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**CROSS-CULTURAL TESTING OF JAMES W. FOWLER'S
MODEL OF FAITH DEVELOPMENT
AMONG BAHÁ'ÍS**

BY

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**Dissertation presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Ottawa
as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, Religious Studies**

Thesis Supervisor: Roger LaPointe, Ph.D.

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0-612-20998-9

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have given me assistance in the educational voyage which results in this manuscript. I would most like to thank my parents, Richard W. Akemann (deceased in 1969) and Rhea G. Wendt, for their gift of the Bahá'í Faith, their support of my education and their encouragement in developing an open and inquiring mind without whose spark of investigation I would not have pursued my education this far. My mother has been a constant source of spiritual and material help throughout this project.

I am grateful to my advisor, Roger LaPointe, who has guided, prodded, encouraged me and remained a helpful resource through six years of graduate school. Thanks also to Professors Ann Denis, M. F. Guedon of Ottawa University; the invaluable editing resources of Maureen Korp of the University of Ottawa, now in Bucharest; Curt Russell of the University of Detroit; Will C. van den Hoonaard of the University of New Brunswick without whose research Chapter Four would not be written; for helpfulness with various aspects of research to Rhett Deissner of Lewis and Clark College in Idaho; Kevin Early of Oakland University; and the Research Office of the Bahá'í National Center in Wilmette, Illinois and to Macomb Community College for connecting us all via E-mail.

A very special gratitude to the Center for Research in Faith and Moral Development at Emory University in Atlanta for all the support needed to carry out this research, and especially the time and responsiveness of Karen DeNicola and James W. Fowler. Equally helpful and supportive has been the Association for Bahá'í Studies on the campus of Ottawa University, its director, Christine Zerbinis, and staff for many services, not the least of which is the use of library and parking facilities.

To all the dear Canadian friends I have met and come to know since I first crossed the border in 1986 to attend University in Canada: especially Frank White for all my computing needs, and his wife, Helga Wintal, for their support in so many ways including the welcome they have always provided in their home; to Joyce Devlin and Jennifer Phillips, my gracious hosts on various research and study trips to Ottawa; to the Ottawa Bahá'í Community for serving as a home away from home for two years and supporting two graduate research projects.

On the other side of the ocean, I am grateful to the Bahá'í communities of New Dehli, Indore, Panchgini and Bombay and my many hosts in these locales for their helpfulness, warmth, and love which sustained and supported this research during my time in India.

The forty participants in this study who shared the details of their lives and loves have my deepest appreciation and thanks.

I would also like to thank friends Chris and Bill Leppard who have both assisted in the actualizing of a finished manuscript: Chris for editing, formatting and typesetting, and Bill for graphics development at my defense presentation and courier services.

Finally, my love and gratitude to my husband, Paul Foster, who has been willing to share his new wife of six months tethered to a computer and office while he and my son Doug maintained the household, cooked, cleaned, shopped and remained cheerful and encouraging through it all.

ABSTRACT

James W. Fowler's contribution to psycho-social development offered a measurement for how individuals grow in faith which was applied to two populations of Bahá'ís in a cross-cultural study. The purpose of the study was two-fold: to test Fowler's model of faith development (FD) on a Western population of Bahá'ís in Canada; and, secondly, to apply the same test to an identical population of Bahá'ís in India. The overall purpose of the study was to cross-validate Fowler's model of faith development in an Eastern culture. In the very few previous cross-cultural studies of faith development, none had focused on two evenly-matched populations of individuals from the same faith tradition in widely varying cultures.

The study consisted of 40 faith development interviews: 20 in Canada and 20 in India, with individuals matched according to four controlled variables which were thought to impact faith stage score. The pairing of respondents according to chronological age, sex, education level and Bahá'í age was done to isolate the cultural variable and to highlight potential cultural differences.

The research used a phenomenological, quasi-experimental approach. The faith development model was tested in the Canadian population using three measures of compatibility: range of stage scores, clustering of faith aspects, and codeability of the interviews corresponding to the faith stage descriptors. Results supported the model overall, but found difficulties in the clustering of Stage Aspects in Stage 4 interviews. Next, the model was tested on Indian Bahá'ís by comparing both the stage scores of the two populations and the responses of Canadians and Indians to the same interview questions.

The results of the study were both quantitative and qualitative and confirmed the validity of the Fowler model overall but found problems in the stage descriptors in some of the Indian interviews. Quantitative findings showed no significant differences between Canadians and Indians in overall stage scores, but did show varying distributions of those scores which confirmed the hypotheses: there would be more Stage 4 Canadians and more Stage 3 and Stage 5 Indians. Both hypotheses affirmed the cultural biases of the Fowler model in defining Stages 3 and 4.

Qualitative findings indicated general validity of the Fowler instrument when applied to the Indian sample, but specific problems with the construction of Stage 3 descriptors. The presence of discrepant data indicating reliance on the role of unconscious and intuitive factors in values and decision-making was also a problem. Lastly, questions related to the application of this model in the Bahá'í community were addressed to discover factors inhibiting and supporting growth of faith as measured by Fowler's model in this relatively youthful, but little studied, worldwide religious community.

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CHAPTER ONE

LOCATING FAITH DEVELOPMENT

Interest in Human Development

As a lifetime Bahá'í, my interest in the process of human development has been continuing—supported by the meaning and purpose of human life enunciated in the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh. Central to those teachings is an emphasis on transformational growth in both individual and social contexts. That interest became focused in a program developed by the National Education Committee of the Bahá'ís of the United States in 1977 called the Comprehensive Deepening Program.¹ The Program included a set of six compilations of excerpts from Bahá'í scriptures with accompanying text, set into a thematic context of topics (*i.e.* "The Dynamic Force of Example"), and accompanied by a collection of interactive materials for its application. The Program was to engage individuals and communities in an active process of spiritual transformation, hence its title, the Personal Transformation Program (PTP). The author was trained as a facilitator in the Personal Transformation Program by a representative of the National Education Committee of the Bahá'ís of the United States in the Fall of 1982 in a three-day workshop in Kalamazoo, Michigan. With a co-facilitator, I offered Bahá'í communities around Southeast Michigan a ten-week program in personal transformation applying the deepening compilation above to directing our daily lives. Our premise was that true faith was expressed in transforming the world through one's own example. "For in this holy Dispensation...true Faith is no mere acknowledgment of the Unity of God, but the living of a life that will manifest all the perfections and virtues implied in such belief."² We facilitated a series of weekly lessons with Bahá'í communities in Southeastern Michigan in which we practiced a three-fold process of bringing our own lives into harmony with "God's purpose for man." Briefly stated, God's purpose for man was to develop spiritual attributes and capacities in service to humanity.³ The

three-fold process began with knowledge, which quickened volition and action. The course used "conscious knowledge of God's purpose for man...as a basis for making decisions that lead to spiritual growth..."⁴ The PTP course was organized around reading a set of materials each week which aroused an awareness of "God's purpose for man", using daily prayer and study to consolidate that awareness, establishing personal goals which activated this knowledge, and reflecting on, or calling ourselves to account for our successes and failures each week.

Finding Fowler

One fateful day in August, 1990 as I was preparing myself for my final year of course work at the University of Ottawa, I had lunch with two Bahá'í friends named Ann. Ann Randall was preparing to relocate to Australia and go pioneering (see Glossary), her life's dream. Ann Schoonmaker was describing her recent research in human development. Ann's doctoral work in theology at Drew University had dealt with transformative development in the work of Erik H. Erikson.⁵ After her Ph.D. work, she worked in psychotherapy where her commitment to understanding individual transformation had lead her to becoming a Bahá'í and traveling to India to teach the Bahá'í Faith. Ann S. was explaining to us the connections between Kohlberg's work in moral development as it related to Bahá'í children's education. We were discussing several Bahá'í works on the development of human potential: Bahá'u'lláh's The Seven Valleys; Daniel C. Jordan's Becoming Your True Self; and 'Abdu'l-Bahá's talks in The Promulgation of Universal Peace.⁶ Amidst the clatter of utensils, the tuna salad sandwiches and yet more cups of coffee, we turned our attention to the role of faith in human development. We all believed that faith contributed to development—that was the major purpose of religion as we understood it. But how? The Bahá'í writings spoke of the believer being assisted by the power of faith in acquiring the spiritual attributes which transformed human nature. But just exactly how did that process work? How does humankind ever become disembedded from the position of Albert Camus' stranger,

roughly paraphrased as "You are whatever your circumstances dictate."⁷ Ann S. then mentioned the writings of James W. Fowler on faith development. It was, she explained, a theory of how human beings grow which **did** take faith into account as a factor in transformational growth. The convergence of my work with Bahá'í development and Fowler's theory of faith development began to take shape as we munched, chatted and shared our life commitments and plans for service.

It was the holistic characteristic of Fowler's theory of faith development which initially attracted my interest. The fact that Fowler did not use faith to refer to the "contents" (see Glossary) or "objects" of faith eventually allowed me to find it useful within the Bahá'í Faith. Fowler's model did not measure the development of faith through a conception that was exclusively Christian. Simply stated, faith is a relationship to transcendent centers of value, power and authority—whatever those may be. "Faith, rather than belief or religion, is the most fundamental category in the human quest for relation to transcendence. Faith, it appears, is generic, a universal feature of human living, recognizably similar everywhere despite the remarkable variety of forms and contents of religious practice and belief."⁸

Conceiving a Cross-Cultural Research Project

Ann Schoonmaker's description of her travels to India seized my imagination. I had taught the religions of India for twenty years and had longed to go there. Bahá'ís were, after all, members of a universal faith who regarded all humanity as members of our family. India beckoned. I was encouraged in this potential venture by recalling a favorite quote from Bahá'u'lláh, "Regard ye not one another as strangers. Ye are the fruits of one tree and the leaves of one branch."⁹ If faith is a generic feature of humanity, then is it also something which can be assessed and measured cross-culturally? Would Fowler's model explain human development in a different religious and cultural milieu? His concepts and stages had been developed and tested primarily among North Americans of Judeo-Christian background. Would it work among

Bahá'ís? If so, would it work across cultures? My grasp of the importance of human development from working with the PTP would need defining in more concrete ways. Fowler's theory was a good place to begin to learn more about human development.

Was Fowler's theory of faith development universal? What were the religious and cultural limits of the theory? More than that, I was looking for an approach to development utilizing faith which would help the Bahá'í community clarify its understanding of personal spiritual transformation and dialogue with other faith communities about shared interests in human spiritual maturity. Was faith assisting growth? If so, how? Upon arriving in Ottawa, I began to design an empirical, cross-cultural research project within the Bahá'í community using Fowler's model of faith development.

Working Emically—from within a faith community

As a scholar, research from within a faith community is problematic because religious studies is not theology—it does not use a faith position as normative. Neither the department in which I was a student nor James Fowler used a normative faith position as a basis for conducting research. I would need to ground my empirical study in the methods of social science to safeguard my research design and its results from the intrusions which my commitment to the Bahá'í Faith might impose. After all, Fowler had begun his work as a theologian at Harvard and had preserved his model of development from exclusively Christian meanings. His work with structural developmentalist, Lawrence Kohlberg, and others at Harvard—Carol Gilligan, Bob Selman, Harry Lasker and Bob Kegan¹⁰—had framed the methodology of faith development within the social scientific disciplines. And most of those doing research in faith development were working from within committed faith communities or educational communities, judging from the 31-page bibliography (1991) of faith development (FD) I received from the Center for Research in Faith and Moral Development at Emory University which monitors FD research. Journal articles, book reviews, dissertations,

books and book chapters continued, in small print, for what must be in excess of 500 titles, many of them projects within specific faith communities on issues related to religious education and moral development.

Fowler's Roots

I read Fowler and his ideological roots. They converged from two perspectives—philosophical theology represented by H. Richard Niebuhr, W. C. Smith and Paul Tillich; and structural developmentalists Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, and psycho-social developmentalist, Erik Erikson. The theological basis of faith development rests on H. Richard Niebuhr's concept of radical monotheism.¹¹ "Radical monotheistic faith calls people to an identification with a universal community"...which "does not negate or require denial of our membership in more limited groups...but it does mean that our limited, parochial communities cannot be revered and served as though they have ultimate value."¹² Such a conception of faith relativizes the particular faith values of any one community in referring to an inclusive global community.¹³ Faith as a relationship to transcendent centers of value, power and authority implies loyalty and commitment "to the principle of being and to the source and center of all value and power."¹⁴ We must not assume that our faith tradition has symbolized this power in the definitive way. It has been "conceptualized in both theistic and nontheistic ways in the major religious traditions of the world,"¹⁵ Western and Eastern.

Fowler's work with Wilfred Cantwell Smith as both student, and, later, colleague, also influenced his understanding of faith. Because Smith has devoted himself to researching "most of the major religious traditions in the languages of their primary sources"¹⁶ his universalizing of faith and its distinction from belief implied an alignment of the will with the ultimate values of our life.¹⁷ Smith's restructuring of our conception of faith in an environment of religious diversity is important to the plurality of contexts which Fowler's understanding of faith engages. Faith as an ongoing, participatory process asks: "On what or whom do you set your heart? To what vision of

right-relatedness between humans, nature and the transcendent are you loyal?"¹⁸ Faith operates implicitly within both secular and religious ideologies to synthesize meaning and value within myriad paths of belief and action. It holds together the various interrelated dimensions of human knowing, valuing, committing and acting somewhat like a magnetic field which patterns its component elements.

Characteristics of faith development

Given the contexts above which see faith as a human necessity both in relation to transcendent values and in commitments to act on those values, just what does faith do to foster development? What role does it play? For both James W. Fowler and W. C. Smith, what faith does is to arouse us to participate on earth in planning our lives in accordance with ultimate values—ultimate concerns.¹⁹ Faith arouses us to examine our values, our patterns of thinking and feeling. Through reflection and action, we engage in the process of developing faith. To chart that development, we turn to the structural features of faith development. (see Glossary)

Because we are human, we need to find patterns of meaning in our lives. It is the patterns of meaning, not the meanings themselves which are of interest to Fowler. What are those patterns? In phenomenological research, the primary interest is in the meanings which underlie how people describe their experience. Typically, interviews are used to increase understanding of why and how people think and feel as they do.²⁰ Structures are used to describe how people think and organize their experience in certain ways. Such structures are understood as dynamic and changing, yet they have consistent features which may be identified at developmental levels. The basis of structuralist thinking is epistemology—how we come to know what we know. Fowler relied upon the work of Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg in their construction of cognitive and moral ways of knowing. But he wished to go beyond cognitive structures to affective, valuational, and imaginal structures which Piaget and Kohlberg sought to avoid.²¹ Fowler was uncomfortable with the separation of thinking from feeling and

valuing. What did he do about it?

He turned to theologians H. Richard Niebuhr and Paul Tillich who describe ways of **being and seeing** in addition to ways of knowing which engage the holistic concept of faith. To the structures of Piaget and Kohlberg, Fowler added the Social Perspective Taking of Robert Selman and four additional structures which are his own.²² Altogether these aspects of faith are seven in number: form of logic; perspective taking; moral judgment; bounds of social awareness; locus of authority; form of world coherence; and symbolic function. Symbolic function includes the imagination as an important dimension of faith in terms of the "master stories" which symbolize that faith for us. The seven aspects above are intended to be comprehensive—that is to synthesize most of the major components that contribute to one's construction of meaning and value. "...my appropriation of the structural approach in the study of faith has added to the difficulty of distinguishing between 'structure' and 'content.'²³ The following table (Figure 1) summarizes each of the aspects of faith as found in each of six faith stages. (For a more complete description, see Appendix 1).

