Ritual Counsellors’ Value Tensions in Profiling
A Pilot Study Using Organizational Constellations

André Mulder and Angela Stoof

Abstract

Ritual counsellors are self-employed entrepreneurs that mainly guide funeral rites. Literature suggests that ritual counsellors may experience tensions between values in profiling themselves to the media and funeral market. Assigned by the Dutch professional organization for ritual counsellors (LBVR), a qualitative case study was designed. Using the innovative method of organizational constellations, we investigate underlying tensions in a profiling situation. 10 Dutch ritual counsellors participated. Results indicate that they experience a tension between ‘money’ and ‘being there for other people’. Normatively, ‘money’ is valued less than ‘being there’. Ritual counsellors render multiple, sometimes contradicting meanings of ‘money’ that include mental, normative and felt elements. The tension is on a deeper level related to ‘acknowledgment’.

Keywords

Dilemma’s, ethics, value, money, ritual counsellors

Introduction

The churches’ monopoly on funerary rites in the Netherlands is buried in the past. A growing number of people – believers or non-believers, church members or non-church members – choose an alternative for a church funeral. The number of church funerals is declining, from 60% of all funerals in 1990, to 56% in 2002, 38% in 2009 and 26% in 2013.¹ The funerals conducted by ritual counsellors are not yet counted separately so we cannot estimate the share of these rituals on the total. But what we do see is an increasing number of companies run by ritual counsellors. In addition, we observe a kind of institutionalization for this profession. There is a well-known educational program which prepares for this profession (Het Moment) and also a professional organization, Landelijke Beroepsvereniging van Ritueelbegeleiders (LBVR), has come to light counting 134 members.² Since a few decennia ritual

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counsellors or guides, ceremony makers, celebrants or funerary speakers – several names circulate – are filling the gap between church funerals and complete secular funerals and create funerals with a spiritual dimension. Together with humanistic counsellors these ritual counsellors render ritual services when people are confronted with major life events and seek a personalized ritual. According to the professional standard, ritual counselling is “professional guidance regarding farewell rituals and rituals at other special moments in life, where these receive a deeper meaning.” Most of the time they work within their own companies as entrepreneurs, or they work self-employed as freelancers. Our impressions lead to the conjecture that there are at least 150–200 of these companies. The emergence of this group of new professionals adds new colors to the funerary and liturgical landscape in the Netherlands.

Ritual counsellors are part of the group of reli-entrepreneurs. Reli refers to (1) the nature of ritual counselling that has to do with attribution of meaning, worldview, religion and/or spirituality, and/or (2) passions, beliefs and/or ideals, that may be religious, spiritual or people-oriented by nature. Entrepreneurship refers to a market-oriented approach and/or earning and making money. Other reli-entrepreneurs, for example, are self-employed chaplains or spiritual counsellors, owners of Christian or spiritual bookshops, life story guides and advisers on religious diversity. With regard to worldview identity reli-entrepreneurs form a very diverse group. However, most of them are members of a protestant (36,3%) or catholic (34,8%) church. 16,7% is not affiliated. On a scale of orthodox to liberal, reli-entrepreneurs tend to embrace a liberal or extreme liberal position.

1 Theoretical perspectives and research questions

1.1 The profiling problem

According to the LBVR, a major entrepreneurial problem for many ritual counsellors is that they do not know how to profile themselves to the media and the commercial funeral market. This is especially a problem since the Dutch society is not yet acquainted with the relatively new profession of ritual counselling. Ritual counsellors are according to the board of the LBVR somewhat ‘invisible’, which impedes

5) For these and other numbers see Angela Stoof, Teus van de Lagemaat, André Mulder and Leo der Tuin, Pionieren met passie: Reli-ondernemers in bedrijf (Zwolle: Windesheim, Lectoraat Theologie en Levensbeschouwing, 2011), doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.35073.89443.
6) The problem is described by the LBVR in several conversations with the authors, leading to the request for this research project.
acquisition and suppresses incomes. According to the LBVR an increased ability in profiling is a way to a clearer place in the commercial funeral market, resulting in more assignments and income. The LBVR defines profiling as communicating the essence and value of ritual counselling to the media and funeral market. Profiling consists of showing the profession’s own character, enlarging brand awareness, positioning the profession in the market and communicating the profession’s identity. Profiling serves a commercial goal: in the end, its purpose is to increase the number of assignments and turnover.

One aspect of the profiling problem, according to the LBVR, is that ritual counsellors do not know sufficiently what their identity is and why they are needed. Thus, ritual counsellors could benefit from methods and instruments that help them to analyze their markets and become aware of the essence and value of ritual counselling. A second aspect of the profiling problem which we chose as focus of this article, is the communication of the essence and value of ritual counselling to the media and funeral market. Looking closely, at least two things come together in this communication: (1) the essence and value of ritual counselling, and (2) the commercial goals of profiling. Literature indicates that ritual counsellors may experience tensions between these two subjects, thereby impeding the act of profiling.

