge or trigger the lower ego (*nafs*) to release some of this reprehensible thought content (Badri, 2013). The presence of both are certainly possible, and its metaphysical manifestations are not mutually exclusive with potential presence of psychological, social or biological origins of OCD propensities according to Islamic beliefs (Taftazani, 2000). In fact, many Muslim populations attribute Scrupulosity to its metaphysical evil origins (Al-Solaim & Loewenthal, 2011; Abouhendy & Jawad, 2013).

From an Islamic perspective, the devil plays on the psychological weaknesses or triggers of human beings in the same way that he may trigger anger in someone who possesses a heritably hot temperament or propensity for aggression. The content of these thoughts emerging into conscious awareness causes great distress, physiologically arouses the individual, and puts them in a hypervigilant state that drives the obsessive reaction designed to extinguish or 'undo' the feared consequences conjured up in their mind. In other words, Scrupulosity can be conceptualized as fear of one's own thoughts. However, it must be kept in mind that Islam does not simply view the presence of reprehensible thoughts as a negative indicator of faith. To the contrary, after the companions of the Prophet of Islam disclosed to the him that they had reprehensible thoughts, the Prophet of Islam positively re-interpreted and reframed the presence of these thoughts as indicators of faith in contrast to a representation of their true beliefs (Muslim, 2007). Thus, the mere presence of reprehensible thoughts is not necessarily consequential. For this, Islamic scholars have categorized thoughts into various types and stages of thinking:

1. *haajiz* or fleeting thoughts that occur in the mind,

2. *khaatir* or more active thoughts or ideas in the mind,

3. *hadith al-nafs* or a cognitive self-talk characterized by contemplation and consideration of the thoughts

4. *hamm* or deliberation of the thought with a strong inclination towards acting upon the thought, and

5. *'azm* or a resolve to internalize the belief in accordance with these thoughts.

The first three stages of thoughts are not considered to be within the scope of individual's control nor is the subject held religiously accountable (*mu'kallaf*) for these thoughts (Zarabozo, 1999; Sherwani, 2005).

Often, many individuals who struggle with obsessive thinking falsely attribute the presence of negative thoughts to their blasphemy of the Islamic faith. For example, if a patient possesses doubts about faith, they may interpret their doubt regarding Islam as a representation of their true belief and compulsively renew their testimony of faith. From an Islamic perspective, these are faulty beliefs and Islam has addressed the propensity to form such faulty beliefs on account of the potential anxieties accompanying these thoughts for the religiously devout.

Accordingly, in Islamic law, consequentiality of thoughts or actions hinges on capacity (*wus'a*) (bint Abdur Rahman, 2013). Moreover, there is an inherent recognition of the common presence of negative rumination according to Islamic scripture, and these may be typically more prevalent during prayer since it is believed that a specific whispering devil is appointed as a source of distraction from spiritual presence of mind in prayer (Muslim, 2007; Bin Hanbal, 2012). Thus, Islam, normalizes its presence and informs adherents of their inability to control these thoughts given their metaphysical origins and disavows its interpretation. Thereby forcing the acceptance of human imperfection and lifelong presence of intrusive reprehensible thoughts.

3) Clinically Significant OCD in Islamic Law

Islamic law recognizes psychological disability and can offer dispensations (*rukhas*) for those that can be identified to fall into such categories. In fact, the religious requirements of prayer, fasting, charity among others, assume the presence of mental competence (*ahliyyah*) (Bint Abdur Rahman, 2013). Mental competence includes the capacity to understand one's responsibilities (*idrak*) and appreciate the consequences of one's actions or distinguish between right and wrong (*tamyeez*) (Ali & Keshavarzi, 2016). One who lacks these basic requirements would be categorized as legally insane (*majnun*). However, there are several additional categories of psychological states of mind that may exempt a Muslim from normatively prescribed religious responsibilities. These are known as *awaridh* or potential occurrences that serve as barriers to mental competence (Farfur, 2002). Most notably, psycholog-