We develop by engaging underlying structures of thinking and feeling in the activities of our lives—in our attitudes, choices, feelings and actions, but how does that happen in a process of development? We develop by stages according to Fowler; furthermore, these stages are transformational. The term "stage" comes from the work of structural developmentalists Piaget and Kohlberg. These stages "provide generalizable, formal descriptions of integrated sets of operations of knowing and valuing."²⁵ For the structuralist, levels of development (stages) integrate and reintegrate mental and emotional patterns (aspects) of responding to our experience in new ways at each stage. The stage-like levels describe patterns of transformational growth which are qualitative in nature. The patterns shape our thoughts and experiences in significantly

FIGURE 1
FAITH STAGES BY ASPECTS²⁴

ASPECT: LOGIC (PIAGET)	B. PERSPECTIVE TAKING (SELMAN)	C. FORM OF MORAL JUDGMENT (KOHLEBERG)	D. BOUNDS OF SOCIAL AWARENESS	E. LOCUS OF AUTHORITY	F. FORM OF WORLD COHERENCE	G. SYMBOLIC FUNCTION
STAGE I	Preoperational	Punishment -reward	Family, primarily others	Attachment/dependence relationships Size, power, visible symbols of authority	Episodic	Magical -Numinous
II	Concrete Operational	Instrumental hedonism (Reciprocal fairness)	"Those like us" (in familial ethnic racial, class and religious terms)	Incumbents of authority roles, salience increased- by personal relatedness	Narrative- Dramatic	One dimensional; literal
III	Early Formal	Interpersonal expectations and concordance	Composite of groups in which one has interpersonal relationships	Consensus of valued groups and in personally worthy representatives of belief- value traditions	Tacit system, felt meanings symbolically mediated, globally held	Symbols multi- dimensional; evocative power inheres in symbol
IV	Formal Operations (Dichotomizing)	Societal perspective. Reflective relativism or class-biased universalism	Ideologically compatible communities with congruence to self- chosen norms and insights	One's own judgment as informed by a self-ratified ideological perspective. Authorities and norms must be congruent with this.	Explicit system, conceptually mediated, clarity about boundaries and inner connections of system	Symbols separated from symbolized. Translated (reduced) to idealizations. Evocative power inheres in meaning conveyed by symbols.
V	Formal Operations (Dialectical)	Prior to society. Principled higher law (universal and critical) (universal)	Extends beyond class norms and interests. Discerned ideological vulnerability to "truths" and "claims" of outgroups and other traditions	Dialectical joining of judgment-experience processes with reflective claims of others and of various expressions of cumulative human wisdom	Multisystemic symbolic and conceptual mediation	Postcritical rejoining of irreducible symbolic power and ideational meaning. Evocative power inherent in the reality in and beyond symbol and in the power of unconscious processes in the self
VI	Formal Operations (Synthetic)	Loyalty to being	Identification with the species. Transcendentalistic love of being	In a personal judgment informed by the experiences and truths of previous stages, purified of egocentric striving and linked by disciplined intuition to the principle of being	Unitive actuality felt and participated unity of "One beyond the many"	Evocative power of symbols actualized through unification of reality mediated by symbols and the self

different ways at each new stage. In other words, we construct entirely new ways of making meaning at each new stage.

But how do stages change, or, more pointedly, how do we develop? We develop by interacting with our environment. This process is ongoing since we are active (willful) and the environment is dynamic.²⁶ Formally-speaking, stages change when the equilibrium of our "meaning system" (all the aspects of faith as they are presently functioning) breaks down. The ensuing disequilibrium upsets the structures as they were constituted.²⁷ What worked before to order and arrange our experience, doesn't work anymore. We might find that our ideas of God change as a result of some experience or something someone has said. The old way of understanding God does not satisfy our desire for meaning now. So, the previous structures are examined. In the process of reflection and examination of the old ways, we become disembedded from the structures of our thought. What was formerly the way we thought, is now something we think about—an object of thought. Piaget describes this dialectical thought process as accommodation and assimilation (see Glossary). When we think about some object, we try to assimilate it to the structures of thinking we have. If these structures are not sufficient or offer no explanation, then we may have to accommodate our structures to explain the new object—to adapt them to offer satisfactory meanings.²⁸ Thus the structures of our thinking change by striving to restore the balance that was lost. To be disequilibrated in one area of thinking or being in faith is to precipitate stage change.²⁹

Piaget argues that the series of cognitive stages are sequential and invariant. Kohlberg adds the concept of hierarchy to Piaget's sequential, invariant stages (see Glossary)—the cumulative integration of functions done at previous levels of cognitive organization within new structures. Fowler accepts these characterizations of development. However, Fowler's stages have both cognitive (mental operations) and

affective (feeling-oriented) features which distinguish them from the preceding. Faith stages are not reductionistic. They are not reducible to any of their component parts, but involve a holistic approach to the construction of meaning. The six stages are: 1) Intuitive-projective, 2) Mythic-literal, 3) Synthetic-conventional, 4) Individuative-reflective, 5) Conjunctive, and 6) Universalizing (see Appendix 2 for summaries of Stages Three through Five).

We have reviewed several characteristics of faith development to date:

- 1) It is **structural**: A map of patterns of thinking and feeling which lie embedded in the ways we construct ourselves, others, experiences and transcendent values.
- 2) It moves by **stages** which are transformational and, therefore, each stage is qualitatively different. (See Figure 2)
- 3) It is **invariant and sequential**: development is unidirectional and does not skip any stages.
- 4) It is **holistic**: when one structure of faith begins to change, they all move in the same direction. One aspect is not left behind. Although initially, one may lead the way.

Two additional characteristics of faith development will complete the picture and pave the way for the application of faith development in this particular project.

FIGURE 2

STAGES OF FAITH³⁰

Primal Faith (Infancy): A prelanguage disposition of trust forms in the mutuality of one's relationships with parents and others to offset the anxiety that results from separations which occur during infant development.

Intuitive-Projective Faith (Early Childhood): Imagination, stimulated by stories, gestures, and symbols, and not yet controlled by logical thinking, combines with perception and feelings to create long-lasting images that represent both the protective and threatening powers surrounding one's life.

Mythic-Literal Faith (Childhood and beyond): The developing ability to think logically helps one order the world with categories of causality, space, and time; to enter into the perspectives of others; and to capture life meaning in stories.

Synthetic-Conventional Faith (Adolescence and beyond): New cognitive abilities make mutual perspective taking possible and require one to integrate diverse self-images into a coherent identity. A personal and largely unreflective synthesis of beliefs and values evolves to support identity and to unite one in emotional solidarity with others.

Individuative-Reflective Faith (Young Adulthood and beyond): Critical reflection upon one's beliefs and values, utilizing third-person perspective taking; understanding of the self and others as part of a social system; the internalization of authority and the assumption of responsibility for making explicit choices of ideology and life-style; all open the way for critically self-aware commitments in relationships and vocation.

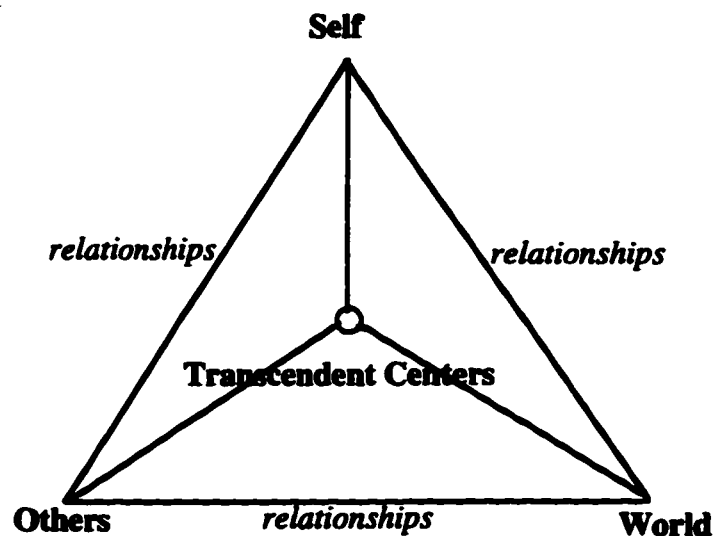
Conjunctive Faith (Mid-life and beyond): The embrace of polarities in one's life, an alertness to paradox, and the need for multiple interpretations of reality mark this stage. Symbol and story, metaphor and myth (from one's own traditions and others') are now appreciated (second, or willed naïveté) as vehicles for expressing truth.

Universalizing Faith (Mid-life and beyond): Beyond paradox and polarities, persons in this stage are grounded in a oneness with the power of being. Their visions and commitments free them for a passionate yet detached spending of the self in love, devoted to overcoming division, oppression, and violence, and in effective anticipatory response to an inbreaking commonwealth of love and justice.

Faith development is relational. There is an interplay of faith and identity.³¹ That interplay occurs among three elements—our constructions of self, others and the world around us. We understand our relationships by means of these structures of meaning. Or, we could say that the structures provide the means for developing relationships to transcendent centers of values.

Those relations might look like this:

FIGURE 3
RELATIONSHIPS OF SELF/OTHERS/WORLD/VALUES



Faith development acknowledges the inherently subjective activity of making meaning which engages our imagination in constructing ourselves, others, and the central values of our lives. The relational character of faith places it at the heart of development. Faith calls us to loyalty and commitment to centers of power, value and authority. Our relationships to ourselves and others take shape from these centers. If we think of the classic definition of religion as a "binding back" to centers of power, the relational dimension of faith becomes clearer. Fowler's preference is for a monotheistic

concept of relationship taken from the theology of H. Richard Niebuhr. He describes that relationship as covenantal—a focused commitment of self to a center of value. Yet, he also acknowledges that individuals may derive their faith from "many minor centers of value and power."³²

The last major characteristic of faith development theory is its normative position³³ regarding the ends of development. These ends are reflected in descriptions of Stage 6, universalizing faith. As it is presently conceived, universalizing faith characteristics are formed partly by logically extending features of Stage 5, and partly by a study of biographies of moral and religious leaders. There has been only one Stage 6 individual in the empirical studies of faith development. "Persons in this stage are grounded in a oneness with the power of being. Their visions and commitments free them for a passionate yet detached spending of the self in love—and an effective anticipatory response to an inbreaking commonwealth of love and justice."³⁴ Stage 6 individuals have completed the process of de-centering from self and begin to see and value through God, not from their own limited perspectives.³⁵ Stage 6 faith integrates a fully mature humanity with others "at any of the other stages and from any other faith tradition"³⁶ in a monotheistic concept of faith: "a world made over not in their images, but in accordance with an intentionality both divine and transcendent."³⁷ Fowler describes the relational aspects of this as "loyalty to the rule of God and in covenant relations with a commonwealth of being."³⁸

The normativity also implies that more advanced stages of faith are more adequate. "In the domain of faith the assertion that more developed stages are in significant ways more adequate than less developed ones has to be made with even greater cautions.... Yet we cannot avoid making and trying to corroborate that claim."³⁹ Based upon John Chirban's dissertation, "the further one moves beyond a synthetic-conventional structuring of faith, the more likely one is to exhibit increased commitment in faith."⁴⁰ Intrinsic motivation replaces extrinsic motivation in characterizing faith from

Stage 4 and beyond.

Faith development's normative emphasis goes beyond the belief that human development is just an unfolding of innate qualities in response to environmental events (behaviorism), or the biological maturation of human characteristics (maturationist). Development is purposeful precisely because it engages the will. The direction of human development is determined by human choice interacting with the centers of value discussed above. In this regard Fowler emphasizes the commitment and fidelity required to relate ourselves to others and to the universe. Fowler says, "I have avoided giving direct attention to normative perspectives on the being, character, or will of God. I have hoped that readers from a variety of religious traditions and readers who have no religious affiliation would find this way of looking at so fundamental a feature of human life to be fruitful and informing."⁴¹

Application of Faith Development to a Cross-Cultural Study

Research Questions:

The study was designed to cross-validate (see Glossary) Fowler's model of faith development in an Eastern Culture. Fowler says, "I do not feel warranted in making claims of 'universality' for our stages, beyond the contention that the formal descriptions of them are generalizable and can be tested cross-culturally."⁴² Cross-validation will involve two phases of the application of Fowler's model. First, it will be applied to the Western population of twenty Canadian Bahá'í volunteers. Can we replicate (see Glossary) previous tests of Fowler with North American Bahá'ís? Next, it will be applied to a group of twenty Indian Bahá'ís. Can we further replicate Fowler's model with Indian Bahá'ís? Cross-cultural testing will be measured by trying to replicate findings for two culturally distinct populations using the same instrument. Similarities in age, gender, education level and Bahá'í age of each of the twenty pairs will be maintained to highlight differences in cultural context. If replication is successful, it would provide evidence for the generality of Fowler's model, and move a step towards

universality. This study is the first cross-cultural test of faith development theory comparing two populations with similar religions, but in divergent cultures.

Cross-cultural testing is also likely to identify Western and Christian biases which Fowler acknowledges.

In the conduct of cross-cultural research I fully expect that our present stage descriptions will undergo a significant process of elimination of Western and Christian biases and that the genuinely structural features will emerge with greater clarity. It may well be that the emerging structural descriptions of faith epistemologies will lead to the replacement or altering of some of the seven aspects we have generated to help us describe the respective integrities of the stages.⁴³

In this regard, cross-cultural research may yield new data on the relationship of contents of faith to the aspects and stages of faith.

Who will be compared?

The primary test group in relation to which the forty Bahá'ís in this study will be measured were 359 North Americans of Judeo-Christian background (only 3.6 percent were not) studied by various researchers from 1972 until 1980. These interviews were the basis for Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning (see Appendix 16). It was on the basis of this group that aspect and stage characteristics were defined and theoretical propositions were worked out. Bahá'ís have not previously been used as a group in testing psycho-social developmental instruments nor in faith development studies. The invitation to apply the model to different populations is acknowledged by Fowler; he does not wish to particularize the theory with reference to a Christian perspective on faith, nor even a religious perspective.

What will be compared?

The data obtained will be both quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative data will be the stage scores assigned by this researcher to each interview. The researcher anticipates that the scores will range from 3.0, conventional faith; through 5.0,

conjunctive faith since previous studies of faith development indicate that most adults fall within these parameters.⁴⁴ These scores will be compared across the two cultural populations of Bahá'ís. The qualitative data will be on two levels. First, they will be the responses participants give to the same interview questions. However, since faith development is a dynamic structural model, an additional layer of data are the descriptors of each of the seven aspects of faith which are identified by the researcher in the interpretation of interviews. The structures of faith "are not directly manifest, but must be intuited through the analysis of the thought processes produced in the interview responses."⁴⁵ For example, in the aspect of faith, Social Perspective Taking (see Glossary), using the questions "How would you characterize your parents at present?" and "Have there been any changes in your perceptions of them over the years?, we would find an individual's pattern of constructing the relationships different at each stage.

A Stage 3 response would show an ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of parents without reference to how one wanted them to think or feel. There is the beginning of the construction of the "generalized other"⁴⁶ which is still tacit (see Glossary) at this stage. However, Stage 3 is not yet able to assume a third-person perspective outside the self/others framework from which to observe and characterize people. So Stage 3 constructions will often blend fantasy and projection with observation and will orient towards the feelings, moods and emotional states of another.