1.2 Value tensions between ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneurship’

In general, the essence of ritual counselling is a service with a ‘reli’ character. In an individualized and secularized context many mourners are neither firmly religious nor wholly secular. Many are ‘believing without belonging’ or use a ‘vicarious religion’. A lot of people create an individual worldview of bits and pieces of several religious and non-religious worldview sources, a bricolage. It is a ritual counsellor’s task to help mourners to attribute meaning to loss, grief and memories – a process in which these different worldview sources are used. The professional standard of the LBVR qualifies paying attention to meaning giving as essential. A ritual counsellor is an ‘advocate of spirituality’.

Research suggests that services with a ‘reli’ character sometimes conflict with the form of entrepreneurship. Stoof et al. performed a study on 66 so-called reli-entrepreneurs. 24 of them (36%) were ritual counsellors. ‘Reli-entrepreneur’ was defined as: “a person who is self-employed and graduated

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7) Stoof, Van de Lagemaat, Mulder and Van der Tuin, Pionieren met passie.
8) Holloway, Adamson, Argyrou, Draper and Mariau, “Funerals aren’t nice but it couldn’t have been nicer,” 31.
11) LBVR, Beroepsstandaard, 13.
12) Stoof, Van de Lagemaat, Mulder and Van der Tuin, Pionieren met Passie.
with a professional or academic bachelor’s or master’s degree in theology, religious studies and/or worldview, and whose professional activities more or less concern meaning giving, worldview, religiosity and/or spirituality.”13 Stoof et al. used an online questionnaire to explore the new phenomenon of reli-entrepreneurship in the Netherlands, for example with respect to motives, experiences, professional profile, religious/spiritual market, success criteria and competencies. One finding is the existence of a tension between the ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneurship’ aspects of the work:

A recurrent theme is the field of tension that we sense between ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneur’. How do the two relate to each other? What do reli-entrepreneurs experience when they try to integrate the two perspectives in a business concept? Is it even possible?14

The authors suggest that the main tension is to be found between the form and content of the work.15

Niesten and Elshout performed a study on so-called suppliers of reflection.16 Here, individual entrepreneurs or larger organizations (for example monasteries) offer activities such as Zen-meditation and weekends of silence. Based on 36 in-depth interviews with suppliers of reflection, they conclude that (especially religious or spiritual) suppliers of reflection are driven by a certain passion or belief, which may conflict with a market-oriented approach. So next to the reli-content of the work that may conflict with entrepreneurship also the entrepreneur’s religious or spiritual passions and beliefs may provide tensions. Stoof et al. also pay attention to the passions of reli-entrepreneurs. They conclude that “the passion of reli-entrepreneurs is – while working form the heart – to be there for people, at difficult moments.”17 They are the least passionate about making money.

Besides passions and beliefs, it may also be ideals that are involved in the tension. Approximately one-third (33.6%) of the respondents in the reli-entrepreneurs survey (strongly) agree with the following statement: “I experience a tension between the ideals of my worldview and the need for a commercial attitude.”18 In an interview reli-entrepreneurs Johannes van den Akker and Suzan Doodeman explore the relationship between ideals and money: “As a reli-entrepreneur you live in an ideali-
tic world and money is subordinate. And yes, we believe that realizing ideals is more important than earning money. At the same time, we believe that ideals can only survive if one makes money with these ideals.” This example illustrates that there may exist value tensions between what is important for yourself or society and what is needed to make a living.

These tensions are also recognized by scholars investigating the emerging field of social entrepreneurs. Social entrepreneurs must unite economic thinking with the desire to generate social wealth often based on a certain ideal picture of a good or just society. Ethical issues are at stake starting and managing a social enterprise. One question is how to balance the goals of economic and social wealth in a capitalist environment.

What can be learned from the studies from these partly overlapping populations of reli-entrepreneurs, providers of reflection and social entrepreneurs with respect to ritual counsellors? The binding factor between these four groups is that their professional activities have to do with attribution of meaning, worldview, religion and/or spirituality. The studies suggest that, when people offer such professional activities as an entrepreneur, they may encounter specific tensions. On the one hand, this tension involves entrepreneurship, understood as a market-oriented approach and/or earning and making money. On the other hand, this tension involves the ‘reli’ aspect which is connected to the ritual counsellor’s passions that may be spiritual or religious and involve, for instance, a passion of ‘wanting to be there for other people’. This ‘reli’ aspect is also connected to ritual counsellor’s ideals, in which earning and making money is subordinate to other ideals. One could ask whether and how the profiling problem of ritual counsellors is connected to this value driven tension.

1.3 Possible relationships between ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneurship’

On a more general level, various scholars have investigated the relationship between religion and/or spirituality on the one hand and economy, money, wealth and/or commerce on the other hand. Three positions may be identified: separation, integration and preservation. Figure 1 represents these positions by using Venn diagrams.

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In the first position, separation, scholars identify two separated realms or two domains. Weber, for example, proposed an incompatibility between the ethics of the great religions and the monetary economy. Religion and economy are by nature two different realms. Also, Durkheim stated that religion divided all things into the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane’, as two domains that were separated by an abyss. In a more theologically motivated position, one could refer to the Bible. Luke 16:13 states that “No servant can serve two masters. Either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve both God and money.” These lines may be interpreted in different ways. Irvine proposes that some people may feel stimulated to divest themselves of their riches. To others, it is not the earthly possessions themselves, but the attachment to them that is spiritually dangerous.