ical states of mind that comprise willful intent (*iradah*) or volition such as psychological compulsions (*ikrah*) can qualify a subject to fit the category of partial insanity (*junun al-juzi*). *Junun al-juzi* is used to denote a specific area of compromised functioning despite the presence of normative cognitive faculties that are fully intact in other areas of life (Bint Abdur Rahman, 2013). Based upon the severity of OCD, patients afflicted with OCD may qualify to meet the criteria for this legal category. It is important to note that clinical terms are not synonymous with legal insanity. Rather, in order to allow for disability accommodations regarding religious rituals, it is necessary to present the assessment of an upright Muslim mental health expert to an Islamic jurist who can translate the clinical assessment into Islamic legal terms and categories (Ali & Keshavarzi, 2016).

The possibility of some patients' severe OCD symptoms falling into the category of *junun al-juzi* has several potential implications. These include potential dispensations that alleviate the applicability of some normative religious rulings such as the validity of their pronouncements of divorce, liability for excessive washing and wastage of water, and even the responsibility of prayer or ablution altogether (Bint Abdur Rahman, 2013). In fact, some jurists do contend that severe Scrupulosity or *Waswasa* would fully exempt an individual from prayer altogether (Qari, 2009). Ibn al-Qayyim, a 14th century jurist, references Abu al-Wafaa al-Aqeel, a 12th century theologian, is in his example of an individual who has submerged himself or herself in water and still considers that they may not have moistened a part of their body, as indication of legal insanity (Al-Jawziyyah, 2004, p 134). Certainly, more precise clinical assessments could enhance such legal evaluations in modern day. However, it must be kept in mind that this exclusion should not be applied as blanket ruling given that even in these circumstances, OCD patients could only utilize this dispensation while undergoing treatment. According to some jurists, treatment would be religiously obligated in these circumstances since there is significant evidence for the clinical efficacy of exposure response therapies while Islamic legal principles make obligatory the utilization of the means (i.e. treatment) necessary to fulfil religious obligations (i.e. prayer) that could not otherwise be fulfilled without such means (Qureshi & Padela, 2016).

Additionally, Islamic jurists differentiate between excessive obsessions or doubts (*shakk*) within the normal range and dysfunctional rumination.

For example, according to the Hanafi school of thought (*madhab*), when these obsessions surround doubts related to checking behavior such as whether one has fulfilled the requirements of prayer or ablution, there is a potential for religiously cautious individuals to repeat the ritual in a more complete form, for fear of its invalidity due to deficiency. Islamic jurists of the Hanafi *madhab* offer that, when doubts first occur or occur infrequently, then precaution can be exercised, and repetition of prayer, washing or other rituals is praiseworthy. However, when such doubt (*shakk*) becomes repetitive, jurists have advised against repetition due to its pathological consequences and for distinguishing pathology from precaution (Mawsili, 1937). Such legal edicts can also be very useful as clinical treatment considerations for practitioners and can be integrated into the treatment regimen as is elucidated below.

4) Manifestations of Scrupulosity/Waswasa in Muslim populations

Inozu, Clark and Karanci (2012) conducted a study on Christian and Muslim samples from Canada and Turkey respectively, to analyze the impact of religiosity and cultural variation on OCD symptoms. They found highly religious individuals in both samples endorsed more guilt and maladaptive beliefs about responsibility and control of unwanted intrusive thoughts than non-religious individuals. However, only highly Muslim religious individuals reported significantly more compulsive symptoms. They attributed this to the difference in religious doctrines and the greater set of ritual forms of worship that are available and customary in Islamic religious practice, many of which have pre-defined behavioural requisites, rules and rituals for adherents to follow (Inozu et al., 2012). Thus, religiously committed individuals with OCD will likely focus on some very common religious rulings. These individuals are more prone to selectively attending to segments of the faith that may fuel their anxieties. Though there is limited modern literature on the nature of symptom manifestations of Scrupulosity in Muslim populations, there is a significant amount of attention afforded to this topic in the Islamic case precedents and edicts (*fatawa*). Due to the commonplace of *Waswasa* in Muslim communities, some common manifestations of can be garnered from these legal manuals by way of a thematic examination of both the manuals' contents and detail afforded to the manuals across jurists of various schools, geographies and eras (bint Abdur Rahman, 2013).