A Stage 4 construction reveals the beginnings of formal operational thought which allows an individual a greater measure of abstraction in basing one's view of parents on critically examined rules of relationship. The Stage 4 person can see the other as other and not feel that he must be like the other or must agree with the other. The third-person perspective of Stage 4 can more easily analyze relationships with others and often orients to their concepts or ways of thinking. The understanding of relationships is more detached and conceptually mediated.

Stage 5 perspective taking carries the ability to take multiple perspectives of others and construct these in a complex way along multiple dimensions. Such a person can set aside his own predilections to understand the other within many frameworks.

What is the instrument used?

The instrument consists of the faith development interview (see Appendix 3), a semi-structured series of questions covering five content areas:

- 1) Life tapestry and life review,
- 2) Relationships,
- 3) Present values and commitments,
- 4) Religion, and
- 5) Crises and peak experiences.

Questions of the interview have been keyed to the seven aspects of faith discussed earlier. The questions are intended to unearth the structures we use to organize our experience. Since the instrument was constructed by a Christian theologian, three questions were added to the interview by this researcher to explore more thoroughly the Bahá'í bases of faith:

- 1) What attracted you to the Bahá'í Faith?
Or, why have you remained with this faith?
- 2) Would you describe any changes in your relationship to your faith over the years (months) since becoming a Bahá'í? and
- 3) What has been most helpful and/or most difficult in developing your relationship with the Bahá'í Faith? (See Appendix 4 and 5)

These proved helpful in establishing rapport with participants as well as probing structural aspects of faith from uniquely Bahá'í perspectives. The added questions served to engage the structures: Form of Logic, Social Perspective Taking, Locus of Authority, Bounds of Social Awareness and Form of World Coherence. The Manual for Faith Development Research encourages "researchers to devise new interview questions

and new lines of inquiry as the need arises."⁴⁷ This is one of the benefits of an open-ended interview which strives for contextual richness and flexibility. The added questions probed issues covered in the faith development interview such as "growing edge" and relationships which used a more familiar context to my Bahá'í respondents.

How was the study conducted?

The study consisted of twenty cross-cultural pairs of participants and was conducted in two phases: in Canada and in India. The first phase involved interviewing Canadian Bahá'í volunteers from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. The interviews were conducted from the Fall of 1991 until June of 1993. Participants volunteered in response to general announcements of the research project in local Bahá'í publications and meetings by filling out a Participant Request Form (see Appendix 6). They were then contacted by phone to answer any questions and establish a date, time and place for the interview. The interview date was confirmed by mail with an informed consent form and life tapestry chart (see Appendixes 7 and 8) to prepare them for the interview. The interviews themselves were approximately two and one-half hours in length and were tape recorded. Participants had the opportunity to read and edit the transcript of their interview and to withdraw from the study if they wished. None withdrew, and all twenty Canadian interviews were used in the study.

The second phase was conducted in India in the Fall of 1993 from September through December. Four major cities were chosen as potential sites for volunteers. The resulting 21 interviews consisted of seven in New Delhi, four in Indore, M.P., six in Panchgani, Maharashtra, and four in Bombay. One interview was not used since it repeated a cultural match of variables which was already established more closely. Altogether the participants included twenty cross-cultural pairs matched according to factors which had been found to be those most likely to influence stage score results in previous studies: age, gender, education level. The Indian volunteers were chosen to match the control variables of the Canadian volunteers. By keeping these variables

constant, the author wanted to highlight potential cultural differences in the responses participants gave to the interview questions. An additional factor, Bahá'í age, was less important in matching the pairs, but was included as a control variable to track the possible influence of length of time Bahá'í upon the appropriation of Bahá'í content.

Indian participants were requested with the age, sex, and education characteristics which matched Canadians by verbal requests in the communities which the author visited. When volunteers came forward, they were given the Participant Request Form. (See Appendix 9) They were then contacted by phone or in person for an interview date and time and given the informed consent form. Upon confirmation of the interview, the Indians were matched with a corresponding Canadian volunteer according to the variables discussed. The matches were made on an individual basis using profiles of Canadian participants which the researcher matched with Indian volunteers as they came forward. Interviews were conducted similarly to the Canadian ones. The first seven transcripts, done while the author was in India, were mailed to participants by the end of October for review and were forwarded, with corrections, back to me in Bombay, my last locale. The others were transcribed in Michigan over the next year and mailed to the Indian volunteers for review. Only three of these were edited and returned.

Interpretation of the Interviews

The interviews are tape-recorded and transcribed before the interpretation process begins. The narrative of each interview runs to about twenty single-spaced pages. It is then marked and responses are sorted for codeable data (see Glossary) which corresponds to the interview questions. The researcher spent from January, 1994, until February, 1995, transcribing and interpreting the 40 interviews. Over the period from June, 1993, until February, 1995, approximately a year and a half, this researcher was trained by an experienced scorer (an interpreter of FD research interviews) selected from among three which were suggested by the Center for Research in Faith and Moral

Development (CRFMD) at Emory University. The training involved establishing inter-rater reliability to bring new scorers into harmony with experienced ones.⁴⁸ This process is described in more detail in Chapter Three, research methods. The resulting data consists of forty coded and interpreted interviews. Results are both quantitative (the stage scores) and qualitative (the aspect descriptions). It is this data which determines the validity of the Fowler model for the two populations.

Empirical Test of Fowler's Model

Empirical tests will be presented in three forms: 1) the range of stage scores, 2) the clustering of faith structures, and 3) the descriptors of faith structures.

The broadest and most general measure of success is a range of stage scores. If each of twenty Canadian participants of varying ages, sexes and educational backgrounds scored similarly, there would be a strong possibility that the instrument was not measuring features of maturity in Bahá'ís. Hence it would not be cross-religious. Since the participants are all adults, it is anticipated that the range of stage scores will be from Stage 3 through Stage 5: synthetic-conventional, individuative-reflective, and conjunctive faith, respectively. It is expected the model will measure faith development in Bahá'ís as described above because of several points of convergence between Fowler's theory and principles of the Bahá'í Faith. The second, and more specific, measure of support for the model is the clustering of coded responses on the seven aspects of faith within each interview. Since the model is a transformational one, it is expected that the seven structures or aspects of faith which measure faith development will be roughly similar and will not be broadly spread over a number of stages. The expected range of aspect scores and possible reasons for variations from this range will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. A third measure of support will be the matching of stage descriptors with the codeable data of each interview. Since each stage has descriptors which characterize the way faith functions at that stage, can the interpreter find the expected descriptors within each interview in all seven aspects of

faith? To answer this question, imagine what could deny the above. If fifty percent of each interview produced uncodeable data, this result would only marginally confirm the validity of Fowler's model within the test population. Or, if there were more than six examples in each interview of discrepant data (that which fit other stage constructions than the bulk of responses, or no stage description), the validity of the model would also be questionable. Support for the model will be that the bulk of each interview yields codeable responses which fit the stage and aspect descriptions established in the Manual.

Empirical support for the second phase of my research will be the replication of the above findings within the Indian population. Once again, this researcher thinks the Fowler model will be valid cross-culturally because human faith, as Fowler has defined it, is universal. He has explicitly avoided a sectarian definition of faith so that it would apply to any human being. He has defined faith as a human function which engages cognitive, affective and imaginal modes of knowing. The researcher anticipates that stage scores will, once again, vary over the spectrum of stages from three through five, but that there will be more Stage 3 (synthetic-conventional) and Stage 5 (conjunctive) Indians than Canadians. Further it is anticipated that there will be more Stage 4 Canadians because of the cultural bias of Western developmental models⁴⁹ to favor strongly individualistic and objective ways of thinking and concern with social systems and their maintenance.

Evidence for altering the descriptive features of the aspects of faith of each stage would lend partial support for the theory as it stands. Fowler anticipates that these descriptions may need some modification owing to the differences in self-others concepts in other cultures and religious traditions. Other possible cultural imbalances of the Fowler model include its tendency to favor Western attributional styles (internal locus of control), and loose, rather than tight, concepts of group norms which permit more individual choices in social situations (see Glossary). If we include socio-economic conditions as important in defining that vantage point from which we view others,

Indians are more likely to show the influence of class stereotyping on attribution and social perspective-taking (see Glossary) since their culture is more highly stratified. More on the biases of Western and Eastern patterns in the construction of ideas of self, others and world and their relationships will be presented in Chapter Three.

Uniqueness of this Study

This study is the first to compare two diverse cultural groups of the same religion using Fowler's model of faith development. The approach to this phenomenological study will be exploratory and descriptive. Hopefully, the research may lay groundwork for future cross-cultural applications and move towards establishing the descriptive limits and/or universality of faith development theory.

Outline of the Approach

Since this study is interdisciplinary, the first chapters are intended to provide the reader with background relating to the fields of study which are combined here. Chapter Two is the most dense and complex of the remaining chapters of this project. It situates faith development within several frameworks of discourse, beginning with psycho-social development, continuing with philosophical theology and ending with cross-cultural studies.

First, the connections of faith development with the social sciences reviews in more depth the concepts of development which Fowler drew upon to construct his model. The presentation of structural, cognitive developmentalists Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg as they influenced Fowler will be followed by a discussion of the influence of Erik H. Erikson and his psycho-dynamic theory of development. These discussions provide a more in-depth understanding of Fowler's roots than the overview in this chapter.

The faith development model is an organic and changing one which tries to understand the way individuals grow in faith. The impact of other psychologists on the

descriptions of stages or levels as they are applied to diverse groups will enrich the explanatory power of Fowler's model as it is being used currently and counters some of its weaknesses pointed out earlier.⁵⁰ Recent studies of cognitive and psycho-social development, particularly of women, will sensitize the reader to the problems and issues which have been raised and partially resolved in applying models of development to women and in refining descriptions of Stage 4 and beyond.

Chapter Two next juxtaposes the impact of philosophical theology on faith development. It discusses Fowler's use of the term, faith, and how it works in human life. Fowler's understanding of faith will be clarified by examining his theological roots: Wilfred Cantwell Smith, H. Richard Niebuhr and Paul Tillich.

Given the structural framework of development and the influence of its theological commitment, the next question involves the application of faith development theory: What is the impact of the contents of faith (beliefs, values, images of authority, transcendent values) on faith development? Those relationships as they have been explored in previous research are summarized.

Next, the cross-cultural framework of applying faith development looks at other cross-cultural studies in social psychology for the parameters and expectations they establish as guides for this research project, particularly the areas in which Western biases influence the norms we establish for human behavior. Lastly, the cross-cultural studies of faith development are discussed in some depth to focus the reader on the particular problems encountered previously in applying faith development to Eastern populations.

In Chapter Three the methods used in research are presented. They begin by establishing the Eastern and Western cultural expectations which lead to my choice of Canada and India for this cross-cultural project; the researcher's background and predispositions; the research design; the choice of research subjects; the research instrument; and methods for achieving reliable results.

Chapters Four and Five establish the sociological context for the two populations in my study: the Bahá'í communities of Canada and India. Chapter Four begins with a brief historical overview of the Bahá'í Faith to introduce the reader to concepts and persons which are central to the Bahá'í landscape of faith. The historical development of the Bahá'í community in Canada within the present century has moved according to identifiable stages of growth, similar to the stage-like progression of human development in Fowler's model. Those stages and their emphases in content and method are described.⁵¹

The researcher's historical overview of the Indian community is drawn largely from Bahá'í sources, from the early Bahá'í magazine, Star of the West, from the eighteen-volume set of The Bahá'í World. An International Record, and from documents and brochures produced within the Bahá'í community of India. The development of this community also moves by stages, which I have identified, in both theme and method. Both Chapters Four and Five close with a description of the participants of my study within each culture. These characterizations are very general, leaving a fuller understanding of the individual constructions of faith for Chapter Six.

Chapter Six presents the findings of my study in the form which is announced within this chapter in the section "Empirical Support". These are presented in two phases: the Canadian and the Indian. The first phase validates Fowler's theory by establishing correspondences between the Canadian Bahá'í interviews and those conducted in previous faith development research. The correspondences are illustrated with respect to each of the three stages (three, four, and five) and the transitions between them. There are some exceptions to the support the participants offer to faith development theory which are explained. The second phase presents the replication of the study in the Indian Bahá'í community and an almost exact correlation of general features of faith development in the two communities. These general features become subtly altered upon closer comparison of the descriptive features of each aspect of faith

between the Canadian and Indian participants. Several areas of descriptive refinement of each stage are offered. Last, in Chapter Seven, the author focuses on conclusions which may be drawn from the research and directions for future study which are suggested by the findings.

CHAPTER ONE: NOTES

¹ Bahá'í Comprehensive Deepening Program, Daniel C. Jordan, Project Supervisor. Bahá'í Publishing Trust, Wilmette, IL, 1977: "The Supreme Gift of God to Man"; "A Fortress for Well-Being"; "The Bahá'í Electoral Process"; "Knowledge, Volition and Action;" "The Meaning of Deepening;" "The Dynamic Force of Example."

² Divine Art of Living, 'Abdu'l-Bahá, p. 25.

³ "Knowledge, Volition and Action," 5.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ann Schoonmaker-Boyd. The Bondage and Transformation of Man in the Thought of Martin Luther and Erik H. Erikson. Drew University, Ph.D., 1976.

⁶ Bahá'u'lláh. The Seven Valleys and the Four Valleys. Daniel C. Jordan. Becoming Your True Self. 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Promulgation of Universal Peace.

⁷ Albert Camus. L'Étranger. Extrait. Paris: Bordas, 1972. As paraphrased by one of the Canadian interviewees.

⁸ James W. Fowler. Stages of Faith, p. 14.

⁹ Bahá'u'lláh. Gleanings from the Writings of Bahá'u'lláh, p. 218.

¹⁰ James W. Fowler. Stages of Faith, p. 271.

¹¹ H. Richard Niebuhr. Faith on Earth: An Inquiry into the Structure of Human Faith. Niebuhr begins his discussion of the meanings of faith with this quote and these questions: "When the Son of man comes, will he find faith on earth?" (Luke 18:8) or "Will he find any faithfulness among men?" or "Will he find belief or trust in God?" Niebuhr's approach to faith is as a structure, a synthesis of values, beliefs, fidelity, trust and action. Edited by Richard R. Niebuhr. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1989.

¹² Fowler, Ibid. p. 23.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Stages, p. 9.

¹⁷ Stages, 11.

¹⁸ Stages, p. 14 and W.C. Smith, "Religious Life as a Participation in Process."

Towards a World Theology: Faith and the Comparative History of Religion.
Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1981.

¹⁹ The phrase "ultimate concern" refers to Paul Tillich's definition of religion as "Man's ultimate concern." See Paul Tillich, The Protestant Era, trans. James Luther Adams. Chicago, IL. The University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 59 and 273. Fowler refers to the concept several times in connection with faith as in Stages, p. 93.

²⁰ Kjell Erik Rudestam and Rae R. Newton, Surviving Your Dissertation: A Comprehensive Guide to Content and Process. Newbury Park: Sage Press, 1992. p. 33.

²¹ Stages, p. 99.

²² For "Bounds of Social Awareness" Fowler was influenced by reading Erik Erikson's notion of pseudo-speciation, the widening horizons of those with whom one identifies. "Locus of Authority" was developed during his studies in theology and ethics at Harvard. "Form of World Coherence" is indebted to a number of thinkers including Stephen Pepper and his concept of root metaphors which underlie world views. Source ideas for "Symbolic Function" came from Durkheim's Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, Clifford Geertz and Robert Bellah, Paul Tillich's discussion of symbol and Mircea Eliade. (Telephone conversation with Fowler, December 7, 1995.)