In the second position, integration, scholars have another view on commerce in relation to religion and/or spirituality: they seek to bring the two realms back together. Chidester, for example, claims that money and religion have a similar nature since they are both symbolic systems. Here, money is afforded a religious meaning as a form of material spirituality. From a theological perspective Sirico examines whether entrepreneurship, as a profession that involves the creation of wealth, should be judged. Referring to Matthew 25:14-30, he concludes that it shouldn’t be: “the Parable of the Talents lends ample scriptural support to entrepreneurial activity.” Here, different people receive a different

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amount of talents. The ones who traded and return to their master with a double amount of talents are praised, whereas the one returning with the original amount of talents is reprimanded. Entrepreneurship, then, may comprise a wise stewardship of talents.

In the third position, preservation, scholars seek for integration, while preserving separation. On the one hand, one acknowledges and preserves the existence of a tension between two separated domains. On the other hand, one seeks to balance or connect both domains. Ganzevoort, for example, articulates what may be a crucial question for reli-entrepreneurs: is it possible to put care and attribution of meaning into a market model? Does the act of selling and buying spiritual care on a market suppress the nature of spiritual care, as something that has to do with the sacred, the connection with the core of human existence, with the soul, with God? Ganzevoort acknowledges the tension that may rise between commerce and a religious or spiritual product, but he believes that it is possible to integrate the two domains, by putting commercial values subordinate to intrinsic values. Wolthuis proposes another manner of balancing commerce and religion. In the Dutch secularized society, she identifies religious needs that deserve an offer. However, religion cannot be offered inconsiderately, because religion has to do with needs which not all can be totally fulfilled. To Wolthuis, the core question for a reli-entrepreneur is: how can I prevent myself from only offering things that will certainly be heard and received? The challenge is not losing oneself in delivering a personally adjusted feel-good religion. Here, she continues, a great demand is put on integrity: in a market of believing without belonging, to whom or what belong reli-entrepreneurs themselves? Balancing money and mission is a personal quest.

1.4 Research questions

Based on this literature one may presume that the ritual counsellor’s problems with profiling may be related to an underlying tension between the ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneurship’ aspect. This tension may not be conscious or rational. This study aims to describe this possible underlying tension among ritual counsellors, as a prerequisite to profiling. Hence, it addresses the following research questions: (1) When ritual counsellors profile themselves, is there a tension between the ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneurship’ aspect? If so: (a) what kind of tension is this, and (b) how can the relationship between the ‘reli’ and the ‘entrepreneurship’ aspect be described: as separation, integration or preservation? (2) What is the meaning of ‘money’ in the act of profiling?


2 Method, instrument, data, procedure and analysis

2.1 Method

In organizational theory we choose a perspective that honors the convictions and experiences of the workers, especially with regard to spirituality. We see the organization of the LBVR as a human enterprise that can only change fruitfully if it embraces an insider perspective of the situation and – in the words of De Jongh – ‘responds to what is already present in the situation’. 30 De Jongh holds that it is necessary to read the situation together in cooperation in a process of deliberation. Deliberation is not merely an exchange of views but tries to arrive at ‘truth’ and “seeks to address unexpressed thoughts and feelings of the persons who are involved.” 31 Therefore, we used the method of organizational constellations to gather data. Organizational constellations are applied to gain insight into the underlying dynamics within an organization or a group of professionals. In particular, this new method reveals organizational dynamics on a felt or intuited level. 32 It can produce knowledge about relationships between persons, systems, objects and concepts. 33 Epistemologically speaking, organizational constellations focus on pre-reflective knowledge, instead of the more overt or rationalized knowledge. This suits this study, because it is interested in a possible existing unconscious tension that may thwart the act of profiling of the ritual counsellors.

A potential difficulty is that there has been little scientific attention for the theoretical basis, application and effect of organizational constellations in empirical research. Therefore we view our study as a pilot study with regard to the use of this method. However, Wade is positive about the diagnostic power and speed of constellations. Sometimes, systemic constellations are used as an alternative method for data collection. Jirásek et al. describe systemic constellations as a ‘trans-rational method’ for data collection in their study of spirituality in a non-religious environment. Constellations “postulate a trans-rational reality of our experience and manifest what we are commonly not aware of or even what we inadvertently suppress.” 34 They conclude that constellation data are fundamentally different from, for example, data retrieved verbally in a rational way. Abbotson and Lustig see epistemological similarities as well as coherence in working principals of organizational constellations and Appreciati-

31) De Jongh, Responding to the situation, 135/136.
ve Inquiry that lead them to propose an integration of the two to realize strong and thorough change in organizations.\textsuperscript{35} Finally, systemic constellations are sometimes used for studying branding.\textsuperscript{36}

A constellation starts with a case, for example ‘profiling’. The professional who directs the constellation – a constellation counsellor – introduces the case to the employees or professionals who participate. The constellation counsellor identifies aspects of the case, such as ‘customer’, ‘market’, ‘money’ or ‘ritual counselling’. Each aspect is to be spatially represented in a room by a participant, called a representative. Lead by their feelings or intuitions, representatives choose where to stand in the room, taking the other aspects/representatives into account. For example, the representative of ‘customer’ feels that she does not want to get close to ‘money’ or ‘market’. If asked, she can tell how she feels, and what happens if she is asked to move towards ‘market’ or ‘money’. This sheds a light on the underlying dynamics in the system, on the level of feelings and intuitions.

