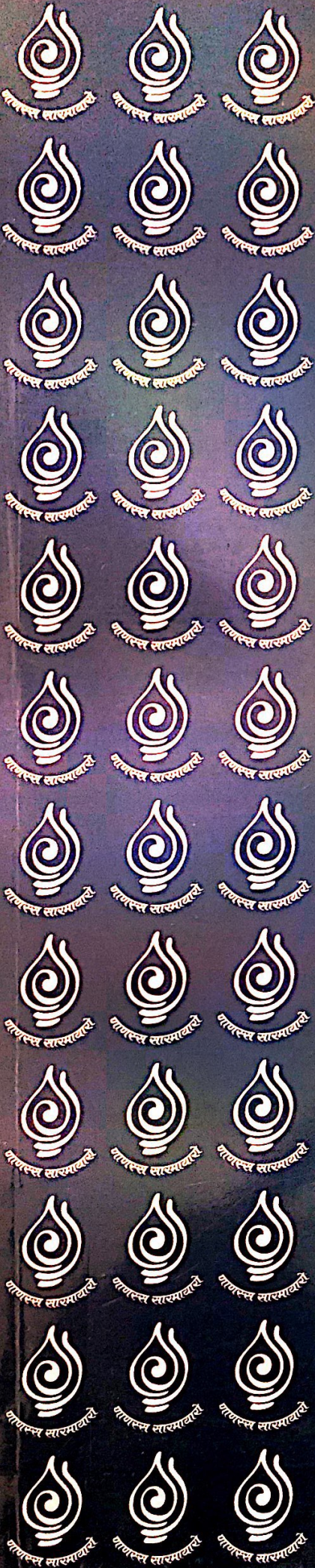


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# *Tulsī Prajñā*

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# Forgiveness across major world religious traditions

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## Abstract

Forgiveness is a concept with deep religious roots. It is an important quality for the maintenance of successful relationships. Religion can function as an affecting people's beliefs, emotions, actions, and goals related to forgiveness. Major world religions believe that forgiveness produces many physical and psychological benefits, and can intensely transform one's life. In this article, we will present the forgiveness as propounded in major religions across the globe. The centrality of forgiveness in these world religions suggests that they could facilitate forgiving behaviours toward transgressors that shift the goals of their followers from revenge to the repairing of relationships.

**Keywords-** Offence, compassion, repentance, reconciliation and Supreme forgiveness

## Introduction

Forgiveness is a concept with deep religious roots. Major world religions have encouraged it for thousands of years. Religion offers worldviews that

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help victims to reframe their attitudes toward their offenders. Major world religions believe that forgiveness produces many physical and psychological benefits, and can intensely transform one's life. Religious faith can help individuals to cope with the uncertainty which surrounds the choice to forgive. In theistic religions, forgiveness becomes a means for carrying out God's Plan, or improving one's relationship with the divine. In addition, religion offers numerous role models of individuals who have forgiven in spite of intense injustices. Religion also offers worldviews that help victims to reframe their attitudes toward their offenders.

## Judaism

In Judaism, if a person causes harm, and later on sincerely apologizes, seek forgiveness to rectify the mistake made by oneself, the victim is encouraged to grant forgiveness. Ideally a person who has caused harm, needs to sincerely apologize, then the wronged person is religiously bound to forgive. However, even without an apology, forgiveness is considered a pious act. Offenses against God can only be forgiven by God, likewise an offense against a fellow human can only be forgiven by the offended person, though one may pray to God for His help in obtaining forgiveness from fellow humans. One of the most important distinctives of Judaism was a belief that God was capable of forgiving humanity for its sins (Klassen, 1966) (Worthington, McCullough, & Sandage, 1997) (Telfer, 1959). Indeed, ascribing forgiveness as a central element of God's character was an important religious innovation that distinguished Judaism from the other early religious traditions of Palestine. The context in which God forgave people was the context of repentance (Dorff, 1998) (Jones, 1995). Murder is unforgivable in Judaism, and one must answer to God for it, though the victims' family and friends can forgive the murderer for the grief one caused them.

For forgiveness the most common Hebrew words in classical Jewish texts are *mehillah* and *selimah*. Although they are often used interchangeably in both classical and modern Hebrew, strictly speaking, *mehillah* denotes the

wiping away of a transgression- that is, forgiveness while *selihah*, especially in its biblical usage, denotes reconciliation.