²³ Stages, p. 99.

²⁴ (Figure 1) is from Stages of Faith, pp.244-5.

²⁵ Stages, p. 99.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 100.

²⁷ The term "constituted" refers to "constitutive knowing" which implies a purposive construction of self, others and the relations between them in developmental theory. Stages of Faith, p. 103.

²⁸ Herbert Ginsburg and Sylvia Oppen, Piaget's Theory of Intellectual Development, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969. pp. 17-19.

²⁹ Stages, pp. 100-101.

³⁰ Fowler, Nipkow & Schweitzer, Faith and Religious Development, New York: Crossroad, 1991, pp. 24-25.

³¹ Stages, p. 18.

³² Stages, p. 19.

³³ Normativity for Fowler is similar to Kohlberg's claims for higher stages of moral judgment. They exhibit:

- a. increasing use of reason and comprehensive logic
- b. accuracy in perspective-taking

- c. a widening vision of others
- d. a more self-reliant and objective accounting for justifications of one's outlook
- e. increasing unity and coherence in world view
- f. qualitative increase in choice, awareness and commitment

³⁴ Fowler, 1991, p. 18.

³⁵ Ibid. 113.

³⁶ Stages, 201.

³⁷ Ibid. 201.

³⁸ Ibid. 295.

³⁹ Stages, 101.

⁴⁰ Stages, 300-301.

⁴¹ Stages, 292.

⁴² Ibid. p. 100.

⁴³ Ibid. p. 298.

⁴⁴ Eugene Mischey, Faith Development and its Relationship to Moral Reasoning and Identity Status in Young Adults, University of Toronto, 1976. Richard Shulik, Faith Development, Moral Development and Old Age: An Assessment of Fowler's Faith Development Paradigm, University of Chicago, 1979.

⁴⁵ Manual for Faith Development Research, revised edition. 1993, p. 20.

⁴⁶ George Herbert Mead's term for the composite of social images in which one finds oneself reflected. Manual, revised, p. 46.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 11.

⁴⁸ The first 20 interviews in this study were scored by a blind second rater (blind to the results). To assess inter-rater reliability the level of agreement between those of the blind rater and the researcher is given as a percentage of agreement. Agreement, here, refers to scores within .5 range on stage score, which would be about half a stage. Nineteen out of twenty cases were in agreement within .5 range, yielding an inter-rater reliability score of 95 percent on the first twenty interviews. Four Indian interviews were independently scored as well. The inter-rater reliability on this group was 100 percent.

⁴⁹ The volume of literature establishing divergent patterns of Western and Eastern characteristics in developmental measurement in social psychology is vast. See the following: Joan Miller, "Bridging the Content-Structure Dichotomy: Culture and the Self." John Adamopoulos, "Interpersonal Behavior; Cross-Cultural and Historical

Perspectives." Garth Fletcher and Colleen Ward, "Attribution Theory and Processes: A Cross-Cultural Perspective." William Gabrenya, Jr., "Social Science and Social Psychology: The Cross-Cultural Link." Harry Triandis, "Cross-Cultural Contributions to Theory in Social Psychology." David Messick, "On the Limitations of Cross-Cultural Research in Social Psychology." All of the above are in Michael Harris Bond, ed. The Cross-Cultural Challenge to Social Psychology.

Additionally, several volumes of the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology were used to ground the cross-cultural comparisons in this project. They were Vol.18, #4 December, 1987; Vol. 24 #2, June, 1993; and Vol. 25,#1, March, 1994. Also, Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture, New York; Anchor Books, 1976; Cultural and Cognition: Readings in Cross-Cultural Psychology, ed. J.W. Berry and P.R. Dasen; Culture and Self: Asian and Western Perspectives, ed. Anthony Marsella, George DeVos, and Francis L.K. Hsu.

⁵⁰ John McDargh, "Faith Development Theory at Ten Years." Religious Studies Review. 10:4, 1984: 339-342. And Sharon Daloz Parks, "The North American Critique of James Fowler's Theory of Faith Development," in Fowler, Nipkow and Schweitzer, Stages of Faith and Religious Development. New York: Crossroad, 1991.

⁵¹ The recent growth of the Bahá'í Faith as a world religion poses problems for the researcher in religious studies. There is a wealth of current literature, most of it from within the faith community and not of a scholarly or academic nature. The bulk of the work which is scholarly is not in the sociology of religion or is not widely published and available. This situation has both advantages and disadvantages. An advantage is the understanding of concepts, terms and ideas within the community which are very close to their present usage. One doesn't have to peer through layers of historical interpretation to understand the construction of meaning within the community. On the disadvantage side, "The Bahá'í Community of Canada is gradually emerging from its early history virtually without any records of its early beginnings and development. There is a pronounced absence of historical writing on the Canadian Bahá'í Community." (Will C. van den Hoonaard, "Building a Cultural Heritage: Researching Canadian Bahá'í History." Unpublished paper presented at the 13th Annual Meeting of the Association for Bahá'í Studies, Ottawa, October, 1988.) Other publications by the same author refer to the lack of academic work in sociology as well in documenting characteristics of the Bahá'í community in Canada. Chapter Four, particularly, carries the burden of the deficits referred to above.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERDISCIPLINARY CONTEXTS OF THE STUDY

Fowler's model of faith development sits squarely within the field of psycho-sociology. The model makes claims regarding the human psyche (hence, "psycho") for faith which it maintains is cultural (hence "sociology"), if not cross-cultural, and can be measured with an empirical instrument such as a series of questions asked in an interview format. The innovative nature of Fowler's model is this: heretofore, descriptions of faith had been matters of inquiry for theologians and philosophers of religion, not social scientists. In fact, James Fowler begins his academic training as a theologian. His interest in faith as it applies to ethics and morality lead him to work with Lawrence Kohlberg and others at Harvard University. It was Fowler's work with the community at Harvard which lead to his combining the fields of philosophical theology and psycho-sociology. He asserts that human faith is an important factor in the sequence of stages by means of which humans grow and develop. In this chapter we survey key literature on the issues which developmental theories raise: they include, can such models be used cross-culturally; what should the researcher do with implicit cultural assumptions in a model purporting to be cross-cultural; what are the differences between eastern and western theories of development; and is it possible to replicate psycho-social studies cross-culturally?

Faith Development as a Psycho-Social Construct

Theories of human development explain and define both characteristics and processes of human growth. What they map depends to a large extent on the point of view from which they are looking. Psychological theories look from within the individual and emphasize internal, structural processes of growth/response seen as ego development. Sociological theories focus on external factors and relationships between an individual and the groups with which s/he interacts. Psycho-social theories acknowledge that there is a reciprocal process between internal and external relationships such that processes within the

individual psyche change as that individual responds to the social milieu. They propose a dynamic rather than static model in that they account for change more than they account for stability.¹ As a general discipline, psycho-sociology escapes the limitations of both psychology and sociology but in doing so, it occupies a kind of "no man's land" which extends between them. Robert Kegan explains psycho-social as "that which is both a part of the individual (psyche) and, from another perspective (including the individual's own, at some time in the future), a part of the "social."² Fowler speaks of the faith development model as a "flexible spiral of interaction between person and society."³

Fowler's model is psycho-social in that it interprets the individual within the matrix of a community and within a mental and emotional environment which interprets that community. Further, faith measurement looks at growth from the viewpoint of interaction between these two frames. Fowler's view of the individual within these two frames shares the viewpoint of many of the symbolic interactionists (W. James, C. H. Cooley, J. Dewey, and G. H. Mead) which sees the individual and society as inseparable units such that a complete understanding of one entails a complete understanding of the other.⁴ The individual grows and develops through the exercise of faith claims Fowler. Faith engages capacities of knowing and valuing which pattern the actions and commitments of an individual's life story. These actions and commitments engage one in a meaningful social context.⁵

Several features of the Fowler model separate it from other theories of human development. These features become more visible if we look at the influences on Fowler's construction of the faith development model: Piaget, cognitive development; Kohlberg, moral development; and Erikson, psycho-social development. Fowler is most indebted to the structuralists for their working out and testing of cognitive stage descriptions and the empirical studies which verify these across age and culture. But their stages are not sufficient for his concept of faith which is what he wishes to map. They don't include the interaction of knowing and valuing. To cognitive capacities as stage constructs, Fowler

wanted to add contributions of the affective, valuational, and imaging modes of learning. Kohlberg avoids dealing with the structuring power of emotions or feelings. Fowler also feels compelled to add "interactional" forces to the structural model, as Kohlberg did in his adult studies. He utilizes the studies of Erik Erikson⁶ to view development as a process of interaction between an active subject and a changing environment. To the dynamics of faith, Fowler adds the dynamic of interactional social psychology. The inclusions support what many in the Cambridge camp at Harvard were beginning to see as a necessary expansion of Piagetian-Kohlberg structuralism from 1973 onwards. "Each extended the structural-developmental metaphor in a direction more holistic and inclusive of broader patterns of personality or ego-functioning."⁷ Fowler's focus on **structures** of the whole is indebted to Piaget. Piaget's structures were four stages in thought processes which lead to formal operational thinking (see Glossary). He traced development through the infant, child and adolescent. Fowler's developmental aspect, "form of logic," roughly parallels Piaget's four stages of cognitive development.⁸ Piaget argues further that the series of cognitive stages are sequential, invariant and universal, claims which Fowler reiterates.⁹ The strength and breadth of Piaget's research in cognitive stages influenced Fowler's preference for a basically cognitive structural approach to development.¹⁰

Kohlberg's research in moral development emerged from his own moral dilemmas and progressed to a study of moral reasoning in six stage-like progressions which he characterizes as invariant and universal. Moral development applies the ideas of conceptual development and structures of cognition to moral situations and dilemmas. Kohlberg wanted to link moral development to interaction with the environment rather than to biological maturation. Both he and Fowler build on the concept of stages defined by Piaget—that is cognitive and structural rather than behavioral. Kohlberg sees change residing within the individual as an active, creative subject interacting with a dynamic environment, especially in the ways the individual constructs and takes account of the social perspectives of other people and groups.¹¹ Moral choices have a rational core—they

construct points of view within an intellectual environment which has definable features or "patterns of thought."¹² To Piaget's sequential and invariant stages of development, Kohlberg added the concept of hierarchy. Hierarchy implies that higher stages function more adequately, are more differentiated and integrative than lower stages. Researchers have found high degrees of correlation between measures of moral, ego and intellectual development.¹³ Since moral and cognitive constructs share basic ingredients, parallels are to be expected.¹⁴ Those ingredients include a self interacting with others, social norms, familial nurturing and individual rights.

Since the structural stages of Piaget are not clearly developed beyond adolescence, Fowler turned to Erik Erikson to provide the psycho-social milieu of developmental process and its continuation into the adult phases of the life cycle. Erikson also maps stages of development which presuppose an individual's adaptive response to change at key points or crises in the life cycle. Those crises and their attendant points on the life cycle are: 1) basic trust vs. mistrust (infancy); 2) autonomy vs. shame and doubt (early childhood); 3) initiative vs. guilt (play age); 4) industry vs. inferiority (school age); 5) identity vs. identity confusion (adolescence); 6) intimacy vs. isolation (young adulthood); 7) generativity vs. stagnation (adulthood); 8) integrity vs. despair (old age). The staged pattern is characterized by increasing differentiation and complexity and accompanied by key strengths, pathologies and principles of social order at each juncture.¹⁵

Fowler shares Erikson's concern with faith and with human transformation but departs from Erikson's Freudian and somatic basis of epigenesis.¹⁶ Erikson has defined three processes which mutually interact in human growth: biological process, social process and ego process. The first is the epigenetic cycle we share by virtue of our biological organization and the interactions within that.¹⁷ The second, social process, is that by which we are organized geographically, historically and culturally in groups. The third, ego process, is that by which an individual maintains him/herself as a coherent personality with a sense of continuity in his/her self perception and relationships with

others. When the interactions of these three processes are thwarted, the result is a distortion of the organs and capacities in the growth process. Erikson speaks of **epigenetic laws** of development which regulate the proper relations of the growing parts to each other.¹⁸

In psycho-social models of development, the individual is seen in process—in a series of processes and interactions on a variety of levels simultaneously. Erikson's conception of human growth is a gradual unfolding of personality through phase-specific psycho-social crises. That is, our encounter with different crises at each stage of our development precipitates our acquiring new ways of dealing with these crises. The crises themselves are tied to biological or age-specific psycho-social difficulties. Erikson's stages locate specific points in the life cycle which activate the twin processes of adaptation—assimilation and accommodation—which Piaget utilizes. Erikson's life cycle crises highlight the creative responses on a practical level of a knowing subject in shaping the actions which define an individual's life.¹⁹ Erikson's influence on Fowler has been more fundamental than either of the former theorists, but also harder to document. Fowler says,

I believe this is because Erikson's influence has been both more pervasive and more subtle; it has touched me at convictional depths that the structural developmentalists have not addressed. As unsystematic and unsatisfactory as it may seem, I simply have to say that Erikson's work has become part of the interpretive mind-set I bring to research on faith development.²⁰

Where the complete life cycle of development in Erikson's work became a pattern for Fowler's early thought about stages, Fowler's stages may arrest development at Stage 2 or beyond—they don't necessarily change as the life cycle progresses. This is not true of Erikson's stages. Additionally, Fowler's stages describe the ways in which the psycho-social crises which Erikson outlines are constructed and understood by the subject. In this way, the stages remain more representative of the cognitive developmentalists.

Erikson's imprint on Fowler is evident in yet another facet of the faith development model. The faith development interview begins with a "life tapestry" (see Appendix 8)

reminiscent of Erikson's work with biographies²¹ and ends with reflection on the peak experiences and crises in one's life. Clearly, the fabric of faith implicit in faith development theory is more Eriksonian while the stage descriptions and distinctions are more characteristic of the cognitive developmentalists.

In summary, as a psycho-social model of development, faith development is qualitative, staged, structural and hierarchical with an invariant sequence.²² Recent studies²³ of cognitive developmentalists also contribute to this research by more clearly defining the characteristics of Stages 3, 4, and 5. Several of these studies focus on women and the data of development they add to our precision in describing developmental stages and characteristics.

The strength of any theory is its ability to explain a wide variety of data. Prior to the 1980's much of the foundational work of staged theories of cognitive development was based on men.²⁴ The stage descriptions, rendered in terms of coding characteristics, placed women at lower stages of development by reason of their more relational concerns (Lyons, 1988). Since the central characteristic of Stage 3 was its overriding interpersonal concern, people who retained this focus were inevitably seen as less developed than those who had moved on to the formal operational thinking of Stage 4. However, "it was Gilligan (1977) who first suggested that this relational bias might represent a unique construction of social reality."²⁵ Gilligan's work hypothesized that men and women think differently about themselves in their relationships to others. If that be the case, how does each sex construct relationships with others, and, consequently, respond in situations involving moral choice? Gilligan worked out two modes of self-others construction which she calls "the connected self" and the "separate self". The "connected self" is grounded in interdependence and mediated through activities of caring and concern. The "separate self" is grounded in roles and mediated through a system of rules that maintain impartiality. What Gilligan's findings show is that researchers have confused moral stage (moral maturity) with moral orientation (separated or connected) and that there are alternate ways

to understand the stages of development outlined by Kohlberg.²⁶

Kohlberg's work had been with the subjects' responses to moral situations which he had constructed in trying to ascertain the reasons for choices an individual would give. It ignored the individual's own construction of moral situations or moral dilemmas in its standardization of the moral development measure. Specifically, the "Heinz dilemma" used by Kohlberg elicited more "justice" considerations than it did "care" considerations.²⁷ "Justice" defined by Gilligan's research implies "attention to problems of inequality and oppression and holds up an ideal of reciprocity and equal respect. A "care" perspective draws attention to problems of detachment or abandonment and holds up an ideal of attention and response to need. Two moral injunctions—not to treat others unfairly and not to turn away from someone in need—capture these different concerns."²⁸

Gilligan, on the other hand, chose real-life moral situations to illustrate the concept of moral orientation. What emerged were an ethic of care and an ethic of justice as parallel, but different, styles of interpreting the same kind of moral situation. "Our analysis of care and justice as distinct moral orientations that address different moral concerns leads us to consider both perspectives as constitutive of mature moral thinking."²⁹ The justice approach to moral situations in both the choice of situations and in the subjects studied revealed the bias of previous cognitive developmental studies in favor of predominantly male styles of cognitive functioning which were characterized by a separated/objective self and a concept of measurement based upon fairness or justice. The failure of such an approach to attend to human need ignored styles of functioning more characteristic of women.

