popular war. Although there are other ways to interpret this fact, it is a challenging thought that patriotism might be regarded as "a civil religion of blood sacrifice, which periodically kills its children to keep the group together" (Marvin and Ingle 1999, p. 315).

See also: AZTEC RELIGION; CANNIBALISM; CHILDREN, MURDER OF; GODS AND GODDESSES OF LIFE AND DEATH; HUNTING; INCAN RELIGION; OSIRIS

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ROBERT KASTENBAUM

SAFETY REGULATIONS

Safety regulations are defined as mandatory requirements that aim to prevent or reduce injury. They include laws and regulations, such as prohibiting the sale of fireworks, and mandatory standards, such as specifying that children's nightwear be fire resistant. Table 1 presents examples of safety regulations that fall into a number of categories.

Environments for Safety Regulations

A common factor in whether regulation is used is the seriousness of the outcome being addressed in terms of human health. For this reason regulation is more common in transportation and the workplace, where the potential for fatal injury is perceived to be relatively great, and less common in the home and in sports environments, where the potential for fatal injury is perceived to be less. Regulations are often introduced in situations where the actions of one person can injure other persons who do not have the ability or opportunity to decide whether to accept the risks associated with those actions. The most common examples relate to regulations protecting the safety of children and of workers.

Even where a person's actions are likely to cause injury only to herself, regulation may be introduced if the costs of injury to that person are largely borne by the public. Perhaps the most contentious among this class of regulations in the United States are mandatory motorcycle helmet and

safety belt laws. The overall effectiveness of safety regulations depends on whether the requirement being mandated is capable of preventing or reducing the target injury and on whether the process of regulation is effective. Some of the factors that influence the effectiveness of the process of regulation include: (1) whether the regulation requires active or passive compliance; (2) the effectiveness of enforcement; (3) public awareness of the regulation; and (4) public support for the regulation.

Regulations can require active compliance by the person being protected, for example putting on a safety belt, or they can provide passive protection, for example the temperature of hot water systems being preset before leaving the factory. Compliance with passive protection is generally much greater and there is less need for enforcement activity at the level of the individual when this approach to regulation is adopted.

To be effective the process of regulation requires sufficient public knowledge about the regulation and adequate enforcement. Promotion of voluntary compliance to achieve a level of community support before regulating has been an effective paradigm in countries such as Australia with respect to issues such as the mandatory use of safety belts and bicycle helmets. Once there is a high degree of public acceptance, there is less need for widespread enforcement and greater potential to focus enforcement on the nonconforming minority.

The most productive role of enforcement is to increase compliance, rather than detect noncompliance. Public education about the regulation that stresses the likelihood of detection has been found to increase compliance with drunk driving and speeding laws. There is little evidence that very large penalties produce significantly greater compliance by individuals than sizable, but not extreme, penalties. For companies, penalties are generally larger to minimize noncompliance based on commercial reasons. Selective enforcement of regulations can lead to ineffectiveness of the regulations for the group that is not being enforced and concerns about victimization from those groups being enforced. The police generally enforce traffic safety regulations. In the workplace, the enforcement role is sometimes undertaken by labor unions or by government workplace safety bodies.

TABLE 1

Aim of safety regulations

Aim of regulation	Examples
Limit access to dangerous products or activities	Graduated driver licensing Machine operator licensing Restrictions on the sale of alcohol to minors Child-resistant closures on pharmaceuticals or cleaning products Firearm regulations
Limit levels of harmful substances	Lead in paints Speed limits Power restrictions on motorcycles Temperature of hot water systems Manual handling limits
Require the use or installation of particular protective devices	Safety belts Motorcycle helmets Protective gear in workplaces Smoke detectors Electrical safety switches
Prescribe protective performance	Motor vehicle safety standards Standards for personal protective equipment Fire-resistant nightwear Isolation pool fencing Safety glass
Require information to be provided to consumers about likely hazards	Labeling of poisons and pharmaceuticals Alcohol content labeling on beverage containers

SOURCE: Courtesy of Haworth, 2001.

In other arenas, community groups or local government enforce.

Regulations can be prescriptive or performance based. In relation to a product, prescriptive regulations prescribe how the product must be constructed but performance-based regulations require that the product meet certain performance criteria (e.g., acceleration values on a crash test dummy). Manufacturers have argued that prescriptive regulation has the potential to impede the development of innovative solutions and possibly safer products.

Effects of Safety Regulations

Improving safety by regulation is a relatively slow process. It can take many years to have regulations passed by the government. In addition, most regulation is not retrospective and only applies to products manufactured or activities commenced after the implementation of the regulation (or even some years after implementation). For example, a regulation that requires electrical safety switches

to be fitted to new homes constructed after a certain date will take many years to permeate a significant proportion of homes.