Forgiveness has got high importance in Judaism that one of its core annual religious observances, Yom Kippur, or Day of Atonement, has been devoted to this practice. Yom Kippur is the day of forgiveness when Jews particularly strive to perform *teshuva*. Teshuva (literally "Returning") is a way of atoning, which requires cessation of harmful act, regret over act, confession and repentance. Prior to the day of Yom Kippur, it was the custom to ask for forgiveness from those persons you have harmed during the past year. This asking for human forgiveness is required in order to be eligible for forgiveness, or atonement, from God, for one's offenses against Him, which is requested and received on Yom Kippur itself. During Yom Kippur itself, Jews fast and pray for God's forgiveness for the transgressions they have made against God in the prior year.

### Christianity

In Christian teachings too forgiveness has got a significant place in spiritual life. The Lord's Prayer best exemplifies this attitude as expressed in following words: '*And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us*'. (Matthew 6:9-13).

The most common words denoting forgiveness in the New Testament are (1) *eleao* (and cognate nouns)-show mercy (78 times), and (2) *aphiemi*-release, discharge, put away (64 times). Another word used infrequently but in a striking way is *splanchnizomai*. Usually understood as "feeling sorry for" or "having compassion on" someone.

In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus repeatedly spoke of forgiveness, '*I tell you who hear me: Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who mistreat you. If someone strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other also.*' ( Luke 6:27-29 ), '*Do not judge, and you will not be judged. Do not condemn, and you will not be condemned. Forgive, and you will be forgiven.*' ( Luke 6:37 )

Such verses suggest the requirement of having an attitude or habit of forgiving others before receiving God's mercy in return. Jesus's death on the cross is widely held to be the sacrifice which makes Divine atonement for all human sins a potent reality.

Regardless of the requirements for God's forgiveness, humans forgiving humans was strongly emphasized by Jesus in his teachings. When asked by his disciple Peter if we should forgive repeated offenses against us by the same person up to seven times, Jesus replied that I do not say to you up to seven times but up to seventy-seven times. Jesus set the bar quite high himself when, while dying on the cross, he asked God to forgive those who were responsible for his own crucifixion, even in the absence of their remorse for their actions. The final words uttered by Christ during his suffering reinforce the importance of forgiveness: *'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'* (Luke 23:34)

There are two sects in Christianity-

1. Catholics, 2. Protestants

Nearly all Christians agree that repentance and forgiveness of others are key elements of forgiveness, and that forgiveness comes from God. However, there are some doctrinal differences about the process of forgiveness.

### **Catholic Doctrine**

Jesus had the power to forgive sins and also granted that authority to His apostles (Matthew 16:18-19, Matthew 18:18, John 20:22-23). In Catholic doctrine, the Church exercises that authority to forgive sins, through its bishops and priests. It is also known as confession or the sacrament of Penance. A sinner confesses his or her sins to the priest who offers some prayers to recite and grants forgiveness and reconciliation with the Church 'in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.'

### **Protestant Doctrine**

Protestants rejected the Roman Catholic Church's sacrament of Penance, its claims of apostolic succession, and its authority to mediate forgiveness of

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sins ( Timothy 2:5). Authority on doctrine was placed in Scripture alone rather than in the Church. For most Protestants, the Church is instrumental in bringing people to repentance, but forgiveness of sins comes directly from God.

**Confucianism**

Confucius's view was quite different from Jesus's. He emphasized brotherly feeling but with limitations. One does not find Confucius advocating, as Jesus did, Confucius's view is illustrated best by his reply to a follower—'If you recompense injury with kindness, with what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice and kindness with kindnesses. His central theme was reciprocity. What you do not wish yourself, do not unto others. Reciprocity, or returning like for like, is then the central principle of Confucius's ethics. Forgive others if others forgive you. If they don't, you need not forgive them. Thus Confucians do not idealize forgiveness as a response to wrongful injury to oneself.

**Islam**

Forgiveness has got crucial value in the Islamic tradition. Both the Quran and Hadith encourage believers to forgive because it reflects a higher virtue. There are several basic Arabic terms that relate to the concept of forgiveness: *afw*: pardon or amnesty; *safhu*: turning away from sin, ignoring the wrong; *ghafara*: covering up, erasing sin, remitting absolution. (J.M.Cowan, 1976).