The work of Mary Belenky, Blythe Clinchy, Nancy Goldberger and Jill Tarule³⁰ balances the largely male-oriented (detached, objective, principle-centered) descriptive data on developmental stages by identifying characteristics of women's thinking as they move from received knowers (see Glossary) to subjective knowers to procedural knowers and finally to constructed knowers. Although their characterizations are not intended to

comment upon or synchronize with other staged theories of development, Belenky and colleagues' descriptive data relating to procedural knowers has similarities to distinctions utilized by Gilligan—the justice and care orientations to moral reasoning.³¹ Two new categories help to define more completely the territory between a fully-equilibrated (see Glossary) Stage 3 and a fully-equilibrated Stage 4, those of separated and connected styles of procedural knowing. Belenky and colleagues did interviews with a number of disadvantaged women to find out what was important about life and learning from the women's point of view.³² For coding analysis, the researchers developed ten dialectical categories designed to allow both of each set of pairs to be valuable (*i.e.* rational vs. intuitive; personal vs. impersonal). From the women's descriptions, new patterns of construction of self/others as related to knowledge emerged. The results clear up some slippery ground in transitional stages between Stages 2-3 and between 3-4. Perry's term, "personal truth," is a similar rendering of Belenky *et al.* subjective knowers.³³ Truth can no longer be conceived as absolute and singular, but as multiple and infinite.³⁴

Procedural knowing, which evidences a reasoned explanation of self and position but not yet a systemic perspective, was shown to have two orientations based upon understanding how and why an opinion is formed. **Connected knowing** which is exercised out of a need to understand and to find common ground, and **separated knowing** whose purpose is to justify decisions and which meets standards of impersonality. Both styles were found to have the capacity for formal-operational thought but didn't always use it. Connected knowing adjusts the self/others relationship to understand something in someone else's terms; it is oriented away from the self. Separated knowing is oriented to excluding feelings and beliefs of the subjective self in seeking an impersonal standard of authority. While subjective knowers assume that everyone is right (relativity), separated knowers also tend to assume that everyone, including themselves, may be wrong. Neither yet evidences the systemic perspective of **constructed knowledge**—that is of theory building and testing.

A paper by Karen DeNicola³⁵ applies the Belenky data to Fowler's characteristics of Stages 3 and 4 and responds to critiques of faith development theory as overemphasizing thinking and underplaying emotions. Have we been overscoring those who don't integrate feeling and subjectivity? Specifically, she argues against a facile coding of the exercise of reason with Stage 4 and a feeling orientation with Stage 3. Whereas the theoretical aspects of Fowler's model lend themselves to a balance of "the logic of conviction" and the "logic of rational certainty,"³⁶ the criteria in the scoring Manual do not reinforce this balance, but tilt it in favor of reason. DeNicola's coordination of a project in 1989 using 49 interviews of five researchers in faith development found a considerable lack of consensus in the transitional stages between 2-3 and 3-4. The lack of consensus was due to the problematic coding criteria of these stage transitions. Using the additional descriptions of Belenky and others, transitional 2-3s and 3-4s were distinguished based upon "whether a person is rebelling against entry into a conventional community or extracting herself out of embeddedness in a conventional community that has been abusive or controlling."³⁷ In Fowler's Stage 3 the self is embedded in whatever system it has grown up in and defers to authorities outside the self. It does not trust the self as its own authority.

Additionally, the application of Belenky's two kinds of procedural knowing³⁸ to DeNicola's project resulted in yet a third style of procedural knowing which clarifies the point at which an individual can be said to be entering Stage 4. **Practical knowing** sees problem-solving methods or procedures as instruments. It does not negate feeling nor resist reality-testing but fits its cognitive criteria to the problem at hand. In other words, it evidences a choice of cognitive procedures with an awareness of alternatives. All three kinds of procedural knowing would be characterized as stage 3-4 transition using the Fowler developmental criteria. The Fowler Stage 4 criterion is that one can **invent** procedure so that she is not only able to generate but to test hypotheses as a kind of anticipatory schema. Procedural knowing as a transitional cognitive style begins to eliminate some of the gender bias and the cognitive bias from coding criteria for Stages 3

and 4 and to define full Stage 4 cognition within a disciplined subjectivity which allows one to dialogue with others because one is not totally embedded in her own mindset, nor is one closed to feeling and empathy.

While the work of Gilligan and colleagues at Harvard, Belenky and others and DeNicola's group have clarified a broader range of descriptive features of Stages 3, 4 and transitions to and from, Robert Kegan's recent work adds clarity to stages four and beyond.³⁹ Specifically, the Kegan group is dealing with the limits to full formal operational reasoning. These limits are identified as the construction of an autonomous self⁴⁰ and operate within a "closed system" mindset which defends itself in respect to differing forms of thought.

Kegan sees stages of growth as processes which form a series of transformations "by which an outgrown system of organization becomes a subsystem...of the newly emerging system of organization."⁴¹ The previous system is then de-centered and becomes integrated as an element in the new system. This process is understood as a stage transformation. Kegan has shown that each stage is undergirded by a "deep structure" of the self⁴² which is a living, subject-object relation. He establishes the characteristics of such a deep structure in a theory of staged development which parallels Piaget's first four stages of cognitive development (and, therefore, Fowler's as well), but moves past formal operations to its sequels. It is in this area that his work will be instructive to this research, particularly as his concern is with the evolution of ways of "making meaning."⁴³

However, to suggest a psychological stage beyond full formal operations flies in the face of many cherished notions of psychological and philosophical maturity.⁴⁴ Kegan builds on the doubts of others about psychological autonomy as the hallmark of maturity⁴⁵ partly because the findings relating to post-formal development are so consistent. Movement from the closed system, defensive characteristics of formal thought to the more open and dialectical processes involving contextualization⁴⁶ has been found especially in a subject's thinking about contradiction and paradox. Basseches identified 24 *schemata*

(ways of thinking) which are post-formal operational.⁴⁷ He calls this logic "dialectical," a term Fowler employs in the Stage 5 descriptions of "form of logic" (See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2).

Kegan and colleagues have found that, for dialectical thinkers, the self is no longer identified with a particular organization of itself or a single coherent identity, but has moved toward the interpenetration of several systems and reflects on the processes of system construction. Such a construction is called an inter-individual self.⁴⁸ "The self constructs a new subjectivity that experiences the self in the context of the interaction between systems."⁴⁹ The mobility of Kegan's "inter-individual" self to "take whole psychological systems as object"⁵⁰ orients one's subject-object relations to process, both within the self and between self and others across time and space. The capacity of the inter-individual self offers a context for a whole new experience of closeness as it moves beyond the limitations and defensive posture of the institutional self. It is capable of sustaining genuinely intimate interpenetration with others in both work and love relationships in the referenced study. The authors give examples of dialogue between men and women thinking about love and work relationships and then analyze the dialogue to arrive at a cluster of post-formal operational (see Glossary) criteria which elaborate upon Fowler's coding criteria for Stage 5. The advantages of (and therefore, hierarchical preference for) the transformed mode of operating is that it makes way for collaborative interactions and efforts which transcend the capacities of any individual perspective. The inter-individual self is no longer invested in a single process of thinking and being-in-relationship and is free to create new processes and combinations of them in addressing people and situations. Transformation is seen as the ultimate value, hence anyone regarded as an obstacle to this might be excluded from the defining and evaluation process.

The more recent contributions of the cognitive developmentalists strengthen the explanatory power of Fowler's model by widening its potential descriptive framework to include more female styles of cognitive, moral and ego development and by offering

alternatives to a separated, objective formal operations as the apogee of human development. The latter is indicative of western-centric models of development.⁵¹

Faith Development in the Context of Philosophical Theology

Since the first phase of this research is to test the model of faith development outside the boundaries of its initial faith orientation in an historical community, the question arises whether faith commitment should play an active role in constructing the model of faith development? If the model were totally scientific, then all faith commitments would be excluded. If it is theological, then the thought and values framework of only one religion, namely Christianity, would be extended either ecumenically or authoritatively to other historical faith groups. If the model is primarily phenomenological or philosophical (as with Fowler), then the particular values and ideas of an historical affiliation would be redefined as accessory to faith which is, in turn, defined as a commitment to centres of value, power and authority. Now, to the extent that the construction of the model involves a religious commitment, a consequent issue arises concerning the possible impact of **content on structure**, of either general philosophical or specific religious beliefs on psycho-social factual reality. Two dimensions, or poles of relationship, present themselves here: the ideational and valuational construction of an individual's psychological mindset, and the community within which s/he interacts. Both arenas will be addressed here for the perspectives they offer on the phenomena of faith.

Relying upon the work of theologian W. C. Smith in *The Dynamics of Faith*, Fowler sees faith as the underlying synthesis of meaning and value implicit in the decisions one makes, the way people view themselves, others, and life in general. Fowler takes Smith's open concept of faith. "Faith is a generic feature of the human struggle to find and maintain meaning which may or may not find religious expression."⁵² Faith used in this way has great affinity with the "meaning-making" activities of the arts.⁵³ Just as the arts may imbue human experience with meaning and communicate in some reified or plastic form, so also our life activities and choices are constructed of the stuff of faith. One might

speak of simply world view, (see Glossary) but the term "faith" was chosen because there is no other term which "holds together those various interrelated dimensions of human knowing, valuing, committing and acting."⁵⁴

Faith development begins with a process-oriented concept of faith. This concept departs from the more conventional understanding of faith as the "contents" of belief, or the "objects" of faith. Fowler uses the term as a verb and defines it as "the dynamic, patterned process by which we find life meaningful."⁵⁵ Fowler has been criticized for misrepresenting faith and making the measurable (construction of meaning) stand in for the Ineffable. The criticisms are narrowly valid, but if one wants to use Fowler's instrument to explore faith cross-culturally, the description of faith Fowler provides must be retained. The soundness of Fowler's model will be put to the test by using it to compare two very different cultural groups not previously studied.

In order to justify his grounding of faith in experience and thereby to distinguish faith from belief, Fowler investigated the etymology of the word and its connotations of a whole or total response of the human being. He relies on W. C. Smith's work Faith and Belief which explains the Hindu term for faith, *sraddha*, to "give one's heart to" and to "set one's heart upon," which entails much more than belief.⁵⁶ Faith is often connected with religious belief and affiliation. Fowler defines faith as something more fundamental than this. It is an alignment of the will.⁵⁷ As such, it is part of one's whole response to life, not something set apart.

"Faith as a way of seeing the world"⁵⁸ is derived from the theology of both H. Richard Niebuhr and Paul Tillich. We shape our actions and responses in life in accordance with our interpretations of the larger patterns of actions that impinge upon us.⁵⁹ The sacred dimension is culled from the "ultimacy" of certain values and powers central to Paul Tillich's definition of religion.⁶⁰ Fowler says:

Tillich challenges his readers to ask themselves what values have centering power in their lives. The 'god values' in our lives are those things that concern us ultimately. Our real worship, our true devotion directs itself toward the objects of

our ultimate concern. That ultimate concern may center finally in our own ego or its extensions—work, prestige, and recognition, power and influence, wealth.⁶¹

Such a charge sweeps aside too facile identifications of religious faith with belief or religious community. Fowler sees "faith" as something everyone has—even the atheist, even children. When one asks a Hindu or Buddhist, "What do you believe in?" what one really means is, "What do you hold most dear, or are you most committed to?" A list of theological doctrines or principles is not wanted. Instead, one wants to probe an individual's "faithing" in ways that are meaningful to his life and activity.

Rather than a conceptually-ready system of ideas or a community of identification, Fowler's "faith" is more elusive and more deeply rooted. It begins from within the individual in the structures (see Glossary) one uses to process subjective and social experience. It then carries into the arena of action through the choices one makes, hence the dynamic and organic nature of the faith development model. Rather than the contents of valuing, faith is the behind-the-scenes shaping of our loves and loyalties. Faith as a dynamic and changing process has allowed for the comparison of differing styles or stages of faith among persons who share the same faith community or content tradition.⁶² Changes occur in modes of knowing, valuing and imaging when the subject must construct new patterns in order to meet new challenges of the environment. These new patterns, which lead to stage change or transformation, function like the psycho-social crises which Erikson identifies. Each brings a period of disequilibrium and requires changes in our ways of seeing and being in faith.⁶³ The patterns of faith and their major features in different stages of development have been explained in Chapter One.

The Relationship of Structure and Content in Faith Development

The distinction between structure and content is a critical one in the history of developmental psychology.⁶⁴ The cognitive-developmentalists, pursuing the lines of inquiry developed by Piaget and Kohlberg, define stage characteristics in terms of mental functioning. Others, such as Selman, Gilligan, Kegan and Fowler have moved to broaden

that focus in order to enrich the descriptive data on developmental stages. They have sacrificed some precision, but gained a more holistic perspective on an individual's functioning. Since the focus of faith development is structural, is there any relationship between the contents of faith and the stages or levels of development of faith? In other words, will any centres of value serve the same purposes in integrating our responses, or are some more adequate than others?

Fowler has chosen a middle point on this issue. His alignment is with H. Richard Niebuhr's concept of "radical monotheism," yet he acknowledges the diffused character of modern-day commitments as patterns of faith which lack any one center of value and power. He discusses several forms of polytheism, henothism and fetishism along with their pitfalls.⁶⁵ While committed to describing the structural features of an individual's growth in faith, Fowler was unwilling to abandon the affective aspect of development, hence the attention given to the "master stories," the "characterizations of the patterns of power-in-action that disclose the ultimate meanings of our lives."⁶⁶ Fowler's theological roots speak loudly here in refusing to see development in strictly cognitive structural terms. "Faith, I knew, involves rationality and passionality; it involves knowing, valuing and committing."⁶⁷

Fowler's acknowledged lack of developmental theory to demonstrate relationships between structure and content invited others to pursue this issue. Among them is Randy Simmonds, who in his doctoral dissertation, Content and Structure in Faith Development: A Case Examination of James Fowler's Theory,⁶⁸ continues the dialogue begun by Fowler between psycho-social development and religious philosophy. While Fowler says, "radical changes in the contents of one's faith—as in conversion—may either lead to or result from structural stage change,"⁶⁹ he suggests future inquiries to probe the structuring power of the contents of faith. Simmonds does just that by deriving a modal level of faith in two Christian communities, both of them members of the Southern Baptist Convention. Fowler states that:

Though we have not dwelt on it, congregations—and perhaps families—have modal levels of faith development...There is a social coerciveness in the modal level. Adults who develop beyond it are deviant; those who fail to develop to it are deviant. Patterns of socialization and methods of sponsorship in the community are geared to encourage adult development to the mode, but not beyond it.⁷⁰

For Fowler, "contents" of faith refers to three elements: centers of value, images of power, and master stories.⁷¹ Simmonds uses the religious community as an embodiment of the content of a person's faith. He accesses that content by analyzing the major documents of the church, its constitution and bylaws, interviews with selected church leaders, analyses of sermons and resolutions of official church actions. He synthesizes this data to construct a "modal level" of faith for each congregation and then argues that the faith group is highly influential, if not determinative of the structure of a person's faith as measured by faith stage score. Interviews with ten youth from each congregation are then studied for correlations of stage scores with those of the modal level for each congregation. As attested by leadership, documents, and sermons within each congregation, Simmonds found that the contents of faith in each congregation exert power to influence the structures of faith to the modal level for each congregation.⁷² The controls introduced into the analysis of two adolescent groups left only the modal level of faith as the variable which accounted for the differences between the two groups.