The levels of safety performance required by legislation may be very low. An alternative approach that is becoming more common in transport safety is to combine regulation with encouraging consumer pressure to drive the market to produce something safer than is required by regulation. For example, the Snell Memorial Foundation tests motorcycle helmets to what is generally considered a more rigorous standard than that required by the U.S. Department of Transportation standard. Many manufacturers submit their helmets for Snell testing because they perceive that certification to this standard provides a market advantage. In such instances, the role of regulation may become that of providing a minimum standard to prevent unacceptably poor performance, rather than encouraging good safety performance.

However, regulation may sometimes result in counterproductive behavior. Those who resist the regulation may attempt to circumvent it. One example of this problem is the phenomenon of "toy" motorcycle helmets that provide little or no head protection. Some objectors to compulsory helmet wearing legislation wear these helmets to avoid detection by police.

Sometimes there are objections to safety regulations on the grounds that they subjugate individual rights to the public good, particularly in the United States. Mandatory-helmet-wearing legislation has been extremely contentious on these grounds. Helmet use reduces motorcyclist fatalities, injuries, and treatment costs and universal helmet laws increase helmet use substantially. The requirement is capable of preventing or reducing the target injury and the process of regulation is effective; however, the price for these benefits is that individual actions are restricted. Through a helmet use law, society requires each motorcyclist to take an action that appears to affect only him- or herself, but a motorcyclist's injury or fatality affects many others, directly and indirectly. Family, friends, and coworkers must adapt to the personal consequences of an injury or fatality. Society as a whole bears many of the direct and indirect costs, and these issues must be weighed against individual freedom of action.

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NARELLE L. HAWORTH

SAINTS, PRESERVED

The lives and deaths of saints have long occupied a distinctive place in Christian belief. Other religious traditions have also revered certain individuals as embodying their most admired virtues and having a special relationship with God. Christian saints, however, became such powerful figures that church authorities have had to balance carefully between supporting and moderating their influence. This influence includes the veneration of objects said to have been used by or associated with a saint and, even more precious, their physical remains.

Martyrs, Hermits, and Town Saints

Christianity was but one of many religious sects that were active within the extended reach of the Roman Empire as disciples started to disseminate the teachings of Jesus. The zeal of the early Christian converts brought them into conflict with their Roman overlords, who feared any destabilizing movements. Some Christians were executed by the authorities, others were slaughtered. The persecutions continued into the fourth century before abating. Those who died for their beliefs became the first martyrs, and the first martyrs became the first saints. Sanctification occurred by acclaim of their fellow believers; it would be another millennium before the pope and the church acquired authority over this process.

An early example of spontaneous sanctification was Polycarp of Smyrna (second century). He was admired as a person who had sacrificed himself in emulation of Jesus and therefore strengthened the faith. Polycarp's bones were buried in a secret and safe place. This action could be regarded simply as a sign of respect, but eventually veneration of physical remains of saintly persons would become a widespread and intense phenomenon. Martyrs predominated among the earliest saints. There is no comprehensive record of all the men and women who were martyred in the early Christian centuries, and many of the names have been lost. Another type soon emerged: the desert hermits, most notably Anthony (fourth century), who chose an ascetic and isolated life in the desert wilderness to overcome the temptations of the spirit and the flesh. Having accomplished this daunting task, he laid down guidelines for other Christians and became the inspiration for monasticism.

As time went on the number of saints increased greatly. Local and regional saints appeared in profusion throughout the Western domains of Christianity. Most of these saints were people who had impressed their community but were not known beyond their limited area. High church officials had little influence over the creation of town saints or the cult practices that formed around them.

Solace for the People, Challenge for the Papacy

Christianity struggled with dissension and numerous practical problems through the first millennium. The organizational effectiveness of the Roman Catholic Church gradually improved, however, and popes were in position to exercise a greater degree of control. One of the issues that needed serious attention was the status and function of saints. Many of the faithful relied heavily on both local and universally acclaimed saints. Images, statues, and shrines represented and honored the saints. People overwhelmed by anxiety and suffering turned to their favorite saints for help. The saints of choice were compassionate. They listened to the fears and sorrows. They certainly had more power than the people, whose sense of hopelessness and despair led them to beg for intercession.

Church leaders knew that the venerated saints represented an accessible point of comfort for the great mass of believers who, illiterate and poorly educated, had only limited understanding of the more subtle and abstract ideas that comprised Christian theology. The saints were mercy and salvation brought near. At the same time, though, there were also problems that could not be ignored. The numerous saint cults often seemed more pagan than Christian. Purists were dismayed by what appeared to be the worship of images that drew attention away from the true meaning of Christianity. There was also concern that the status of saint had been seriously debased by the uncritical and unrestrained enthusiasm of people who had been carried away by their emotional needs.