Bint Abdur Rahman (2013) in her encyclopedic Arabic publication gathered the legal positions across the four Sunni Islamic legal schools in her book, translated as *The Rulings of the Mentally Ill in Islamic Jurisprudence*. An examination of the themes and manifestations of *Waswasa* case scenarios accompanied by their corresponding rulings can be classified in five topical themes: (i) *Taharah* or cleanliness – obsessive compulsive rituals regarding purity of actions, body and intentions, (ii) *Salah* or prayer – consistent fears of the invalidity of prayer and accompanying repetition on account of a deficiency of fulfilling its conditions (iii) *Munakahaat* – Marriage & Talaq (Divorce) – obsessive fears regarding accidentally divorcing ones' spouse, (iv) *Akhlaaq* or character - Intrusive sinful thoughts regarding music, violence, or sex that are feared to be representative of the patient's hidden self and (v) *Aqeedah*: repeated blasphemous thoughts accompanied by catastrophic fears of apostasy.

a) Prayer and Ritual Washing

Prayer is a pillar of Islam and is the first obligation that believers will be questioned about on the day of judgement. *Tahaarah* or a state of ritual purity or cleanliness is a prerequisite for the fulfilment of prayer and many other acts of worship. Additionally, there are severe warnings that can be found in Islamic doctrine regarding one who neglects prayer or is heedless about cleanliness, such as punishment in the grave for one who does not clean themselves appropriately after using the washroom (*istinjaa*). These warnings are to ensure that appropriate care is afforded to these very important acts of worship (Bukhari). In both prayer and ritual cleansing, there are stipulations that are required to be observed in order for its fulfillment.

Typically, *Waswasa* patients will attend to statements within the Islamic tradition that require every part of one's body, including each hair be covered by water when performing a ritual ablution (*wudu*) for prayer or a ritual bath (*ghusl*) to remain in a state of ritual purity. In the case of ablution, it typically includes washing of the mouth, nose, hands, face, arms, and feet three times and a wiping over the head, ears and back of the neck. However, it is typical for patients with *Waswasa* to wash each limb more than thrice and use excessive water in order to 'ensure' that they are truly in a state of purity as its absence would invalidate their prayers. Similarly, major movements or laughing during prayer invalidates prayers, thus *Waswasa* patients may

become preoccupied with whether they smiled involuntarily, whether their movements constituted an invalidation, or simply whether they fulfilled all the requirements for prayer. Such preoccupations can result in the fulfillment of the daily prayer requirement (praying five times a day) to become mechanistic, ritualized and anxiety-laden. Doubts as to the sufficiency of the prayer or nullification of ritual purity (such as passing wind) may lead to compulsive repetitions of both washing and performing the same prayer several times. These can recur to the point of missing the actual prayer or performing the prayer repetitively until they are satisfied. It is important to note that compulsions are repeated until the subjective anxiety subsides, not the actual objective fulfillment of the ritual obligation.

b) Marriage and Divorce

Waswasa patients often experience fears of accidental divorce. In Islam, verbal pronouncement of divorce, through a clear and explicit usage of the word "divorce" in any language irrespective of intention, can result in it and thereby end the marriage. For example, each of the following can effectuate divorce: joking, using it to intimidate the spouse of for secondary gain, or out of anger, all of which will still effectuate the divorce. This type of divorce is known as *sareeh* or a clear pronouncement of divorce. Alternatively, a husband may intend divorce and use indirect means of articulating this intention through the usage of words typically not associated with divorce nor its synonym. For example, if he were to say, "go back to your parents' house" coupled with a concrete intention in his mind, this too would effectuate a divorce. This type of divorce is known as *kinayah.* Both types and its modality are unanimously agreed upon by all schools of Islamic law (Bint Abdur Rahman, 2013). Thus, a Muslim may be preoccupied by intrusive fears or doubts about whether they intended to divorce their spouse through usage of ambiguous words.