Faith Development in a Cross Cultural Perspective

Developmental theories establish criteria in terms of which growth is measured and provide models of what that growth looks like. In tracing specific criteria of growth, we can see that theories inevitably neglect some characteristics in favor of others. The criteria measured tend to become value-laden: that is, the characteristics one follows are those things one finds important. Hence, the tendency of theories to carry the implicit cultural biases of their authors.

Cross-cultural testing aims to expose implicit assumptions of the theory by expanding the empirical data base. The purpose of cross-cultural testing is to assess the

generalizability of empirical phenomena. Cross-cultural data provides an expanded view of human behavior and probable limitations to current psychological theories. "Social behaviour is immensely more variable than the behaviours that have been studied by Western social psychologists."⁷³ Much of the social psychological research in the United States has been based upon studies of college students. To get generalizable data about development, studies of several sub-populations within a given culture are needed to establish the range of diversity before cross-cultural testing can propose locating inter-cultural differences and similarities.⁷⁴

Before cross-cultural testing can occur, the theory being tested needs to have a solid base of data in the host culture (in this research, North America) to ground it consistently within a given population.⁷⁵ Fowler's theory of faith development has this within a Western, largely Judeo-Christian, culture with his initial 359 interviews which yielded the basic features of the six stages of growth (see Figure 2, page 11) and the descriptive characteristics of each of the seven aspects of faith (see Figure 1, page 8). Cross-cultural testing would also require the application of the same instrument to the test populations. This has been done with the Faith Development Interview, as modified by this researcher (see Appendix 4 and Appendix 5).

Those chosen as participants in the research should be as similar as possible in respect to the characteristics thought to influence stage score so that differences in results are not explicable by reference to unique features not accounted for in the research design.⁷⁶ Previous research in faith development has identified socio-economic status as a factor in higher faith-stage scores.⁷⁷

Fourth, cross-cultural research should be approached with an understanding of potential cross-cultural differences so that one knows what to look for and where to search for possible cultural distortion and variation. Triandis' excellent review in The Cross-Cultural Challenge to Social Psychology of social psychological theories is a good place to begin. He defines culture as "the human-made part of the environment" and acknowledges

that "culture reduces the validity of the more specific theories much more than it reduces the validity of the more abstract theories."⁷⁸ Since Fowler's model of faith development is more general than specific, the chances of its cross-cultural validity would seem to be increased. Since the essence of culture is shared norms and values, then all social psychology should be cross-cultural.⁷⁹

Since this researcher's proposed cross-cultural testing of Fowler's faith development instrument involves trying to replicate findings in two non-Christian cultural groups, the author consulted other studies which tried to replicate findings cross-culturally to become aware of pitfalls which this might entail. Many of the specific theories tested cross-culturally by Amir and Sharon⁸⁰ were difficult to replicate. They found replicability of findings low on six different social psychological measures.⁸¹ They advise establishing stable findings in one culture before moving to cross-cultural testing. Additionally, predictions of possible outcomes in the different cultural setting are needed so that relevant dimensions underlying the disparities in findings would have some meaning. Their position was that researchers can't base theories and explanations of human behavior on studies conducted in just one cultural group for results to be valid. If one wants to generalize about human behavior, one needs to broaden the base of cross-cultural research.⁸² My research carefully follows these prescriptions.

Triandis utilizes the typology outlined by McGuire⁸³ to compare theoretical biases of various social psychological theories. These will be helpful in a review of the underlying assumptions of Fowler's model of development. Fowler's theory shows the following in respect to McGuire's four dimensions:

a. **Being vs. becoming.** Fowler's model favors becoming—persons' striving to attain new levels of complexity, growth or transcendence. Hence it is a dynamic view of human nature.

b. **Active vs. reactive** Here, the psycho-social grounding in Erikson shows both needs—behavior activated by internal as well as by external events. However, "research on internal locus of control suggests that individualism emphasizes action."⁸⁴

c. **Cognitive vs. affective goals.** Fowler's efforts to correct the cognitive preference of Piaget and Kohlberg by including affective elements are not wholly successful.⁸⁵ Unless both the descriptions of aspects of faith and the interview questions are reworded to include more affective elements such as self esteem or harmony and contentment, the model gives affective characteristics second class status. Their primary impact is in the aspect, Symbolic Function.

d. **Internal vs. external adjustments.** These are probed in Fowler's interview and its subsequent structures of knowing, valuing and committing in terms of Locus of Control. Western cultures tend to modify the environment to suit individual needs, whereas Eastern cultures tend to modify themselves to suit the environment. An internal locus of control is a prerequisite for movement to stage four, individuative/reflective faith, thus continuing the Western bias towards internal autonomy.

Common Western Cultural Biases

Distortions implicit within modern psychological theories include the Western preference for individualism and rationalism and an underestimation of the influence of groups, norms, emotion or impulse.⁸⁶ Western theories of development have generally been biased in favor of cognitive as opposed to affective values so much so that someone responding with a high degree of feeling and less rationality may be considered less mature. Western theories see human growth moving towards autonomy, a direction which encourages the separation of the ego from its primary group,⁸⁷ a master trait reflecting character development which is related to various aspects of cognitive and interpersonal development but which represents more than any of them considered individually.⁸⁸ Thus, they emphasize individualism and individual control more than collectivist societies. Behavior standards in Western theories may be strongly internalized and loosely structured—that is, they may allow significant deviation from society's norms. In societies which emphasize a tight structure, little deviation from group norms is permitted and controls are more external than internal. Additionally, group goals tend to take precedence over individual goals. Typologies which classify and sort the types of theories according to their emphases can give a clearer picture of the options available in the construction of

theories of development.

A backdrop for the universal validity of theories and their applications is provided by Klineberg's three criteria: ⁸⁹ physiological basis, phylogenic continuity, and universality. For instance, laws about assertion have a moderate universal validity. They acknowledge that power is a key motive in human behavior and that "each against all" is a natural state of humans.⁹⁰ Cultures differ in the amount of social stratification and how acceptable the differences in power are. In highly stratified societies, theories of assertion are likely to be more valid than in cultures with low stratification.⁹¹ Likewise, theories of identity which use roles and in-groups have some abstract, universal elements and would be moderately universal. But, whereas roles are recognized as universal, the content of the roles differs drastically with culture. The same may be said of "template theories" which outline a sequence of responses which regulate behavior according to goals and objectives. The desire to reach the goal as well as the goals themselves will vary with culture.

Theories of induction have a low universal validity because they utilize different selves under different conditions to predict behavior. Collectivist cultures tend to have multiple selves which are activated depending on the context. The definition of the self is quite different from culture to culture.⁹² In some cultures, one behaves as a representative of a group, not as an independent entity, making it dangerous to generalize findings about culture with one kind of self identity to cultures with a different construction of self.

Low universal validity would also apply to theories of autonomy which see people naturally seeking control of their environments. Autonomy accounts for social variation in cultures that favor individualism. The contrasting view is that people prefer the control of others and the security it provides. Whereas the need for control may be experienced worldwide, people differ in how much control they expect, how much they accede to the control of others and under what circumstances. There is evidence that child-rearing patterns differ widely in their emphasis on autonomy versus obedience.⁹³ Thus, autonomy theories have less validity in cultures which don't value individualism as highly.

Attribution theories⁹⁴ propose an internal locus of control as desirable which is less popular in cultures with a collective sense of self who value obedience in many hierarchical situations. Joan Miller, among others, casts doubt about the generalizability of attribution theory.⁹⁵

The major domains of cultural variation include: individualism/collectivism; cultural complexity/simplicity; modernity/tradition; and tightness/looseness.⁹⁶ Western culture, including the U.S., Canada and Western Europe tend to favor individualism although minorities within these geographic areas may have collectivist tendencies.⁹⁷ Collectivist cultures tend to prefer tight role expectations and sharp distinctions between behavior related to in-group and out-group members. "We also expect social behavior to be more intense and interdependent in collectivist cultures, and more distant and detached in individualist cultures."⁹⁸ In summary, Western cultures are complex, individualistic and loose in their norms and their theories take little note of behaviors which are not goal-directed but serve to maintain existing relationships, behaviours directed by strong group norms, or those which occur in expressive settings.

Applicability of Fowler's Model to Indians

A particularly interesting question for my study is the extent to which the contents of the Bahá'í world view and its reinforcement in community life modify the expected cultural values and norms of Indian participants, as determined by studies done with largely Hindu subjects. It was anticipated that the majority of the Indian participants would be former Hindus. As it turned out, nine of the total number of Indian participants were formerly of the Hindu faith. To what extent would the Bahá'í Faith change the shape of cultural constructs encountered in the literature on largely Hindu Indians? Would there be residuals of caste thinking? Of purity standards? Of a reliance on Destiny and astrology for framing the details of one's life? Of the psycho-social "we-self" defined by Roland and others? Here are specifically cultural features of Indians as disclosed in both the cross-

cultural and psychological literature.

Alan Roland and Sudhir Kakar, both psychoanalysts working with Indian subjects, provide a useful psychological framework for defining unique cultural characteristics of Indians. See the generalized portraits of Canadians and Indians in Chapter Three for development of the psychological framework. It was anticipated that divergent cultural features would show up in four of the aspects used to determine faith stage, and in one additional feature which may influence several aspects.

Social Perspective Taking, which evidences a subject's grasp of and response to the interiority of others' thinking, may be more developed in Indians because of the contextualized social behaviors.

Form of Moral Judgment is likely to be differently configured among Indians because of the impact of social hierarchies, caste dharma and the contextualizing of social situations in Indian culture.

Locus of Authority is perceived differently in Indian culture because of the hierarchical social structures which honor traditional authorities such as parents, scholars, religious and holy figures more than in a Western culture in which individualism is prized.⁹⁹ A sub-theme in locus of authority is the study of causal attribution. Counter to many collectivist cultures, India produces strong self-serving attributional patterns.¹⁰⁰ However, the "self-serving" component needs to be ascertained since the label depends on the nature of the "self" being served. We can't assume cultural similarities.¹⁰¹

Construction of Self is seen differently in India than the West and is likely to influence several aspects of faith development. The major East-West differences are between an autonomous self in the West and a connected self in the East. In the Fowler model, a key feature of the stage transition from 3 to 4 is the development of an autonomous sense of self. It seems unlikely that Stage 4 Indians will show this pattern to the same degree as Westerners. The prominence of a "we-self" among Indians, may reshape basic features of the reflective characteristics of Stage 4. Also, there may be fewer Stage 4 Indians than Canadians since Western culture values individual autonomy and separation, whereas Eastern culture values group connection.¹⁰²

Symbolic Function is an anticipated difference among Indians because of strong mythic and narrative elements in Indian culture. There is often not the separation and objectification of symbols from the things symbolized that would be found in cultures with a more rational-critical orientation. The relationships of Indians to images and symbols of the divine is of particular interest in this respect.

Previous Studies in Cross-Cultural Faith Development

In fact, only two studies have specifically tested the Fowler model cross-culturally¹⁰³: Randall Furushima, "Faith Development Theory: A Cross-Cultural Research Project in Hawaii;" and Jose Cletus Plackal, "Indian Culture and Developmental Stages of Faith: A Dialogical Inquiry into the Theory of James W. Fowler from the Cultural Context of India."

Furushima's purpose was to test the universality implied in Fowler's theory of faith development by choosing a non-Christian and non-Western population of Buddhists in Hawaii, most of whom were Japanese-Americans. That study is somewhat limited in that there are only twelve participants. However, they are reviewed in some depth to focus on the particularities of the empirical data. A second aim was to assess the contributions of content on structure by selecting active participants in two different Buddhists groups, nisei and sansei (third generation) of Japanese Shin Buddhists.

Furushima concludes by preserving the general criteria of the theory of faith development but introduces several considerations (sociocultural, ethnic and religious qualities which have affected the interviewees) which would expand its descriptive potential among non-Western subjects. To this end, he introduces ten features which are not accounted for by the present framework of faith development but which relate directly to the structuring and expression of faith in his participants. A few of the more important conclusions for this study are defining Bounds of Social Awareness to include depth of relationships as well as breadth; Rational-critical approach of Stages 4 and 5 cannot be assumed cross-culturally; expanded symbolic aspect to involve metaphoric-poetic

dimensions of faith imagination; the structuring power of contents of faith which are not accounted for in the aspects of faith; varieties of relationships which affect Social Perspective Taking suggest relational rather than rational norms.¹⁰⁴

Furushima found the claim of universality to be partly substantiated in that his twelve Buddhists were distributed over Stages 3 through 5, but he argued for revisions in the definitions of present faith aspects to account for more narrative and social-historical elements in the stages of faith. He strongly affirmed the quality of the interview process itself for relating interviewer and interviewee in a meaningful faith dialogue.

In contrast to Furushima, Jose Plackal's research among Indians living in or visiting the United States denies the model's implied claim of universality. Plackal's study has, regrettably, only ten participants, five male and five female, with an average age of 45. The study is further limited by the fact that he has not established inter-rater reliability for his scoring process, has not transcribed all of the interviews and has not included a normal sample.¹⁰⁵ Although his subjects are spread over the Stages 3 through 5, Plackal considers the model too culturally grounded in Western Christianity to do justice to specific Indian cultural features. He focuses on the following issues:

The low stage scores of women (Stage 3 for two participants and Stage 4 for two others) is problematic. There were only *four* women in Plackal's age tables, not five as he stated. This discrepancy skews the reporting and achievements of women participants in his study. Plackal felt women were unlikely to attain higher faith stages since they embraced an ideal which prevents them from seeking values outside the family and community (the relational values which characterize Stage 3). Furthermore, the Indian cultural system does not treat women equally. They are denied opportunities for education and cultural pluralism which are associated with development beyond Stage 3. Plackel felt that transcendence of the socio-cultural system and its values was unlikely for women.

Plackel saw transcendence in conflict with the committed and collectivist values of the majority of Indians. To move beyond Stage 3, one must be disembedded from the

cultural context. Here Plackal clearly refers to the largely rural masses since the subjects in his study are mostly post-Stage 3 and represent professionals of high status. He thinks that the Indian socio-cultural structure will make Stages 4, 5, and 6 unattainable to most.