2.2 Participants

Through a convenience sample initially 16 ritual counsellors with a LBVR-membership were selected. A convenience sample was chosen because research participation among ritual counsellors is never certain: most ritual counsellors will prioritize an assignment for conducting a funeral ceremony above research participation. This makes it very difficult to select participants based on well-described criteria. In consequence this study cannot represent the whole of the population of ritual counsellors in the Netherlands, let alone all reli-entrepreneurs. It is a qualitative pilot study to explore the research questions which can prepare follow up research to test our findings on a larger scale. In the present study, 6 ritual counsellors cancelled. Hence, the eventual number of participants is 10. This small sample underlines the pilot character of this study. It cannot be representing the convictions of the whole group of 150-200 companies. Table 1 gives an overview of the characteristics of the participants with respect to age, sex, education, the amount of years they have been working as a ritual counsellor, the hours spent on ritual counselling per week, the nature of their services, and other jobs they may have.


2.3 Data sources

Multiple instruments and data sources were used in order to enhance the validity and reliability of the study. There are two reasons for this. First, since the present study is a qualitative case study, the methodological principle of triangulation of instruments and data is appropriate. Second, since the instrument of organizational constellations has a short scientific history in research, the collection of data from multiple sources is needed for validation.

Descriptions of constellation phases

The constellations were recorded on video. Afterwards, the video recordings were used to generate descriptions of successive constellation phases, each of which containing: (1) a spatial drawing of the representatives’ positions and movements; and (2) a textual summary of positions, movements and utterings. Figure 2 shows an example of a spatial drawing of a constellation phase.

Figure 2: Example of a spatial drawing of a constellation phase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Ritual counsellors (n = 10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>M = 55 (min. 40; max. 67 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>8 females, 2 males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Academic (e.g. in theology, spirituality, teaching, pedagogy, sociology, management and nursing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of years working as a ritual counsellor</td>
<td>M = 6 (min. 1; max. 15 years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours spent on ritual counselling per week</td>
<td>M = 20 (min. 0, indicated by a ritual counsellor who has rarely assignments; max. 50 hours).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offered services</td>
<td>Death rituals, remembrances, end-of-life care, grief guidance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other jobs</td>
<td>2 ritual counsellors are employed elsewhere. Others work sometimes as a volunteer or employ entrepreneurial activities in other domains</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three aspects are constellated: the ritual counsellor as an entrepreneur (RCE), the ritual counsellor as a person (RCP), and ‘market’. The two large circles of RCE and RCP show that real persons represent the aspects. The small triangle on the circles is their ‘nose’, so the drawing shows in what direction representatives look. ‘Market’ is not represented by a person, but (in this case) by a collection of chairs.

**Observation Notes**

Two researchers (the authors) observed the constellation process. They focused on the occurrence of possible tensions and made notes of their observations. They also used the descriptions of the constellation phases for further reflections. These reflections were also included in the notes.

**Group Interview**

Immediately after the constellation session the participants and the constellation counsellor were asked to elaborate on their fresh experiences during the constellation in an unstructured group interview. The group interview took 14 minutes and was recorded on video. Afterwards, the video recordings were used to make a transcription.

**Questionnaire**

The participants filled out a questionnaire. In contrast to the group interview, data was collected afterwards on an individual basis and addressed more deliberated experiences. The questionnaire contained the following open questions: (1) How did you experience working with organizational constellations?; (2) What clarified the organizational constellations to you, with respect to the act of profiling by ritual counsellors?; (3) What would you describe as the largest field of tension for ritual counsellors who want to profile themselves?; and (4) Is there anything else you want to share about the research meeting? If so, what?

**Reflection of the constellation counsellor**

The constellation counsellor provided a written reflection on the question: What clarified the organizational constellations to you, with respect to the act of profiling by ritual counsellors?

**2.4 Procedure**

The research meeting took three hours and contained the following elements: (1) introduction and a first practice with organizational constellations; (2) constellation 1; (3) break; (4) constellation 2; (5) group interview; and (6) conclusion. Constellation 1 took 45 minutes and focused on the question: What is needed to authentically communicate the essence and value of ritual counselling to the media and funeral market? Constellation 2 also took 45 minutes.

The researchers, participants and constellation counsellor jointly formulated the central question: Which role do intentions play in a situation of profiling? The word ‘intention’ was chosen because...