c) Character (*Akhlaq*)

The manifestation of faithfulness or being a bad believer is likely commonly shared with other typical scrupulous and guilt-centric tendencies across faith traditions that generally include feelings of intense guilt. These may include thinking of sins, such as singing impermissible types of songs in the mind or having impermissible sexual fantasies. Scrupulous tendencies generally

involve some sort of sinful behavior that is a preoccupation in the mind of the scrupulous person and can often be associated with excessive repentance or attempting to think of or say things that are opposite to the thought in an attempt to neutralize the associated negative thought. A person engaging in this type of thought neutralization may silently say words or attend to thoughts that are opposite of the unwanted thoughts and feelings. The idea is that the 'good' thought cancels out the 'bad' thought. Sufferers may force feelings of guilt and negative self-thoughts as a form of punishment for their crime, which in the long-term helps them feel relief from the guilt of their thoughts (Abramowitz & Jacoby, 2014).

d) Blasphemy or Apostasy

Islam takes blasphemy as a great offense and places a great emphasis on the preservation of belief in the doctrinal creed of Islam. Apostasy, in Islam, can occur not only by uttering blasphemous thoughts regarding God or Islam, but also through making a mockery of sacred rituals, such as prayer (known as *istihzaa*) and even the rejection of parts of the faith that are necessarily known as being part of Islam, having been established with certain religious proofs (*ma'lum min al-deeni bi-darura*) (al-Taftazani, 2000). This can include the rejection of the obligation to pray or fast or make the annual pilgrimage. Thus, scrupulous individuals are likely to misinterpret the presence of doubts or the occurrence of passive thoughts as evidence of covert blasphemy.

Such catastrophic fears of incidentally committing blasphemy may be triggered by hearing a sermon or reading books of theology, particularly discursive theology (*kalaam*) regarding the severity of intentional blasphemous thoughts and its potential apostasy. Additionally, they may worry that laughing at humour or friends who make religiously thematic jokes may be associated with committing blasphemy. Muslim patients may then confuse *Waswasa*, inconsequential normal doubts that are tolerated in Islam, as a true representation of their internal beliefs. This can be exacerbated by the fact that in Islam, blasphemy that results in apostasy nullifies one's religious contracts such as marriage and this can heighten anxiety and catastrophizing in *Waswasa* patients.

Diagnosis and Assessment

Waswasa is diagnosed when symptoms meet the threshold for clinical OCD, which is characterized by obsessive, anxiety-inducing thoughts combined

with compulsive behaviors that impair functioning. Although the Scrupulosity subtype has not been recognized yet in the DSM, the cultural manifestations of OCD greatly vary in Muslims and can still be identified by the various potential expressions of the disease mentioned above.

As mentioned previously, a key differentiating indicator for OCD subtype of Scrupulosity in contrast to religious devotion as practiced by ascetics or mystics is that the patient with OCD generally prays to reduce the anxiety, not out of religious devotion. OCD patients often find prayer an overwhelming task, can experience a lot of discomfort, and their prayers are typically devoid of any presence of mind on account of a preoccupation with 'doing it right'. It is important to note that subjective distress, ruminations and compulsive reactions are the markers of OCD, not necessarily the quantity of religious worship.

Often, the first person to notice the *Waswasa* may be a religious leader from the patient's faith. This is due to the fact patients who experience disruptive *Waswasa* often engage in excessive reassurance-seeking. Although it may start off as seemingly normal, the person giving the reassurance starts to notice the exorbitance of these requests. Often religious individuals rely heavily on members of clergy to provide counselling and mental health support, and may trust clergy more than professionals (Hasnain, Connell, Menon, & Tranmer, 2011). Hence, as demonstrated by the literature, it is important for members of the clergy to encourage and advise patients to seek professional help, as well as support the clinician's treatment plan by refraining from enabling the condition with provisions of relief from obsessive and compulsive thoughts and behaviours (Abramowitz & Jacoby, 2014; Miller and Hedges, 2008; Nelson, Abramowitz, Whiteside, & Deacon, 2006). The sole usage of spiritual counseling for severe psychological conditions can exacerbate symptoms (Razali, 1999).