The Western model of "self", defined as an individual ego, is in conflict with the familial self of Indians. The symbiotic unity which characterizes Indian relationships throughout life discourages the separation and individuation which Western models presume is a precursor of maturity. The Indian ideal is continuous dependency relationships. These opposing concepts of "self" present problems in two aspects of the assignment of faith stages: a) Social Perspective Taking and b) Form of World Coherence. Both are set up to prefer Western, individualistic perspectives in the construction of self/others/world relationships. (See Figure 3, page 12) They require an individual's transcendence from cultural values, roles, authorities, symbols, *etc.*

Relationships between self and others showed up in different ways for men and women. Women consider the familial self more absolute, while Stage 5 men were distant and non-involved in the conventional familial self. Plackal felt that Fowler's aspect descriptions and stage assignments made the theory irrelevant and even imperialistic in Social Perspective Taking and in Form of World Coherence by minimizing all cultural differences among Indians.

Plackal also points to cognitive problems in faith development. While proposing to balance the "logic of rational certainty" with the "logic of conviction" and, thereby, avoid the cognitive biases of Piaget and Kohlberg, the theory has difficulty integrating the rational and emotional. His participants commented on problems of abstractness in the questions and some dropped attempts to answer questions. A particularly difficult one was, "What do you think is the purpose of life?" The questions don't accommodate the "affect" world because they're geared to process "thought" as evidenced by using the word "think" in half of the questions. "Feel" is used just once. "The structuring style of the faith development interview systematically keeps the affect input from the significant process of evaluating,

ascribing and assigning stages."¹⁰⁶

Plackal concludes that without transculturation, Fowler remains unintelligible to different cultures¹⁰⁷, but invites continuing dialogue with the model by "accepting the absoluteness of the particular."¹⁰⁸ This researcher finds this last point particularly ironic since Plackal's dissertation devotes very little space to the particular qualities of the individuals in his interviews. Compared to the humanistic perspective of Furushima in disclosing the full range of aspects in his interviewees, Plackal's position is distant and aloof. One discovers very little of the particularities of his subjects. The data on them are often overlooked when he comments generally on the situation of most Indians. However, he does identify the problem areas that the faith development model is likely to have among Indians and reaffirms many of the general themes already explored in cross-cultural perspectives.

Both Furushima's and Plackal's studies applying Fowler's model cross-culturally find it wanting. However, the theological precepts which support Fowler's model seem to make it a valid candidate for Bahá'í assessment; and the psychological model Fowler uses seems equally to be one which is amenable to Bahá'í values and goals. Finally, the Fowler model was the only one this researcher was comfortable using to assess members of the Bahá'í Faith community. It also seemed to agree with and complement the training this researcher had as a facilitator in the Bahá'í Personal Transformation Program.

NOTES: CHAPTER TWO

¹ Features of developmental theories are surveyed by William Looft in "Socialization and Personality throughout the Life Span: An Examination of Contemporary Psychological Approaches." in Life-Span Developmental Psychology, ed. Baltes and Schaie. Canada: Academic Press, Inc., 1973. See also, Michael Green, Theories of Human Development: A Comparative Approach. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1989.

² Robert Kegan, The Evolving Self: Problem and Process in Human Development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982, 257.

³ James W. Fowler, Romney Moseley and David Jarvis. Manual for Faith Development Research. Atlanta, Ga.: Center for Faith Development, Candler School of Theology, 1986, p.3.

⁴ Bernard Meltzer, John W. Petras and Larry T. Reynolds, "The Genesis of Symbolic Interactionism," in Symbolic Interactionism: Genesis, Varieties and Criticism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1975, 2.

⁵ The above are summaries from James W. Fowler's Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981.

Maturity is defined as increasing differentiation and integration of the reciprocal processes of assimilation and accommodation. "**Accommodation** is the organism's tendency to change in response to environmental demands"; "**assimilation** is the complementary process by which the individual deals with an environmental event in terms of his current structures." The concept of **adaptation** is the interaction of an individual with his environment in terms of the twin processes of assimilation and accommodation. (Ginsburg and Oppen, 17-19 describing Piagetian concepts). For Robert Kegan, **development** is the evolution of organic systems through periods which move according to regular principles of stability and change. (Evolving Self)

⁶ The studies referred to are: Childhood and Society, 1963; Identity, Youth and Crisis, 1968; Insight and Responsibility, 1964.

⁷ James W. Fowler, Stages of Faith, 272.

⁸ Michael Green, "Piaget's Cognitive-Developmental Theory," in Theories of Human Development. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1989.

⁹ Stages of Faith, Chapter 6.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," in Essays on Moral Development, vol. 2. The Psychology of Moral Development. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984.

¹² Lawrence Kohlberg, "Continuities in Childhood and Adult Moral Development," in Life-Span Developmental Psychology. ed. Baltes and Schaie. Canada: Academic

Press, Inc., 1973.

¹³ King, Kitchener, Wood and Davison. "Relationships Across Developmental Domains: A Longitudinal Study of Intellectual, Moral, and Ego Development," in Adult Development, vol. 1, Ed. by Commons, Sinnott, Richards, and Armon. New York: Praeger. 1989.

¹⁴ Eugene Mischey, Faith Development and Its Relationship to Moral Reasoning and Identity Status in Young Adults. Unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto, 1976, 219.

¹⁵ All of the above from Erik Erikson, The Life Cycle Completed, New York: W. W. Norton, 1982.

¹⁶ Epigenesis is "The maturing organism continues to unfold by growing planfully and by developing a prescribed sequence of physical, cognitive and social capacities." p. 28, Life Cycle.

¹⁷ Ibid. Chapter Two.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. See Figure 2.

²⁰ James W. Fowler, Stages of Faith, 110.

²¹ Erik Erikson, Young Man Luther, 1958; and Gandhi's Truth, 1969.

²² *Qualitative*: Structural theories have an internal focus. Development is understood in qualitative rather than quantitative terms. That is, there are key transformations at each stage which change the ways we understand and react to the world of experience. Similar operations are performed but in different ways.

Staged: These key transformations are linked to a staged concept of change, such that change occurs in a discontinuous way with alternating periods of equilibrium and disequilibrium. New stages are significantly different from earlier ones; they do not merely repeat the same principles in new ways. Stages form an invariant order and sequence. They are not skipped or rearranged in the course of development. Movement is unidirectional.

Structural: It maps internal structures of individual thinking, feeling, valuing instead of external, behavioral features as in the Myers-Briggs Inventory. Each qualitative difference is part of a structural whole. A cluster of responses is integrated in a new form of thought organization.

Hierarchical: Stages progress hierarchically in differentiation and integration of fulfilling common functions. More advanced stages replace previous operations by reintegrating thought structures in a new whole. There is a hierarchical preference within the individual to prefer solutions at the highest level available to him. (Kohlberg, "Continuities," 181-182 from Piaget, 1960) The only exceptions to this happen during stage changes where occasionally previous modes of operation are recapitulated. Otherwise, stages should "hang together".

²³ King, Patricia M. and Karen Strohm Kitchener. The Development of Reflective Judgment: Theory, Research and Educational Application. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc., 1993.

Magolda, Marcia B. Baster. Knowing and Reasoning in College: Gender-Related Patterns in Students' Intellectual Development. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc., 1992.

Gilligan, Carol, Janie Ward, and Jill Taylor, eds. Mapping the Moral Domain. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Belenky, Mary Field, B.M. Clinchy, N.R. Goldberger, J.M. Tarule. Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986.

Kegan, Robert. The Evolving Self: Problem and Process in Human Development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

²⁴ Perry, William. Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Kohlberg, Lawrence. Essays on Moral Development: Vol. I. The Philosophy of Moral Development. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981.

²⁵ Nona Plessner Lyons, "On Self, Relationship, and Morality," in Mapping the Moral Domain, ed. Carol Gilligan, Janie Ward, Jill Taylor. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988, p. 32.

²⁶ The above is summarized from Carol Gilligan and Jane Attanucci, "Two Moral Orientations," Mapping the Moral Domain, ed. Gilligan, Ward, Taylor. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988 and "Remapping the Moral Domain: New Images of Self in Relationship" in the same volume.

²⁷ The Heinz dilemma gives respondents a two-step problem in which one must make a moral choice and support it in a situation where a man's wife is dying of a disease. There is a pharmacist in the same town who has invented a drug to cure the disease, but is selling it for more than the husband can pay. He tries to raise the money for the drug to no avail. What does he do now? And possible choices are presented.

²⁸ Gilligan and Attanucci, *ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁹ *ibid.* p. 82.

³⁰ Mary Field Belenky, B.M. Clinchy, N.R. Goldberger, J.M. Tarule, Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986.

³¹ *ibid.*, Chapter Six, "Procedural Knowledge: Separate and Connected Knowing."

³² The interview schedule in the back of the book lists sets of questions on background, self-descriptions, gender, relationships, a real-life moral dilemma, education, ways of knowing. For example, "When learning about something you want to know (for

example, how to bring up children, deciding who to vote for, and so on), do you rely on experts? If not, who or what do you rely on?

³³ *Ibid.*, 77.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

³⁵ Karen DeNicola was a staff member at the Centre for Faith and Moral Development, Emory University, and updated the Manual for Faith Development Research in 1993. The paper is, "Formal Operational Thinking, Stage Four, and Practical Knowing." Unpublished paper presented to the Association of Practical Theology Conference, September 1992.

³⁶ James W. Fowler, Stages, pp. 102-103.

³⁷ Karen DeNicola, *Ibid.*, p.4.

³⁸ Belenky, *Ibid.*, Chapter 6.

³⁹ Souvaine, Lahey and Kegan, "Life After Formal Operations: Implications for a Psychology of the Self," in Higher Stages of Human Development: Perspectives on Adult Growth, ed. Alexander and Langer. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

⁴⁰ Kegan calls it an "institutional" self. Robert Kegan, The Evolving Self, 1982.

⁴¹ Souvaine, Lahey and Kegan, *Ibid.*, 230.

⁴² Kegan, *Ibid.*, 1982.

⁴³ Souvaine, Lahey and Kegan, *Ibid.*, 233.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴⁵ A. Kaplan. "Androgeny as a model of mental health for women" in Beyond Sex-Role Stereotypes, ed. A. G. Kaplan and J. P. Bean. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976.

Also, C. Gilligan. In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

⁴⁶ Michael Basseches. Dialectical Thinking and Adult Development. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1984.

⁴⁷ M. Basseches, "Dialectical schemata: a framework for the empirical study of the development of dialectical thinking." Human Development 23: 400-421, 1980.

⁴⁸ Robert Kegan, The Evolving Self. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982.

⁴⁹ Kegan, 1990, p.250.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁵¹ Harry Triandis, "Cross-Cultural Contributions to Theory in Social Psychology," in The Cross Cultural Challenge to Social Psychology, ed. Michael Harris Bond. Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications, 1988

⁵² Stages, 91.

⁵³ See Maureen Korp's dissertation, Earthworks: Shamanism in the Religious Experience of Contemporary Artists in North America, Introduction, University of Ottawa, Religious Studies, 1991.

⁵⁴ Stages, 92.

⁵⁵ Fowler, Stages, 3.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Stages, 98. :

⁵⁹ H. Richard Niebuhr, The Responsible Self: An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1963, as noted by Fowler, Stages, p. 98.

⁶⁰ Religion as man's ultimate concern is found in Paul Tillich, The Protestant Era, trans. James Luther Adams, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 59 and 273.

⁶¹ Stages, 4.

⁶² Ibid., 99.

⁶³ Ibid., 101.

⁶⁴ See Joan Miller's "Bridging the Content-Structure Dichotomy" in M.H. Bond, ed. The Cross-Cultural Challenge to Social Psychology, vol. II, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988.

⁶⁵ Chapter Three in Stages of Faith.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 277.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 272.

⁶⁸ Randy J. Simmonds, Content and Structure in Faith Development. Ph.D. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Seminary, 554 pp.

⁶⁹ Stages, 275.

⁷⁰ "Perspectives on the family from the Standpoint of Faith Development Theory," Perkins Journal, # 33, Fall, 1979, 15 as quoted in Simmonds, p. 6.

- 71 Stages 276.
- 72 Simmonds, 220-221.
- 73 Harry Triandis, "Cross Cultural Contributions to Theory in Social Psychology," in The Cross-Cultural Challenge to Social Psychology, ed. M. H. Bond. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988, 122.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Amir, Yehuda Irit, and Sharon. "Are Social Psychological Laws Cross-Culturally Valid?" p. 467 in Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 18, #4, December, 1987, 127.
- 76 Yehuda Amir and Irit Sharon, "Are Social-Psychological Laws Cross-Culturally Valid?" in Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 18, #4, December, 1987, 383-471. Suniya Luthar and Donald Quinlan, "Parental Images in Two Cultures: A Study of Women in India and America," Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 24, #2, June, 1993, 188.
- 77 Richard Shulik. Faith Development. Moral Development and Old Age: An Assessment of Fowler's Faith Development Paradigm. Unpublished dissertation. University of Chicago, 1979.
- 78 Triandis, "Cross Cultural Contributions to Theory in Social Psychology," 1988, p. 122.
- 79 Triandis, 1987, p. 139.
- 80 Yehuda Amir and Irit Sharon, "Are Social-Psychological Laws Cross-Culturally Valid?" in Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 18, #4, December, 1987, 383-471.
- 81 Ibid. Chaikin and Cooper, "Evaluation as a function of correspondence and hedonic relevance," Kahn and Young, "Integration in a free social situation," and Michener and Lawler, "Endorsement of formal leaders: An integrative model," were three.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 W. J. McGuire, "Attitudes and attitude change," in Lindzey and Aronson, eds., Handbook of Social Psychology. Vol. 2. New York: Random House, 1985.
- 84 Triandis, p. 135.
- 85 See critiques in Craig Dykstra and Sharon Parks, ed. Faith Development and Fowler. Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1986.
- 86 Summaries of readings in cross-cultural psychology from a variety of sources. For example, M. Cole and J. S. Bruner, "Cultural differences and inferences about psychological processes," in Culture and Cognition: Readings in Cross-Cultural Psychology, ed. Berry and Dasen. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1974. and P. R.

Dasen, "Cross-Cultural Piagetian research: a summary." in the same volume.

⁸⁷ Ego development will refer to the construct developed by Loevinger (1976).

⁸⁸ Suniya Luthar and Donald Quinlan, "Parental Images in Two Cultures: A Study of Women in India and America," Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 24, #2, June, 1993, 188.

⁸⁹ O. Klineburg, Social Psychology, New York: Holt Rinehart, 1954.

⁹⁰ Triandis, *ibid.*, 128.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² A. Bahrati. "The Self in Hindu Thought and Action," in Culture and Self: Asian and Western Perspectives, eds. Marsella, Devos and Hsu. London: Tavistock Publications, 1985.

⁹³ Luther and Quinlan, *ibid.*

⁹⁴ Attribution theory is concerned with describing how people explain the causes of human behavior. It has been a dominant field in social psychology since the 1970's. The pioneering models assessing how attribution theories fare when applied to other cultures are by Kelley (1967) and Weiner (1985).

⁹⁵ Joan Miller, "Culture and the development of everyday social explanation." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46, 961-978.

⁹⁶ Triandis, 1987.

⁹⁷ Triandis, 1972.

⁹⁸ Triandis, 1987, 134.

⁹⁹ Roland, 1988.

¹⁰⁰ Chandler *et. al.*, "Multiattributinal causality: A five cross-national samples study." Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1981, 12, 207-221.