Muslims attempt to follow the Prophet's sayings and actions. Thus, as with other virtues in Islam, they recall the Prophet's forgiving qualities and sayings as a way to emphasize the importance of forgiveness in the tradition. Some of the main saying and Quranic verse include:

- The Prophet Muhammad taught Aisha to ask for forgiveness in Ramadan by saying the following: 'If you are innocent, then Allah will declare your innocence: but if you have committed a sin, then ask for Allah's Forgiveness and repent to him' (Sahih-al-Bukari 6:60: 212).

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• The Prophet Muhammad requested forgiveness for his enemies at Ta'if, despite of having mistreated him by hitting with stones. He asked Allah to forgive them, 'because they did not know what they were doing.' (Al Wahidi's Asbab al Nuzul Q. 48:24).

There are at least three conditions that must be met in the process of asking for forgiveness. The firstly is that the crime must be committed out of ignorance. Secondly, the offender must experience shame about the crime or offense, especially when the crime is done out of ignorance. Thirdly, after asking for forgiveness, if the offender must promise or pledge to mend his ways, and to stick to his promise (The Quran, Q.6:54).

The Quran does clearly say that there is no forgiveness for those who will say 'now I repent' at the time of their death or for those who die rejecting their faith (The Quran, Q.4:17-18). However, the Quran describes situations where forgiveness is possible even if the person has committed severe offenses. Unless he repents, believes, and works righteous deeds, for Allah will change the evil of such persons into good. As such, like Christianity and Judaism, Islam places a great emphasis on asking forgiveness from God, who has the choice either to forgive or to punish.

Forgiveness between humans is also important. In Islam, human to human forgiveness is associated with the control of one's anger. Forgiveness among humans is given a high societal value for its ability to heal wounds and promote reconciliation.

Islamic tradition sets clear boundaries for forgiveness on issues related to worshipping other than Allah. In such cases, Islamic beliefs state that forgiveness is not possible unless the person accepts Islam. There is a sharp differentiation between forgiveness that is recommended for believers in Islam and for those who convert to Islam, and impossibility of forgiveness for non-believers who refuse to accept Islam, or anyone who has insulted Islam.

### Zoroastrianism

Forgiveness is the true teachings of Zarathustra. Since it is impossible for man to hurt and offend God, forgiveness is to be sought from injured mortals and not from The God. Sin and repentance for it, moreover, have to

be addressed to the victims of it. God cannot be harmed by men and therefore asking for forgiveness from Him is unnecessary. One should ask for forgiveness from those he has harmed. Sure, God is merciful and expects His creatures to be merciful and forgive those that harm them; however, He cannot impose forgiveness on any one as he cannot force someone to choose to follow him. To forgive, or not, is one's choice, as the aggrieved party, not His.

### **Sikhism**

Forgiveness is when one stops the need for revenge on someone. In Sikhism they believe that if one does bad actions there is always time to change their ways and do good. One should forgive someone if they are really sorry for what they did. Sikhism is a peaceful religion and does not believe in revenge which is thought to be immoral. It is said in the Guru Granth Sahib that why to blame other people? One has to blame his own actions; as he has acted, so are the fruits. In order to gain forgiveness, one need to first realise what one has and always tell the truth. Another teaching from the Guru Granth Sahib says 'God is forgiver of all' (Siri Guru Granth Sahib). It is a moral to forgive someone. The Forgiveness Process is a freely made choice and decision not to harm or punish oneself.

There should not be any further expectations after the other person apologizes. One should not worry whether they finally understand you or not. One can love them and release them. Truth comes to people later in its own way and time.

Forgiveness is viewed as the remedy to anger. Anger is often considered the result of unfulfilled desire. If a person fulfils one's desires and wants, one feel love for them but when they obstruct their desires anger can well up. The ego can also nurture up. As one learns to discipline their mind through meditation, ego and anger naturally turn to compassion and forgiveness. Forgiveness breaks the cycle of hatred and resentment. It means more than letting frustrations roll off one's shoulders. It involves creating a habit of leaving the past there itself and moving forward with a clean slate and seeing well in the present.

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## Buddhism

The connection between Buddhism and forgiveness is not clear, at first glance. Some Christian-Buddhist ecumenical studies (Eckel, 1997) and Buddhist discussions on forgiveness (Higgins, et al., 2001) (Rye, et al., 2001) suggested that no single Buddhist concept equivalent to forgiveness in a Judeo-Christian sense exists. Looking more deeply into Buddhist literature, however, Buddhist teachings and practices do encompass forgiveness.

Buddhism teaches the importance of a peaceful state of mind as well as a peaceful way of life. In the Buddhist belief system, there is no concept of a creator God with the power to punish or forgive. However, the idea of forgiveness is an important part of the Buddha's teachings.