The diagnosis of *Waswasa* can be aided by the usage of assessment instruments. There are several self-report measures; however, two of the most commonly used measure are Penn-Inventory of Scrupulosity (PIOS) and Thought-action belief scales (TAF) (Abramowitz & Jacoby, 2014). PIOS is a 19-item psychometrically validated self-report measure developed to assess scrupulosity in the context of OCD, which consists of two subscales measuring fear of having committed a religious sin and fears of punishment from God (Nelson et al., 2006). TAF is also a 19-item self-report measure that eval-

uates the tendency to believe that thoughts are equal to actions and has 3 dimensions: moral, likelihood-self, and likelihood-other.

Other measures are used to assess the specific aspects within the symptom clusters. These include Interpretations of Intrusions Inventory III, Obsessive-Compulsive Beliefs Questionnaire, Thought Control Questionnaire, White Bear Suppression Inventory, and Padua Inventory-Washington State University Revision (Yorulmaz et al., 2009). It is important to take into consideration the lack of normative data that exists for Muslims within the literature.

Islamically Oriented Cognitive & Exposure Response Therapy

Keshavarzi and Khan (2018) have pioneered the treatment modality known as Traditional Islamically Integrated Psychotherapy (TIIP) to treat Muslims suffering from psychological illnesses. It integrates several aspects of the human psyche (*Aql* or cognitions, *nafs* or behavioral inclinations, *ruh* or the spirit, and *Ihsaas* or emotions) to address the issues being suffered by the individual. For *Waswasa*, the *aql* and *nafs* may have accompanying impact on emotions and spiritual well-being (Keshavarzi & Khan, 2018). Accordingly, Abu Zayd al-Balkhi states that faulty cognitions in the form of irrational catastrophizing ruminative fears of an anticipated future harm is the primary driving force behind compulsive behaviors underlying OCD (Badri, 2013).

Moreover, Keshavarzi & Khan (2018) describe that the primary mechanism of change is to restore the balance (*I'tidal*) of each element of the psyche. In the case of cognition, fears induced by irrational cognitions needs to be counter-acted through cognitive restructuring designed to restore balanced thinking (Clark, 2004). With regard to accompanying behavioral compulsions rooted in irrational cognitions, exposure to the feared stimuli while preventing the compulsive reaction that is aimed at systematically desensitizing the patient to experienced subjective distress may be utilized (Clark, 2004). In fact, in order to restore such a balance some overcompensation in the direction of practiced cognitive and exposure-oriented behavioral exercises that serve in positive opposition (*mukhalafah*) to the negative cognitive attribution bias and compulsive behavioral inclinations is necessary (Al-Ghazali, 1986; Usmani, 2001; Kazdin, 2008, Himle, Chatters, Taylor, & Nguyen, 2011). Al-Ghazali, a 12th century polymath, describes that faith is the perfect balance between fear and hope. Thus, individuals with *Waswasa*, can be said to have a predisposed cognitive orientation toward fear. Therefore, as a

general principle or mechanism of change, the practitioner is ultimately attempting to induce greater relief through hope in the mercy of God, thereby diminishing the excessive guilt or catastrophic fears of divine punishment. The principles of cognitive restructuring and the need to correct faulty irrational cognitions is consistent with cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) albeit with differences in the desired content of alternative more healthy thoughts that are rooted in the Islamic faith. Religiously-oriented cognitive behavioral therapy (RCBT) has been proven to be an effective means of therapeutic change in Muslim populations (Hamdan, 2008; Vasegh, 2014). Religiously oriented exposure response therapy can be a very effective approach to the treatment o Scrupulosity (Huppert, Siev & Kushner, 2007; Arip, Sharip & Nabil, 2017; Rosli, Sharip & Ismail, 2017).