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The authors would kindly thank Anne Stael (www.zienwatonzichtbaaris.nl) for fulfilling the role of constellation counsellor and for commenting on previous versions of this article.
constellation 1 gave reason to presume the existence of various, perhaps conflicting intentions: to make money, to receive acknowledgement, and to be there for another person. In the week after the research meeting, the participants filled out the questionnaire and the constellation counsellor wrote her reflection.

2.5 Analysis

We performed a qualitative analysis by coding. To enhance transparency we developed a codebook that would be useful to other researchers as well. The second author composed a preliminary codebook inductively including a hierarchical set of categories and codes (i.e., the labelling system). The codebook was tested by and discussed with the first author resulting in a definitive codebook.

To compose a preliminary codebook, the second author performed a deductive and inductive analysis of four data sources: (1) the notes of the researchers; (2) the transcriptions of the group interview, (3) the answers on the questionnaire and (4) the reflection of the constellation counsellor. In the first step, the first researcher used the two research questions to formulate two main categories for deductive analysis: (1) fields of tension and (2) meaning of money. She divided the original data of the four data sources into fragments, which were subsequently labelled using the two main categories. Here, a clarification of the main categories was needed: when is a fragment to be labelled as ‘fields of tension’ or ‘meaning of money’? Hence, the result of this deductive step was a description of each category and two sets of fragments.

In the second step, this author divided each of the two sets of fragments into subcategories and sub-subcategories. In this inductive analysis process, she used in vivo coding, in which names of subcategories are derived from the original language in the data. To put it differently, the names of the sub- and sub-subcategories of ‘fields of tension’ and ‘meaning of money’ are close to the original data. In the codebook, the researcher also added definitions and guidelines to all sub- and sub-subcategories. The result of the deductive and inductive analysis was a preliminary codebook with a label system consisting of 2 main categories, 6 subcategories, and 18 sub-subcategories, all well-defined and illustrated. The first author fragmented a part of the original data set: one series of notes, the group interview, one filled-out questionnaire, and the reflection of the constellation counsellor. In total, he distinguished 33 fragments. Then, he used the preliminary codebook to label the fragments. In any fragment, multiple labels could be applied. The second author labelled the same 33 fragments as well. The two researchers discussed differences in labelling, which sometimes lead to the adjustment of labels. Also, they formulated one new subcategory (‘other felt meanings of money’) and a slightly different definition of one main category (‘fields of tension’). The definitive codebook consists of 2 main categories, 6 subcategories, and 19 sub-subcategories. The label system – the hierarchical set of categories and codes – is depicted in Table 2.

Table 2: Label system\textsuperscript{a} for analyzing ‘fields of tension’ and ‘meaning of money’ when ritual counsellors profile themselves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main category</th>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>Sub-subcategory</th>
<th># fragments</th>
<th># data sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field of tension</td>
<td>Field of tension concerning money</td>
<td>Money vs. being there</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money vs. acknowledgement</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money vs. entrepreneurship</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money vs. system</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money vs. other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nature of field of tension concerning money</td>
<td>Norms and values</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beliefs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other fields of tension</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of money</td>
<td>Mental meanings of money</td>
<td>Money is (not) part of</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money facilitates</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money is just there</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other mental meanings</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Normative meanings of money</td>
<td>Money is (not) important</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money is something one may (not) ask for</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other normative meanings</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Felt meanings of money</td>
<td>Money is acknowledgement</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money makes one feel (not) stronger</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money is love</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Money is an enemy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other felt meanings</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Yellow cells indicate that a category has a heightened reliability and validity.

\textsuperscript{a} K = .90.

Note that the subcategory ‘other fields of tension’ does not have a sub-subcategory. This means that, in labelling fragments, 20 labels can be used: 19 sub-subcategories plus 1 subcategory. Cohen’s Kappa was calculated by using SPSS’s CrossTabs. The total number of cases was 660 (20 labels * 33 fragments). Our interrater reliability was K = .90, which is valued as ‘almost perfect’ for this number of cases.\textsuperscript{39}

In the final step of the analysis, data triangulation is used to reflect on the reliability and validity of the 20 labels. First, the labelling frequency was calculated. Second, the spread over the data sources of the labelled fragments was counted, with a maximum of four (notes, group interview, questionnaire, and reflection of the constellation counsellor). A label was considered to have a heightened reliability and validity when it was used for labelling three or more fragments in two or more data sources. In Table 2, these labels are in yellow, and they are defined in Table 3.