The notion of forgiveness comprises two factors:

1. The removal of an expectation of revenge.
2. The renouncing of anger or resentment toward someone who has offended.

Both factors represent changes of attitude, and both are highly valued in Buddhist cultures. For instance, when a man spit in the Buddha's face, he said, '*What next?*' No anger, no sarcasm; simple presence and curiosity. Where as Buddha denied from taking revenge to his disciples who wanted to take revenge. He explained to them that the man who mistook and spit was unconscious with anger. He is not aware of what he did.

Buddhism have seen the world as fundamentally just and this justice is maintained by karma, in which good actions are rewarded with good fruits and bad with bad fruits. To hate another for his or her action is to create conditions for the experience of being hated by others in the future. According to the Dhammapada, 'Those who attempt to conquer hatred by hatred are like warriors who take weapons to overcome others who bear arms. This does not end hatred, but gives it room to grow.' (Dhammapada, verse:5).

## Hinduism

The Hindu tradition offers a variety of views on the topic of forgiveness. From the theistic perspective Hindu scriptures has a description of

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forgiveness as one supreme peace (Vyas, 1883). Righteousness is the one highest good, forgiveness is the one supreme peace, knowledge is one supreme contentment, and benevolence, one sole happiness.

In the *Bhagavad Gita* Krishna, an avatar, or human incarnation, of the god Vishnu, lists forgiveness as a Divine characteristic when embodied by a human being. In the more philosophical Hindu traditions, a transcendental view is taken. When someone is wronged, one doesn't need to focus on the other who has wronged because other were just acting as the instrument of the Divine rather one can reflect on what lesson one can learn.

A less theistic Hindu might evoke the Law of Karma, of cause and effect. In fact, everything that happens to us is the result of our own past actions of this or some previous life from the Karmic perspective. Therefore, one can presume that lack of forgiveness, negative feelings, and seeking anger can only spill over into future births. As such, it is more skillful to acknowledge the impermanence of the transgression and let go. Letting it go prevents it from causing continued suffering in the present. As for justice, the Law of Karma itself will hold the perpetrator accountable. (McCullough, Pargament, & Thoresen, 2000)

In Hinduism, one should not only forgive others but also seek forgiveness if one has wronged someone else. Forgiveness in Hinduism does not necessarily require that one reconcile with the offender, nor does it rule out reconciliation in some situations. Instead forgiveness in Hindu philosophy is being compassionate, tender, kind and letting go of the harm or hurt caused by someone or something else.

## Jainism

Jainism is one of the oldest living religions of India. It allocated unique meaning to the concept of forgiveness. It addresses forgiveness as the supreme pathway of liberation. According to *Tḥāṇaṃ Sūtra*:

*'Chattaridhammadarapannata, tam jaha- khantimutti, ajjve, maddve'*

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There are four gateways of liberation- Forgiveness, humility, straightforwardness, purity (freedom from greed). Forgiveness is doorway through which one can attain liberation. (Thanam, 4/627, 1990).

Jainism does not believe in the concept of God as a creator, protector, and destroyer of the universe. It emphasizes freedom of the soul to gain liberation through self-effort and not the grace of a Supreme Being.

Forgiveness and anger are opposite to each other. If one possesses anger, one cannot forgive. If one really forgives, anger is automatically not there. Forgiveness diminishes the intensity or level of anger within the mind and heart. Eventually forgiveness means to restrain the rise of anger and pride and to have feelings of love and affection towards other (M R Nandi, 1994).

Jain Perspective opens a new dimension of understanding the concept of forgiveness. Forgiveness is considered as power of soul. Jains believe that from infinity, the soul is bounded by karma (minute particles similar to electron) and is ignorant of its true nature. Due to rise of karmas, nature of soul is not expressed fully. When related karmas are destroyed, then it manifests completely.

Jainism strives for the realization of the natural attribute of the soul. It is the first virtue out of the ten virtues of Jains. The word Kṣamā means patience, forbearance and pardon. Forbearance (Kṣamā) is the inherent virtue of soul. When the soul degrades from its real attributes to ill nature, such a soul is called attached or full of malice - ill-will, etc., because soul is simple and forgiving by nature.

### **Paryuṣana and Dasa Lakṣana Festival**

Unlike other festivals, Paryushan Parva and Das Lakshan are also known as the festival of forgiveness, celebrated separately by the two traditions of Jainism. Paryushan, celebrated by Svetambar Jains lasts for eight days. Digambar Jains celebrate it as Das Lakshan, beginning at the end of Paryushan and lasting for ten days.