One other phenomenon required special attention: the ever-growing fascination with the bones and other remains of saints. Many of the people acclaimed as saints since the fourth century had been credited with miracles either while alive or dead. It was widely believed that their physical remains could also be invoked to produce miracles, usually of healing the desperate and incurable. Aside from the medical and religious questions involved there were also the economic and power issues. Churches were competing with each other for relics and remains (including even body parts claimed to have belonged to Jesus). The church that had no illustrious saint remains was in a difficult position in attracting parishioners and donations. Saint remains were offered for sale to the highest bidder, and many a church official suspected their authenticity, yet hesitated to challenge or withdraw from the bidding.

The church worked hard to sort things out, starting in the eleventh century, and continuing into modern times. Many local saints were dropped from the lists. Guidelines and procedures were established to rule out weak and spurious claims for new candidates. It was a hard blow when very popular saints such as Christopher were eliminated on the grounds that no such person had actually existed (although Christopher has continued to thrive despite this directive). The investigative techniques developed by the church helped to lay the foundation for present-day detective work and intelligence analysis. This dedication to ensuring that only the deserving are venerated was accompanied by a reaffirmation of the power of saints. Any lingering doubts were put to rest by the Council of Trent (1563), which made belief in the efficacy of saintly intervention a core article of Catholic faith.

The church did little, though, to subdue the fixation on saintly remains or to dry up the commerce of same. It is unlikely that any such campaign would have been very successful because there was a widespread horror of the decomposing body during the Middle Ages (to the extent that the illustrious dead would often be boiled until the flesh separated from the bones, with the former then tossed and the latter buried). It was therefore a most welcome miracle when a corpse did not decay, when divine intervention had spared a person the indignity of decomposition. Some of the most beloved saints were those whose bodies had "the odor of sanctity" rather than the rank smell of decomposition when unearthed after a lengthy period of burial. The Virgin Mary escaped decomposition through her ascension to heaven and therefore also avoided corruption of the flesh. Medieval destinations for pilgrimage invariably featured saint relics and remains.

Germaine Cousin is a relatively recent example of an incorruptible. Born in rural France in 1579, she was described as an unattractive and mentally unstable person who attracted little attention when she died at the age of twenty-two. Her corpse happened to be disinterred forty years later and was reported to be perfectly preserved, even unto the garland of carnations and rye that had been placed on her hair. This preservation (like many others) could not be attributed to embalming. In due time she had become St. Germaine, provided with an altar by which her remains could perform their work of healing and protecting those who sought her intercession.

Preserved remains of saints can still be seen. Lawrence Cunningham expresses a not uncommon discomfort with viewing "the incorruptible bodies encased in glass coffins or the statues of Santa Lucia with eyeballs on a plate held in her hand or the large reliquaries with shriveled arms and tibias" (Cunningham 1980, p. 1). Anneli Rufus vividly describes several preserved saints in their contemporary settings.

A Perspective on Preserved Saints

History suggests that saints of the Roman Catholic Church achieved their distinctively influential status first as exemplars of faith and courage and then as intermediaries through which troubled people could convey their fears and hopes to God. The prospect of salvation and immediate triumph over death became attenuated as the centuries went by and people continued to suffer and die. Saints became increasingly valued as available resources to help with pressing concerns; female saints provided an alternative to the male-dominated church hierarchy.

Two themes had been widespread in world societies long before Christianity: fear of the dead and belief in sympathetic magic. These themes were often combined in cults of the dead where rituals attempted to keep the peace between the living and the dead while drawing upon the special powers of the latter. The emerging saint cults exhibited some of these features, but with a significant twist: The sacred remains of the saints were not to be feared; they were, rather, tokens of hope. The remains also functioned as objects for the working of sympathetic magic. Whatever had been close to a person—or, in this case, part of the person—could be used to make good things happen.

People who otherwise felt powerless to understand and control their fate could take inspiration from those who had become saints by virtue of their virtue, and could participate in a sense of mystic communion with those whose bodies had been preserved from the corruption of the flesh. Even the staunchest faith can sometimes use another glimmer of hope.

See also: CATHOLICISM; CHRISTIAN DEATH RITES, HISTORY OF; JESUS; MARTYRS; VIRGIN MARY, THE

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SAMARITANS

See BEFRIENDING.

SARTRE, JEAN-PAUL

Traditional European Christian philosophy, particularly in the eighteenth century, was filled with images of and sermons on the fear of the judgment that would come upon the time of death. Characterized by Plato as the need to free the soul from the "hateful" company of the body, death was seen as the entrance into another world. By contrast, the efforts of nineteenth- and twentieth-century existentialists were to humanize and individualize death as the last stage of life rather than the entrance into that which is beyond life. This shift historically helped to make death conceptually a part of life, and therefore could be understood as a human phenomenon rather than speculation as to the nature of a spiritual life.