Table 3: Definitions of labels with a heightened reliability and validity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Money vs. being there</td>
<td>A tension between: (1) money, salary, payment, business-like character; and (2) being there, being servient, really helping people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money vs. acknowledgement</td>
<td>A tension between: (1) money, salary, payment, business-like character; and (2) acknowledgement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money vs. entrepreneurship</td>
<td>A tension between: (1) money, salary, payment, business-like character; and (2) ritual counsellor as entrepreneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money vs. system</td>
<td>A tension between: (1) money, salary, payment, business-like character; and (2) the rest, the system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norms and values</td>
<td>In a statement on a tension concerning money, one explicitly uses the words ‘norms’, ‘normative’ or ‘values’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money is (not) part of</td>
<td>In statements on money (also: payment, salary, invoice), one explicitly says that money is ‘part of’ (something)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money facilitates</td>
<td>Statements on money (also: payment, salary, invoice) explain that money enables ritual counsellors to keep on doing their work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money is just there</td>
<td>Statements on money (also: payment, salary, invoice) explain that money is just there, it lies on the ground, it is a trough to eat from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money is (not) important</td>
<td>In statements on money (also: payment, salary, invoice), one says that money may not be the most important, that money is not what is most important, or the opposite: that money is important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money is acknowledgement</td>
<td>In statements on money (also: payment, salary, invoice), one explicitly says money is acknowledgement, appreciation, or a business translation of acknowledgement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Results

Based on the research questions, two main categories for analysis were formulated: ‘fields of tension’ and ‘meaning of money’. In this section, the results for each main category are discussed.
3.1 Fields of tension

‘Field of tension’ is defined as ‘two aspects that cannot go along with each other very well, cannot stand next to each other very well, evoke a struggle or dilemma, or make something gets jeopardized’. Table 2 shows where tension occurs, when ritual counsellors are in a profiling situation. A major finding in this study is that tension especially has to do with ‘money’. As Table 3 shows, ‘money’ may refer to money, salary, payment or a business-like character. In this meaning, money mainly collides with four other aspects.

First, there is a tension between ‘money’ and ‘being there’. This tension refers to, for example, “a struggle between a business-like character and being there for a fellow human being” (group interview) or “being commercial versus being servient” (questionnaire).

Second, there is a tension between ‘money’ and ‘acknowledgement’. Here, it is interesting to look at a specific phase in the organizational constellations. In Figure 3, ‘money’ has just entered the constellation.

Figure 3: The constellation phase where ‘money’ enters the field
‘Money’ has chosen a location between ‘acknowledgement’ and ‘ritual counsellor as entrepreneur’ (RCE). ‘Money’ says: “I am a business-economic translation of acknowledgement. I am needed in order to be an entrepreneur.” Then, ‘acknowledgement’ moves away from ‘money’. First, it faces ‘money’ directly, saying, “I am searching”. It keeps on searching, and eventually ‘acknowledgement’ leaves the room in which the constellations took place. Immediately, RCE leaves as well. This is interesting, because ‘acknowledgement’ and RCE had less dramatic alternatives for leaving the room, such as: enlarging the distance between ‘money’ and themselves or turning their back against ‘money’. Thus, the constellation shows a tension between ‘money’ and ‘acknowledgement’. In the data, this tension is described as “‘money’ interprets ‘acknowledgement’ from its own horizon, in such a way that ‘acknowledgement’ cannot live with it” (notes). Or, as one of the participants wrote: “The constellations made very clear that there is a large field of tension between acknowledgement and money; the financial appreciation for whom we are and what we can mean to people” (questionnaire). Another participant said: “I have the feeling that acknowledgement gets in the way, because ‘money’ then plays a more important role than the beautiful things we have to offer” (group interview).

The third tension is about ‘money’ and ‘entrepreneurship’. As described above, RCE leaves the room as well. Reflecting on what happened, the ritual counsellor, who represented RCE, explained: “‘money’ burdened us, really... we didn’t really understand why... we want to send the bill... that it is such a struggle” (group interview). In a later phase of the constellation, RCE says that it is surprised that it sees money as an enemy. Thus, “the expectation of RCE is different: that money is not an enemy” (notes).

Fourth, there is a tension between ‘money’ and ‘system’. Here, “money is something that is not in the system of a ritual counsellor. It stands almost apart from the enterprise; it is really not part of it” (reflection of constellation counsellor). Also, “‘money’ feels being treated hostile, and it does not know why” (notes).

In addition to these four fields of tension, Table 2 also provides information about the nature of tensions concerning money. Sometimes, it seems, it has to do with norms and values. As one of the participants writes: “There is a dilemma concerning money related to values and norms about ‘asking money for services with respect to death’ and idealism and eagerness of ritual counsellors to really help people” (questionnaire). Another participant says: “When someone comes to you who does not have that much money, you reduce your tariff. This is what you do” (group interview). The expression ‘that is what you do’ seems to refer to a shared, normative belief of ritual counsellors when it comes to asking money for their services.

### 3.2 Meaning of money

In the former section, it became clear that, when ritual counsellors profile themselves, there are various tensions that involve ‘money’. This makes it especially interesting to explore the meaning of mo-
ney. ‘Meaning of money’ is defined as ‘what money means to ritual counsellors, what it does to them or how it feels’. Note that ‘money’ also involves ‘payment, salary, and invoice’ (Table 3). Table 2 shows another important finding: ritual counsellors do not have one meaning of money. They have multiple, sometimes contradicting meanings. Also, meanings exist on a mental level, as well as on the level of norms and of feelings. These three levels will be explored now.