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The central theme of the festival is atmashuddhi or "purification of the soul." Vows are taken to decrease dependence on excesses in our daily lives. Many Jains fast for all eight or ten days of the festival, and sometimes longer, drinking only purified water from sunrise to sunset and abstaining from the consumption of both food and water after sunset.

While fasting may not be possible for all individuals, the most important aspect of Paryushan and Das Lakshan is daily meditation and reflection. It is an opportunity to scrutinize oneself and look to the teachings of the Tirthankars for guidance. Each day is focused on removing our impurities - anger, pride, deceit and greed - and building the virtues of humility, honesty, kindness, self-restraint, non-violence, non-possessiveness, charity, austerity, sacrifice, and forgiveness.

The festival concludes with Samvatsari or the Day of Forgiveness, a time of confession and exoneration for sins of the previous year. On this day, Jains greet family, friends, and each other with 'Miccha mi Dukkadam,' & 'Khamatkhamana' - an ancient Prakrit phrase literally meaning "may all the evil that has been done be fruitless" & ask for forgiveness and forgive others. We seek forgiveness from loved ones, as well as enemies, for any intentional or unintentional harm that we may have caused them over the past year. Finally, one offer forgiveness to oneself for any harm he has done to himself.

**Table 1: Comparison between different world religions**

World Religion	Words denoting forgiveness	Types	Reasons for Forgiveness
Judaism	Mehillah (wiping away of transgression) Selihah (reconciliation)	God forgiveness and Human forgiveness	It is divine command
Christianity	Eleao (show mercy) Aphiemi (put away), Splanchnizomai (feeling sorry)	Divine forgiveness and Human forgiveness	To receive God forgiveness

<b>Confucianism</b>	<i>No specific word</i>	No division	If other forgive then only one should forgive
<b>Islam</b>	<b>Afu</b> (to excuse for fault), <b>Safhu</b> (to turn away from sin), <b>Ghafara</b> (to forgive)	Allah forgiveness and Human forgiveness	For getting forgiveness from Allah
<b>Zoroastrianism</b>	<i>No specific term</i>	Lord forgiveness and Human forgiveness	For mental peace
<b>Sikhism</b>	<b>Khimaā</b> (to forgive)	God forgiveness and Human forgiveness	It is a moral act
<b>Buddhism</b>	<b>Anukampa</b> (compassion)	No such division	To end suffering of self and others
<b>Hindu</b>	<b>Kṣamā</b> or <b>Kṣamatā</b> (signify forgiveness)	Usually no division, but somewhere we found Divine forgiveness	To follow the path of righteousness
<b>Jainism</b>	<b>Khamatkhama</b> (ask for forgiveness and forgive others) <b>Miccha mi dukkadam</b> (may my all faults be dissolved)	No Division	To destroy the karmas and to achieve enlightenment

<b>World Religion</b>	<b>Repentance &amp; Reconciliation</b>	<b>Specialism</b>
<b>Judaism</b>	Repentance is necessary but reconciliation is not necessary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offence against human is forgiven by him only, not by God</li> <li>• Murder is unforgivable</li> <li>• Jews fast &amp; pray for God's forgiveness on Yom Kippur Day</li> </ul>

<p><b>Christianity</b></p>	<p>Both are necessary</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forgive repeated offence by same person up to unlimited times</li> <li>• Jesus's death on cross was living example of great forgiveness</li> <li>• He asked God to forgive those who were responsible for his own crucifixion</li> <li>• Church possess authority to forgive sins through priests (Catholic tradition)</li> </ul>
<p><b>Confucianism</b></p>	<p>Repentance is must but reconciliation depends on choice</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Central theme is reciprocity</li> <li>• Recompense injury with injury &amp; kindness with kindness</li> <li>• Forgive others if they do, If they don't you need not to forgive them</li> </ul>
<p><b>Islam</b></p>	<p>Both are not essential</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Three conditions for forgiveness</li> <li>• Crime must be committed out of ignorance</li> <li>• Offence must feel shame</li> <li>• Ask for forgiveness</li> <li>• Impossibility of forgiveness for non-believers who refuse to accept Islam, or who insulted Islam</li> </ul>
<p><b>Zoroastrianism</b></p>	<p>Repentance is must but reconciliation depends on choice</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forgiveness is must to be asked from injured mortals &amp; not from God</li> <li>• God can't force someone to forgive others</li> </ul>
<p><b>Sikhism</b></p>	<p>Both are not essential</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Revenge is considered to be immortal</li> <li>• Forgiveness breaks the cycle of hatred and resentment</li> </ul>