Additionally, response prevention and exposure to the opposing behavioral inclinations (*nafs*) in the interest of breaking its unhealthy compulsive drives is also consistent with Exposure response prevention strategies (ERP) rooted in CBT, which has been demonstrated to be a key treatment approach for OCD (Clark, 2004). Ultimately, the aims for this therapy are to weaken maladaptive beliefs that are inconsistent with the person's religion, increase tolerance for doubt and uncertainty, and weaken the need for compulsive rituals. In the psychoeducation and cognitive restructuring phase, the therapist can challenge the patient to think critically through their rigidly held beliefs. After some cognitive restructuring is conducted, exposure therapy is implemented, aiming to promote tolerance of intrusive thoughts, uncertainty, and anxiety. The stimulus – in this case the intrusive thought - is presented and the patient has to tolerate the thought without engaging in behaviour to rectify or atone for it, which is part of response prevention. The goal is to have the patient be able to sit in their uncertainty without getting too anxious or engaging in neutralizing behaviours.

Cognitive Interventions

Al-Balkhi discusses the needs to induce positive self-talk to counteract irrational ruminative fears (Badri, 2013). However, it must be kept in mind that self-talk characterized by an endless loop of rebuttals to specific anxiety provoking thoughts are not useful, despite their elimination of the temporary anxiety. Patients with extreme *Waswasa* are likely to continuously seek reassurance and likely to come up with 'rebuttals' to an endless supply of

'what if' statements. It is necessary to provide a general cognitive strategy or orientation toward building a healthier alternative internal script to explain the patient's obsessions by establishing that these thoughts are meaningless, unimportant and common among religious people (Himle et al. 2011). Al-Balkhi recommends patients to remind themselves of the origins of such negative thinking, and that it is rooted in an obsessive ruminative tendency due to their diagnosis of OCD, and that it is necessary to learn to tolerate the presence of these thoughts as one would accept chronic pain in for an incurable illness. Alternatively, he suggests coupling this with attributing these whispers to the devil and thus viewing them as inconsequential and not representative of one's true beliefs. This is consistent with acceptance and commitment therapy notions of accepting the necessary occurrences of negative thinking, letting go of control and realizing that thoughts in and of themselves are not harmful (Blackledge, Ciarrochi & Deane, 2009). Mere thoughts do not inherently carry truth value nor are they necessarily representative of one's internal beliefs. A prophetic tradition mentions that the companions of Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon him) came to him and reporting experiencing such shameful thoughts that he would rather be burnt to a cinder than to speak of them. The Prophet of Islam replied, "Praise be to Allah, who has reduced all his (*satan*) plots to mere whispers" (Abu Dawud, 2008). As mentioned above, Islamic jurists reinforce that ruminative obsessive thoughts are not consequential to religious practice. Helping the patient internalize this principle is important. Combined with this can be a prescription for self-talk that includes suggesting a rehearsal of legal edict that 'certainty is not lifted by doubt' which can help internalize an alternative general orientation to how one manages ruminative thinking (Nyazee, 2016).

The inconsequentiality of ruminative thinking can be further reinforced by concrete examples that have been described by the Islamic jurists as they pertain to fears of accidental marital divorce, excessive washing, repetition of prayers, blasphemy or sinful thinking. Such examples can be used in the context of an 'acting as if' intervention where the therapist encourages the patient to conceive of the worst thought they could conjure up and demonstrate its inconsequential nature. For example, as mentioned above, severe OCD may fall into the category of partial insanity (*junun al-juzi*). Thus, even if the patient did not wash a particular limb, pronounced divorce incidentally, or missed an aspect of prayer, then they could perhaps be exempt on account of the severe clinical manifestations. In fact, jurists of the Maliki

and Hanafi schools and ibn al-Qayyim state that if someone afflicted with *Waswasa* was even to make a clear verbal pronouncement of divorce simply to relieve himself of the repressed compulsive pressure, with no intention for divorce, his pronouncement would not be valid (Ibn Nujaym, 1983, pp. 79; Ibn Rushd, 1984 pp. 161; Ibn ʿĀbidīn, 1992, pp. 409; Al-Jawziyyah, 2004, pp. 61; Malik, 2005 pp. 83).