If death is the last stage of life, then one philosophical question is, What is the nature of the experience? It is to this question that the phenomenological analysis of Jean-Paul Sartre contributed significant insight. It can be said that when a child dies, the child becomes frozen in time. Always a child, the potential of that child is never realized and the experience of the life of that child ends. Sartre explains in his analysis of time that the past is fixed in the experiential history of the person. Whatever the person did, or even did not do, is simply the way it is. If a person was a coward when he or she died, then the image of that person as a coward is how the individual is remembered.

In his book *Being and Nothingness* (1956) Sartre established his early phenomenological method, exploring the nature of the human experience. Since Socrates, Western philosophers have suggested that essence or those basic aspects that make up the person are divinely preordained or predesigned prior to birth. Sartre, on the other hand, understood that the person must first exist before that which makes up the person can be identified, as human beings are not objective objects but rather subjective in their dynamic ability to change. Thus for Sartre, existence precedes essence. If analysis starts with the first human experience and ends with the last, then one's past is the past that was experienced by the individual, the present is the current reality, and the future reflects his or her potential. For Sartre, at the point of death the person does not have a past, as he or she is now dead and cannot continue to write in the log of the present. Rather, a person then becomes his or her past. Like the child who has died, in death the person is frozen in the minds of those persons who remember him or her.

Sartre used the concept of a wall to explain the transition from life to death. This concept is best understood by persons in a hospice who find that their comrades in death often understand them better than their families or those who do not understand their own finite nature. As he often did, Sartre offered his existentialist philosophy in a more academic volume and then explained it in his plays and novels. In his story *The Wall* (1964) Sartre writes about Pablo, a Spanish loyalist in his cell with two other republicans waiting execution by Generalissimo Franco's soldiers. He reflects as follows: "For twenty-four hours I have lived at Tom's side, I had heard him, I had talked to him, and I knew that we had nothing in common. And now we resemble each other like twins, only because we shall die together" (Stern 1967, p. 174). Persons faced with their own finitude often see the meaning of both their experiences and their lives from a larger perspective.

Jean-Paul Sartre and lifetime companion Simone de Beauvoir, whose ashes are buried side-by-side, share the same gravestone in the Montparnasse Cemetery in Paris, France. ROBERT HOLMES/CORBIS

Sartre would say that as he has not experienced death, he does not know what it is, but he can see that it must have some reality as others seem to experience its presence. An atheist, he believed that there is no divine being and therefore no heaven or an afterlife. Rather, there are only those aspects of the conscious choices made by the individual that live on in the lives of those the person has touched. Sartre's understanding of life is that it reflects the experience of one's existence. When the person is dead, he or she is only memories held by those who are in some way a part of the life of the individual. These contributions to the humanizing of the dying experience and the philosophical understanding of the role of death offer benchmarks in the history of the philosophy of death.

See also: FRANKL, VIKTOR; FREUD, SIGMUND; IMMORTALITY; PHILOSOPHY, WESTERN; PLATO

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JAMES W. ELLOR

SAUNDERS, CICELY

The name of Cicely Saunders is synonymous with one of the major social innovations of the twentieth century: the modern hospice movement. Saunders was born in England on June 22, 1918, the first of three children of Gordon and Chrissie Saunders. She enjoyed the material comforts of a successful middle-class family, and at the age of fourteen was sent to Roedean, one of the country's exclusive boarding schools for girls. In 1938 she went to Oxford University to read politics, philosophy, and economics, but interrupted her studies two years later to become a student nurse at the Nightingale Training School of London's St. Thomas's Hospital. When a back injury forced her to leave nursing, she returned to Oxford and qualified in 1944 with a diploma in public and social administration. She then commenced training as a hospital almoner, or medical social worker.

In a large London hospital Saunders became involved in the care of a patient who was ill and dying far away from his own home. His name was David Tasma, and he had come to London as a refugee from Poland's Warsaw ghetto. In the short time that they knew each other, he proved an inspiration to Saunders, and their professional relationship turned into a deep friendship. One day he said to her, "I want only what is in your mind and in your heart." This combination of emotion and intellect proved to be a guiding theme in her subsequent work. The two discussed an idea that it might be possible to create more homelike places where people could end their lives. When Tasma died, on February 25, 1948, he left Saunders with a

goddess Meretseger represented parts of the earth, and the god Sia represented the abstract powers of perception.[95]:91, 147 Deities such as Ra and Osiris were associated with the judgement of the dead and their care during the afterlife.[87]:26-28 Major gods often had multiple roles and were involved in multiple phenomena.[95]: 85–86. The first written evidence of deities are from early 3rd millennium BCE, likely emerging from prehistoric beliefs.[96] However, deities became systematized and sophisticated after the formation of an Egyptian state under the Pharaohs and their treatment as sacr