<b>Buddhism</b>	<b>Both are not essential</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No concept of God and God forgiveness</li> <li>• Much emphasis on Metta (loving kindness), &amp; Karuna (compassion)</li> <li>• Good &amp; bad actions are rewarded with good &amp; bad actions</li> <li>• Hatred provoke hatred</li> </ul>
<b>Hindu</b>	<b>Both are not essential</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Don't blame others for hurt, they are just instrument</li> <li>• Everything happens is the result of our own past actions</li> <li>• Intentional acts like murder, rape are unforgivable in some Hindu texts</li> </ul>
<b>Jainism</b>	<b>Both are not essential</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is supreme pathway of liberation</li> <li>• Repression of anger is named as forgiveness</li> <li>• Kṣamā is nature of soul, due to rise of karmas it is not expressed fully</li> <li>• It is one among ten universal virtue</li> <li>• Kṣamā is expressed spontaneously, unconditional &amp; universally</li> <li>• One seek forgiveness not only from human beings but from all living beings ranging from one sense to five senses</li> </ul>

The theistic religions, including the Abrahamic and Japanese tradition (Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism and Confucianism) and some sections of the Hindu traditions (Sanatan Dharma) associate and attribute forgiveness directly to Divine God.

In contrast, the non-theistic religions, Jainism and Buddhism, derive forgiveness from the nature of the soul (jiva/atman) and virtue of compassion

respectively. Thus, the significance of the concept of forgiveness, its fundamental base, the importance and its practice differ significantly in various world religious traditions.

Like Judaism, Christianity considers forgiveness to be foundational to its doctrine (Witvliet, 2001). In the Christian religion, God and Christ serve as role models of forgiveness (Marty, 1998). Also similar to Judaism, Christian believers are encouraged to forgive because God forgives them (Enright, Eastin, Golden, Sarinopoulos, & Freedman, 1992).

Forgiveness is also of great importance in Islam. Both Allah and his messenger, Mohammed, are the role models of forgiveness within Islam. Islam places importance on individual forgiveness so that one can receive forgiveness from Allah for one's own sins (Ayoub, 1997), and can have happiness in the present life. The Buddhist emphasis on forbearance and compassion is also relevant to forgiveness. Forgiveness is one of the concepts necessary to follow the path of dharma, or righteousness, in the Hindu religion (Klostermaier, 1994).

Jainism assigned unique meaning to the concept of forgiveness and attached great importance to it for the practice of Ahimsa, the supreme pathway for spiritual progress of the individual, social harmony and peace essential for the all-round sustainable development. Jain religion emphasizes a version of karmas, which are special types of very subtle material particles, which are attracted and get attached to the soul as a consequence of acts, feelings and thoughts of passions. Bondage with karmas, constituting the subtle karmic-body, hinders the full expression of the spiritual attributes. Levels of expression of forgiveness depend, therefore, inversely on the karmic bondage and relate directly to the stages and degrees of spiritual purity. Spiritual practices aiming to purify the soul (self-purification) should, therefore, enhance the level of expression of forgiveness.

The centrality of forgiveness in these major world religions suggests that they could facilitate forgiving behaviours and attitudes toward transgressors that shift the goals of their followers from revenge to the repairing of relationships.

Religion can function as an affecting people's beliefs, emotions, actions, and goals related to forgiveness. Yet religion's effect on forgiveness may not be unidirectional—while religion's emphasis on universal love and compassion can work to facilitate forgiveness. For instance, the major world religions prescribe beliefs regarding the value of kindness and forgiveness (McCullough & Worthington, 1999), (Rye, et al., 2000). Religions also encourage emotions such as compassion and empathy, which may foster forgiveness (McCullough, Worthington, & Rachal, 1997).

### Conclusion

In conclusion, we hope that researchers interested in forgiveness begin to consider the rich conceptualizations of forgiveness as provided by religious traditions. We believe there is wisdom in the perspectives of religious traditions, which were considering important questions long before psychology existed as a formal science. Smith (1994) pointed out that the willingness to listen is the first step towards understanding religious traditions. Religious understandings of concepts such as forgiveness might provide social scientist with invaluable insights into the nature of human experience. At the very least, they deserve further exploration.

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