5) Islamically Integrated Exposure Response Prevention (IIERP)

Behavioural experimentation can be utilized to build evidence and dispute faulty appraisals and beliefs related to *Waswasa*. These involve confronting obsessional triggers and preventing associated neutralizing behaviours, where the patient is permitted to have the intrusive thoughts and is made to realize that these thoughts are of no consequence irrespective of the content of obsessions. This is mostly helpful for patients who focus a lot of energy on trying to block out thoughts that they consider intrusive, as once the patient suspends all effort to block out thoughts, it often leads to a reduction in intrusions instead of the surge in thinking, which most patients expect (Himle et al., 2011).

Al-Balkhi also describes using others as a more objective gauge of whether their thoughts are rational or irrational. This can be achieved through exposure-oriented approaches, such as having the patient and therapist make ablution and prayer together combined with intermittent cognitive processing to reinforce self-soothing between motions. Most clients harshly criticize themselves and would not consider that ablution flawed if another person performed it in the same way the patient did. Thus, the therapist can ask the patient after they complete the ablution together whether they felt that the therapist's ablution was incomplete to highlight how harsh their negative self-talk is and how it is typically self-directed. A cognitive suggestion that precedes performing ablution as an exposure response prevention remedy could be the citation of the incident of Prophet Muhammad's companion ibn Abbas, when someone informed him that he needed more water for ablution and bathing than what the Prophet Muhammad was reported to have used. Ibn Abbas, rebuked him this gentleman by mentioning that the Prophet Muhammad was the most perfect person, and he only needed the aforementioned amount of water (Al-Bayhaqi, 2013). Thus, the patient can take the prescribed measure or amount of washing the limbs thrice as

a more objective measure of the completeness of their actions, while being prevented from excessive washing beyond three, in place of their subjective ruminative speculations.

Often, *Waswasa* patients will continue to wash their limbs until they 'feel' clean. However, this type of subjective 'felt sense' can increase over time, thereby producing extreme dysfunction. Another narration attributed to the Prophet of Islam reinforces this in his saying, "If one of you finds a disturbance in his abdomen and is not certain if he has released any gas or not, he should not leave the mosque unless he hears its sound or smells its scent." (Muslim, 2007). Therefore, it is necessary to help shift patients to more objective and rational measures of their behavior as indicated by the above narration. An additional remedy for those struggling with purity is to create tolerance for anxiety by instructing the patient to sprinkle water over his undergarments after washing themselves. This is useful in patients that are concerned with urine drops being excreted from their private organs and thereby impurifying their clothes. The sprinkling of water acts to create greater ambiguity and uncertainty as whether the moistness was due to water or urine. This was a prophetic strategy effectively recognizes the potential tendencies for scrupulosity and thereby building in a tolerance mechanism within the Islamic modalities of purity (Al-Khattab, 2007).

Another strategy is the usage of reciprocal inhibition first described by Abu Ali ibn Miskawy (Haque, 2004). Cognitive reciprocal inhibition can be used by suggesting a thought that produces greater anxiety and is alternatively catastrophic that inhibits the initial ruminative thought. An example of such a suggestion would be to imagine that the origins of such ruminative thoughts are from the devil, then to respond to these whispers in the form of repeating ablution or prayer would be tantamount to obeying and worshiping the devil. This associates repetitive compulsive behaviors with the worship of the devil and thereby heightening anxiety that can inhibit the inclination to respond to these ruminations. Additionally, the patient can be informed that normative Islamic laws prohibit the use of excessive water and even recognizes habitual washing of the limbs more than three times as impermissible in addition to stating that this excess washing is more cleansing due to it becoming a reprehensible innovation (*bidah*) (Bint Abdur Rahman, 2013). This points out the paradox of following the mandate of a 'what if/ doubtful thought' in the form of repeating washing rooted in the whispers of

the devil while neglecting that such a performance is certainly unacceptable as legislated by the Ultimate Legislator, God. It is hypothesized that inducing a greater fear in the ego or *nafs* of a behavior that contradicts its initial behavioral inclination will induce a positively alternative response. Ideally, the clinician would use these cognitive restructuring strategies in combination with prohibitively preventing the compulsive reactions in sessions.