First, mental meanings of money involve ‘neutral meanings that do not refer to norms or feelings’. A major meaning that answers to this definition is: ‘money is (not) part of’. For example, one participant states “let money be part of, without controlling you” (group interview). Another participant says, “the entrepreneur has to understand money as a necessary part, in order to be able to keep on delivering services, also to a next family” (group interview). Sometimes, money is ‘not part of’: “[money] stands almost apart from the enterprise, it is really not part of it” (reflection of constellation counsellor). Another mental meaning is ‘money facilitates’. This meaning is present in statements such as “what you want to do from your heart, money really supports this” or “if you see money as a form of acknowledgement, or love […] this enables you to do a next funeral” (group interview). Note that in the last statement, ‘money’ additionally has two meanings on the level of feelings: ‘money is acknowledgement’ and ‘money is love’. A third mental meaning is ‘money is just there’. Here, participants make statements such as “money is just there” and “it is for grabbing” (group interview).

Second, normative meanings of money are ‘meanings that refer to what is or is not allowed, or what is or is not ok’. Here, the most important meaning is ‘money is (not) important’. For example, ritual counsellors state, “my credo is that money is not important” and “there are people for whom money is very important” (group interview). Also, in the constellations, “acknowledgement’ says that money is not important, that it may not be only money that matters” (notes).

Third, felt meanings of money are defined as ‘meanings that refer to the feelings that money can evoke’. Here, a major meaning is ‘money is acknowledgement’. For example, one participant writes “ritual counsellors find it very important to be acknowledged by the family of the deceased, more important than acknowledgement through money or by the undertaker” (questionnaire). Also, referring to Figure 3, it appears that “it is this meaning of money – a business-economic translation of acknowledgement – that dislocates the system” (notes).

4 Discussion and conclusion

With respect to the first research question “When ritual counsellors profile themselves, is there a tension between the ‘reli’ and the ‘entrepreneurship’ aspect” this study confirms that there exists a tension between the ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneurial’ aspect, when ritual counsellors profile themselves. In particular, a tension between ‘money’ (entrepreneurship aspect) and ‘being there’ (reli aspect) was found. Here, ritual counsellors experience a struggle between money (or other financial aspects of en-
entrepreneurship, such as salary, payment, or the business-like character of entrepreneurship) and their ideals of being there, being servient, really helping people.

The constellations revealed an underlying dynamic, showing that this tension is strongly connected to acknowledgement. Acknowledgement, in turn, seems to be strongly connected to what ritual counsellors value most. What is very clear in this study is that being there for clients seems to be a ritual counsellor’s highest value. They feel that they have beautiful things to offer, and their most important reward consists of a client’s appreciation. Thus, acknowledgement is strongly connected to a ritual counsellor’s highest value of being there. Money, on the other hand, is valued less. It cannot be equal to a client’s appreciation. When money has the meaning of ‘a business-economic translation of acknowledgement’, the system of a ritual counsellor falls apart. Even the entrepreneurship aspect of a ritual counsellor cannot live with it and comes to understand money as ‘enemy’. As a result, money stands alone, is not part of the system anymore. Thus, the tension between the ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneurship’ aspects of ritual counsellors in profiling situation seems primarily to be related to values: ‘being there’ is important, ‘money’ is less important. For a ritual counsellor, there are situations where asking money is not a neutral act, but a normative one. One participant reduces her tariff when a client does not have a lot of money, stressing “this is what one does”. Again, it seems that ‘being there’ is valued to be more important than ‘money’. Another participant states that there are norms and values in asking money for services with respect to death. This study does not explain what these norms and values are. Can this be explained by historically grown practices, in which churches asked little or no money for funeral services? Or is this related to the context of death and loss, appealing to humanity and not economic thinking? Are ritual counsellors somewhat reticent because of the idea that it is not done to make money out of someone’s loss? What does it mean to ritual counsellors that a coffin usually is far more expensive than a mortuary rite?

Further, we return to the three models of the relationship between the ‘reli’ and the ‘entrepreneurship’ aspects: as separation (two incompatible things), integration (two partly overlapping things) or preservation (two separated things that can be balanced or connected)? As could be observed, ‘money’ does not really have a place in the system of ritual counsellors in a profiling situation. Hence, one could suggest that the domains of ‘money’ and ‘being there’ are separated, especially when money has the meaning of ‘a business-economic translation of acknowledgement’. But looking closer to the data, the participants do not really understand ‘money’ and ‘being there’ as two separated domains. It is more likely they have not yet found an understanding or definition of money that does fit into their system. They explore new meanings, such as ‘money is necessary to keep on being in business’ or ‘money is just there’. Hence can be concluded that on the mental level of finding meanings and definitions, participants seek for integration: an understanding of ‘money’ that does not conflict with the rest of the system. However, there is a difference between ‘being there’ and ‘money’ that cannot be solved with definitions on the mental level. The real nature of this difference is nor-
mative: ‘being there’ is valued higher than ‘money’. Here, the relationship between ‘being there’ and ‘money’ is better described by ‘preservation’: participants feel that the two aspects are different, and they try to balance both aspects as well as they can. ‘Money’ can never be more important than ‘being there’, but money is needed for being there and valuable, nevertheless.