6) Encouraging Self-Compassion

Finally, Al-Balkhi and Al-Ghazali both discuss prescriptive time set aside to remember and contemplate the mercy of God (Al-Ghazali, 1983; Badri, 2013). This can be combined with incantations or litanies of chanting one of the names of God (e.g. *Al-Raheem*) with some intentionality to internalize the feeling of God's mercy. Additionally, one can prescribe a proactive approach of having a normative routine of general repentance once after every prayer as is typical of normative Islamic religious practice, bringing to mind that God forgives all sins. It is a resignation of the patient's self to the imperfection of being human and that such imperfection combined with repentance is one of the reasons of for the elevation of the human rank even above the angels (Aramesh, 2007). These positive reframes can help to solidify an alternative cognitive orientation that shifts the negative attribution bias to a positive and optimistic one filled with hope (*raja*).

Discussion

Manifestations of obsessive-compulsive scrupulosity in Muslim populations are known as *Waswasa*. When these whispers are characterized by intrusive, ruminating, anxiety-provoking thoughts and lead to pathological compulsive reactions that disrupts functioning, it is diagnosable as Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder. The content of these ruminative thoughts in Muslim populations can generally be associated with ritual purity, prayer, divorce, apostasy or sin. There is significant convergence between exposure response prevention therapy and early writings of Muslim jurists in the Islamic tradition. By employing a treatment that is referenced according to the beliefs and practices of the patient, the clinical efficacy of such treatment can be enhanced (Yutrzenka, 1995). Muslim populations respond better to Islamically integrated therapies and in fact report a greater desire to seek out clinicians who integrate Islamic spirituality and professional practice (Al-Akili, 1993).

Though, the current DSM does not include Scrupulosity, religiously oriented manifestations of OCD is recommended to be included in the next sections of the DSM. Additionally, the cultural manifestations of OCD in Muslim populations maybe included as a subtype or as a culture bound syndrome. This is due to the necessity to recognize its unique manifestations and interaction with Islamic spirituality. Additionally, more literature needs to be directed at helping clinicians understand the differences between normative Islamic religious practice and abnormal compulsive behavior. This is critical on account of the possibility of misdiagnosis of normative Islamic rituals if the clinician is not sensitive to the religious requirements of more religious adherents of the Islamic faith. Additionally, given the intense fears and obsessions with wanting to be faithful, Muslim patients are also likely to mistrust mainstream service providers (Hasnain, Connell, Menon, & Tranmer, 2011). It is important that clinicians working with OCD *Waswasa*, have a good understanding of the faith of their patients. Additionally, a collaborative care approach can be very useful. This paper provided examples and some of the discussions of the Islamic jurists as it pertains to Islamic ritual law, but a comprehensive review was beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, given that it is unrealistic for clinicians to become experts in Islamic ritual practice, it is important to work in collaboration or in consultation with Islamic clergy. Such a collaboration can in fact be more beneficial given that the unification of treatment goals between a clinical and religious authority figures will help the patient understand the pathological nature of their behaviors.

Additionally, given the necessity to integrate Islamic religious concepts as reference points for cognitive and behaviorally oriented interventions, there needs to be greater literature devoted to the treatment of *Waswasa* in Muslim populations. Clinicians need workbooks, case studies and suggestions for intervention where the current literature lacks adequacy in supplying such resources. Further research also needs to be devoted to the treatment of *Waswasa* in Muslim patients to explore effective processes of interventions. The suggested interventions mentioned in this paper can be explored in such studies for their clinical efficacy.

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