Regarding the second research question: “What is the meaning of ‘money’ in the act of profiling?” the answer concurs to what was found in literature. When ritual counsellors are in a profiling situation, ‘money’ (also: payment, salary or invoice) has multiple, sometimes contradicting meanings, on the mental level as well as the level of norms and feelings. The meaning of ‘money’ is not fixed but depends on the ritual counsellor’s search of being an entrepreneur. First, a ritual counsellor may experience that ‘money is not important’; second that ‘money is acknowledgement’ and third that ‘money facilitates me and supports me in keeping on delivering my service of being there for people’. The meaning of ‘money’ is like a changing narrative and involves mental, normative and felt elements.

This study was initiated from theoretical considerations about the possibility that ritual counsellors may experience value tensions between the ‘reli’ and ‘entrepreneurship’ aspects of ritual counselling. The data confirm the existence of these tensions among the participating ritual counsellors and shed more light on the nature thereof. ‘Reli’ refers to being there, being servient and really helping people, whereas ‘entrepreneurship’ refers to money (including related matters such as payment, salary, invoice, a business-like character, being commercial). Here, ‘being there’ seems to refer mostly to ideals and passions, rather than the nature of their services. This is illustrated by the participants’ expressions such as “idealism and eagerness of ritual counsellors to really help people.” The ideal or passion of ‘being there’ was also found in the study of Stoof et al., where they concluded that “the passion of reli-entrepreneurs is – while working form the heart – to be there for people, at difficult moments.”

This ‘being there’ for people may very well be religiously or spiritually motivated. To ritual counsellors who are rooted in the Christian tradition, ‘being there’ may have a Biblical connotation. The ancient name of God in the First Testament is JHWH, meaning ‘I am who I am’. Likewise, a ritual counsellor could be inspired to think: “my being-there for another person stems from the God who says, ‘I am who I am’.” This can be related to a Biblical anthropology, where man is believed to be created in the image of God. It may be of interest to keep this possible religious connotation in mind, when ritual counsellors state that ‘being there’ is their highest value.

Further, the results show that tension is related to acknowledgement, which in turn is related to the ritual counsellors’ highest value: being there for clients. Money is subordinate; a viewpoint

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41) Exodus 3,14.
that was found in Ganzevoort and in Idema and Riemer. However, this normative position should not prevent ritual counsellors from being financially successful and at the same time able to integrate their deepest motivations. In a sample of 270 entrepreneurs Kauanui et al. found that entrepreneurs apply mainly either a financial (35%) or spiritual (65%) success criterion. The financial criterion (‘Cash is King’) includes successfully completing a project, financial security and making a lot of money. The spiritual criterion (‘Make me Whole’) includes helping others (customers, employees, family), having a job that gives meaning and purpose to life, and doing something one loves to do. Kauanui et al. found that the two groups relate differently to the subject of finance. However, they conclude: “There is no difference between the Cash is King entrepreneurs and the Make me Whole entrepreneurs and their perception of their economic stability.” According to this study, ritual counsellors should be able to put a spiritual criterion of helping others up front and be financially stable at the same time. What is needed is the development of a personal concept of money that can be reflectively integrated in their personal and spiritual identity. Consciousness of the interwovenness of values (like acknowledgement, servitude and livelihood) is a prerequisite.

To the ritual counsellors in this pilot study ‘money’ has no single meaning but it carries several sometimes conflicting meanings. Perhaps, a solution is to be found in a perception of their business that rejects or transcends the normative distinction between two kinds of value: economic and social. Maybe a new narrative is needed that negotiates ‘being there’ and ‘money’ and sustains a productive balance between these two. A similar approach is advocated by Santos for social entrepreneurs: he favors a holistic approach to value creation that abandons the dichotomy between social and economic value.

To conclude, if ritual counsellors wish to authentically communicate the specifics and value of ritual counselling to the media and funeral market, a first step is to gain awareness of an underlying tension between ‘being there’ and ‘money’; the normative nature of this tension; and the polymorphous meanings of money. A second step may be to carefully construct a few narratives that fit to specific profiling situations. Here, it could be wise to look at successful reli-entrepreneurs to see how they have learned to profile themselves to their markets.

This was a pilot study in which organizational constellations are used as an innovative method of data collection. This appears to be the second time of its application in a scientific paper. In our view it worked out very well, bringing to light an underlying concept (acknowledgement) that was not present in the consciousness of the ritual counsellors in conversations prior to the constellation sessions. It is a democratic qualitative research method, because multiple perspectives (workers, session leader, researchers) are integrated. They are all required in order to be able to interpret the results of the sessions. Therefore, one cannot only take the sessions as a source (e.g. by recording and observation) but multiple data sources must be used (e.g. interviews, written reflections). A combination of sources, analyzed with rigor, enhances the reliability of the interpretation of the results.

In our view it would be interesting to use this method more often in scientific research to create a body of knowledge about its application’s strengths and weaknesses. In future research constellations it would be interesting to include the aspect of ‘death’, together with ‘money’, ‘being there’ and perhaps ‘God’. Also it would be advisable to extend the research on ethical tensions regarding entre-preneurship to other groups of reli-entrepreneurs and on a larger scale.

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