¹⁰¹ Attributional studies by Singh and Bhargava (1985) find that Indian students combine effort and ability in an additive fashion in predicting successful performance whereas American students combine the two factors in a multiplicative fashion. Other problems appear in the results of cross-cultural attribution studies. In a study by Misra and Agarwal (1985) of Indian students, factors in a free response attributional test showed ability, effort, and task difficulty as frequently mentioned causes. Results were similar to those using the same method in North America (Weiner, 1979). (Fletcher and Ward, "Attribution Theory and Processes: A Cross-Cultural Perspective" in Cross-Cultural Challenge to Social Psychology, 1988)

¹⁰² An attributional study by Miller, 1984, found that the only major difference between Indian Hindus and North Americans was that the Indian adults of all socio-

economic levels made less reference to personal dispositions and more reference to external factors, particularly social roles and interpersonal relationships. (p. 239) This is consistent with Roland's description of the "we-self" in Indian culture. However, both cultures share the same general features of attribution schemata. As an addendum to the attributional cross-cultural studies, they seem to be narrowly focused on only two aspects of attribution—causal attributions for achievements and individual constructions of locus of control. More diverse and deeper causal levels of attribution have received little attention. (Fletcher and Ward, 1988)

¹⁰³ Randall Furushima, "Faith Development Theory: A Cross-Cultural Research Project in Hawaii," Columbia University, 1983. José Cletus Plackal, "Indian Culture and Developmental Stages of Faith: A Dialogical Inquiry into the Theory of James W. Fowler from the Cultural Context of India." Colgate University, 1990.

¹⁰⁴ Additional discrepancies were: Relationship of faith-knowing to action. Binding link between belief and action which is faith. Contrasts with conventionality of work of Stage 3. Definition of **work** and of **value** needs to undergird the framework.

The contents of faith, including Buddhist concepts, have a very strong structuring power on the lives of participants in the form of images, motivations and actions of faith. This power would buttress the impact of history and culture on the structures of faith, both intellectually and socially. Furushima is critical of Fowler's decision not to define the content/structure dichotomy more carefully. The result is that non-Christian values which are culturally distinctive are not accommodated by the interview. The aspects of faith thus become a limited view of faith.

Regarding the **research process**, the extensions of faith into the home environments of participants provided a rich language of art, religious symbols, gardens, and literature which become elements in the total faith story of several participants. Conversely, some interview questions were barren. Those which called for responses to explicitly Christian concepts of God, sin and religiousness did little to allow the structuring of the interviewee's own faith images to occur.

The descriptive aspects of Stage 6 are not exclusive to Stage 6 persons. Additionally, the images chosen to represent Stage 6 individuals are too grounded in the religious tradition of Christianity to speak clearly to different faith traditions or to make a Stage 6 style of faith accessible to a nonreligious person.

¹⁰⁵ The sample size recommended by the CRFMD is 20.

¹⁰⁶ Plackal, p. 111. In addition, Plackal alerts the researcher in faith development to other issues of cultural bias. Among them are: religious beliefs (the preference for monotheistic conceptions); concepts of time (Western eschatological vs. Indian cyclic); individuation and its definitions; economic impact (the presumption of personal choice which is ill-suited to economically disadvantaged peoples); and the inequality of aspects in determining stage scores.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁰⁸ Stages, 207.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS AND APPROACH

Why Canada and India? Eastern and Western Cultural Comparisons

In order to study the multicultural applicability of Fowler's research tool, the researcher chose to compare a Western population and an Eastern population (Canada and India), both groups Bahá'ís. These populations offer comparisons between cultures where members share the same religious faith. Study of Indian culture on psycho-social, sociological and religious levels suggested that patterns of making meaning (the structures of faith) in this context were very different and would put Fowler's model of development to the test. Using faith contents as a constant allowed a clearer highlighting of potential cultural differences in development and some insight into the role of faith contents in Fowler's structural paradigm.

Is Fowler's theory of faith development skewed¹ to a Western construction of individual development? Issues of identity, cognition, symbol mapping and authority seem suited to a concept of growth that is primarily rational, individualistic and capable of abstract thought. These norms contrast with the cultural experience of India. Since sharply-defined differences in Indian and North American cultures are the basis for the selection of these two populations, it would be helpful at this point to clarify those expectations within the two cultural frameworks. In constructing these frameworks, the author based the cultural portraits which follow on a variety of cultural studies of many authors² but will rely here on those of Alan Roland, a psychoanalyst who has worked in both India and America,³ because he looks outward from self, to others, and to world—in that order.

Broad contrasts exist primarily in two structures of consciousness which are antithetical: The Indian goal of life is to dismantle one's mental phenomena to achieve a pure, subjective consciousness which identifies one with the Divine Self.⁴ "In a

philosophical tradition of monistic thinking, man is fundamentally of the same substance as the rest of nature, and thus persons tend to identify with the diversity of phenomena."⁵ The Western goal is the objectivization of all phenomena or the exercise of cognition as it unifies reality, seen as abundance of phenomena. How do these structures of consciousness affect the relationships of self to others? In the West that relationship is seen as dualistic. Knowledge is pursued to ascertain the conceptual unity behind diverse phenomena in order to control the object without fundamentally changing the subject. Object here is used in the sense of both persons, things and experiences outside oneself. The Indian, on the other hand, seeks knowledge for purposes of transforming the subject—one's subjective consciousness—rather than controlling the object or environment.⁶ Thus, the subject-object relationship is much closer. Since Fowler's triadic relationship of faith—self/others/world—is based upon the individual's construction of such relationships, it is important to recognize the fundamentally different ways these are constructed among Indians and North Americans. Additionally, since it is a self which constructs those relationships, attention to differing constructions of self in North America and India is at the heart of the structures of thinking and feeling which Fowler's model maps.

North American cultural norms encourage an *individualized self* which enables one to function in a highly mobile society with considerable individual autonomy.⁷ The individual must choose from a variety of social options for work and personal relationships which are governed by the principle of *egalitarianism*.⁸ In other words, this individualized self moves among a variety of basically egalitarian relationships. Freedom of movement is enhanced, but with that goes the loss of stability.⁹ The ego has clear boundaries, sharp differentiations between self and others which orient one to autonomous functioning and personal initiative in a variety of social contexts which are usually extra-familial. Configurations of intimacy relationships are also sharply differentiated. Fulfillment of intimacy needs are sought in extra-family groups and friends. Compared to

the intimacy expectations of Easterners, emotional connections among Westerners have a relative lack of closeness, sensitivity, warmth, consideration and exchange.¹⁰ North Americans orient more to convenience and preservation of their own and others' privacy.¹¹ Greater bodily and verbal expressiveness and assertiveness, both with intimates and in social situations with strangers, is expected in the looser, more informal style of association in the West.¹²

Individualism encourages a mode of cognition and ego-functioning which orients to *rationalism*—to self-reflection, efficiency, mobility and adaptability—applied to an ongoing self-creation.¹³ One constructs a self-identity in the adolescent and adult years by realizing one's inner potential in a variety of activities and relationships. Success or failure in the social system is thus the responsibility of each individual. In relation to the world around one, the West orients to a linear, historical progression of social events in time. Spatially, the contemporary West is essentially profane, or homogenous and neutral in conception.¹⁴ Thus, development is identified with increasing independence and autonomy, as Fowler's model suggests in its construction of Stage 4, Individuative/Reflective Faith.

Since "loose" social structures (discussed in Chapter Two) leave many choices to individuals, a North American would expect to make her own decisions about place of residence, choice of career and marriage partner, number of children, and religion, if any. This is a natural extension of the above concepts of individualism and autonomy. Few, if any, of the major decisions of life would be referred to fate, family, or some form of divine intervention.¹⁵

Indians have been described as "collective man"¹⁶ which implies that the individual is closely enmeshed in groups, beginning with the kinship group and extending outward to caste and community. The *collectivist culture* views persons as having different natures which are based upon their qualities, powers, and inclinations from past actions in other lives.¹⁷ People are not understood as equal to each other, "but rather interact in hierarchical

relationships through myriad transactions and exchanges of gross and subtle differences."¹⁸ Subject-object relationships in Indian culture show a close relationship of the individual with the *magic-cosmic* sense of the world involving intense exchanges between self and object.¹⁹ The magic-cosmic world refers to the presence of a mythological, invisible world which is essentially ahistorical, operating simultaneously with the material world. There is a dynamic relationship between both visible (material) and invisible worlds (mythic cosmos). The interplay of relationships between these two worlds encourages investigation of planetary bodies and their relationships to human destiny. Thus, Hindu time moves in recurrent cycles through festivals, rituals and such which repeat and reintegrate empirical reality with the mythological and divine presence.²⁰

Child rearing emphasizes close family ties which are not severed as the individual reaches adulthood, a process Roland calls symbiosis-reciprocity. He explains this process operating in strong emotional connectedness on a nonverbal level. Highly developed sensitivities to another are coupled with highly internalized expectations of full reciprocity. Mutual give and take establishes relationships of indulgence, warmth and concern.²¹ Thus, the *collectivist* self remains deeply involved with others throughout life. Within relationships, there is a constant need for approval to maintain and enhance self regard. The emotional patterning of the Indian we-self is most different from the West. Conflict and anger are not dealt with overtly. It is felt that anger should be contained.²²

Containment of one's lower self, which anger portrays, will be aided by cultivating detachment, by becoming grounded in a spiritual consciousness which will withstand the tests and trials of life and will provide an anchor amidst the close and demanding circle of family relationships and interactions. "Beneath the observance of an overt etiquette of deference, loyalty and subordination, Indians keep a very private self that contains all kinds of feelings and fantasies that will not be revealed in the usual hierarchical relationships."²³

Cultural expectations also operate within *hierarchical relationships*. One simply does certain things as a wife, daughter-in-law, mother, aunt, friend and so forth. Roland

relates such patterned behaviors to the *internalized ego-ideal* which understands appropriate attitudes and actions in different social contexts.²⁴ Tight group norms operate to assure stability and minimize individual choices in hierarchical relationships. The ego-ideal encourages one to act appropriately to the social context.²⁵ Hence, *highly contextualized* (see Glossary) behaviors of Indians express multiple conceptions of self. For instance, one might express a different “self” in work relationships than in family relationships.

The Indian is taught to avoid competitive behavior and to cultivate a sense of modesty, dedication to working hard, serving others (for females), and loyalty and obedience to superiors. Males are encouraged to be cooperative and agreeable. The internalized ideal is strongly motivated towards behavior which reflects well on family and will reap the father's esteem, if male, and the mother-in-law's, if female. These behaviors are often perceived by Westerners as compliant, passive and non-assertive.²⁶

Indian family structures encourage development of the we-self among members of the extended family living near one another and sharing things like life cycle rites, holidays, vacations, mutual decisions regarding property, marriages, or other family matters. The family setting will also impart the stories and examples of the mythological cosmos and other aspects of Hindu culture and religion.

Why Bahá'í?: The Application of Fowler's Model to the Bahá'í Community

The question of whether or not the Fowler model is transcultural is interesting because the model shares several features with Bahá'í concepts of development. The similarities of the Fowler model to Bahá'í values and goals and its strong developmental emphasis strengthen possible convergences. The two cross-cultural research projects in faith development reviewed in the previous chapter had both found difficulties using Fowler's instrument in an Eastern cultural setting. This researcher reasoned that since

Fowler's premises and concepts were consonant with those of the Bahá'í Faith that there was a good chance the application of the Fowler model would succeed. If so, there would be further understanding of the structuring power of faith contents on faith structures.

Correspondences with Bahá'í Concepts of Development

Bahá'í presuppositions about development parallel several of Fowler's concepts. Points of convergence are expected in: 1) value and emphasis given to development, 2) that development is in relation to faith, 3) the teleology of growth, 4) the stage-like nature of growth, 5) the epistemological framework of growth.²⁷ Two areas of theoretical difference emerge also: 1) The construction of the covenant comprising the relationships between self/others/God; and 2) the "master stories" which, for Fowler, carry the basic contents of one's faith. Both areas of theoretical differences involve issues of authority.

The premises of faith development—that human life is situated in a conceptual environment of ultimate concerns—is consistent with Bahá'í concepts of the meaning and purposes of life. The "ultimate environment" of a Bahá'í is constructed by the Bahá'í scriptures—over 100 books and major letters written by the Founders²⁸ plus numerous interpretive books by 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Shoghi Effendi. The embodiment of these teachings in the lives of the three central figures, the Báb, Bahá'u'lláh, and 'Abdu'l-Bahá, gives substance and example to the teachings themselves and lays groundwork for the Bahá'í symbol system. That human development is a major goal of life is explicitly expressed as: "(all humanity) have been created to carry forward an ever-advancing civilization."²⁹ Bahá'í attitudes thus reflect a dynamic rather than static concept of human growth which is consistent with Fowler. The dynamic nature of life is explained by 'Abdu'l-Bahá:

Motion is life. A moving object is a living object, whereas that which is motionless and inert is as dead. All created forms are progressive in their planes, or kingdoms of existence, under the stimulus of the power or spirit of life. ...Nothing is stationary in the material world of outer phenomena or in the inner world of intellect and consciousness.³⁰

Also consistent with Fowler is the collective context of that growth. The Bahá'í develops in relation to others—in actions of service to humankind.

Development takes place in a triadic or covenantal framework involving the ways we construct our relationships to others and to the images of power, value and authority in our lives.³¹ Likewise, the Bahá'í's relational pattern includes a connection to God and to one's fellow humans which is understood as a covenant. The individual's relationship to that covenant is through the medium of Bahá'í institutions: the Guardianship, the Universal House of Justice (see Glossary), the International Teaching Center and Boards of Counselors, the National Spiritual Assembly and the Local Spiritual Assembly. The individual's relationship to the elected institutions is one of loving obedience, which gives the Bahá'í covenant a binding power in the context of action. This relationship preserves the unity of the Faith which has been challenged historically at several points.³²

Regarding purposes and ends of human development, individually and collectively, Bahá'í concepts affirm the selflessness and grace of Fowler's Stage 6, universalizing faith, and the "kingdom of God" metaphor which he uses to suggest its collective vision.³³ Daniel C. Jordan summarizes the dynamic relationship between both individual and collective spheres of development as understood by Bahá'ís.

Bahá'u'lláh teaches that the highest expression of the self is servitude. The degree to which this highest station of servitude can be achieved depends on the degree to which our basic human powers or capacities can be released. The process of becoming one's true self, then, is synonymous with that process of developing basic capacities, and dedicating them to the service of humanity. The daily decisions and actions which reflect this 'becoming' are essentially religious in nature, for Bahá'u'lláh equates work of all kinds performed in a spirit of service...with worship.³⁴

The collective vision is expressed in the principle of the oneness of humanity: "The tabernacle of unity hath been raised; regard ye not one another as strangers. Ye are the fruits of one tree and the leaves of one branch."³⁵ The social principles presented in

Chapter Four begin to define humanity's organic unity in arenas of action. For instance, "the abolition of prejudices of all kinds" gives each individual the responsibility to accept all people as members of one human family, and not let differences of manners, custom, language, education, age, *etc.* intervene. This principle is closest to the aspect of faith, "bounds of social awareness." The teaching implies that one will encounter persons and situations beyond the childhood world of experience which challenge the norms one has inherited and been reared with. Such experiences will provoke an examination of inherited traditions, customs and values.³⁶ The abolition of prejudice is based upon the "widening of social horizons" which leaves behind the embeddedness in culture which Stage 3 presumes.

Fowler describes the ends of development at Stage 6: "persons in this Stage are grounded in a oneness with the power of being. Their visions and commitments free them for a passionate, yet detached, spending of the self in love...and an effective anticipatory response to an inbreaking commonwealth of love and justice."³⁷

He later adds that Stage 6 individuals have completed the process of de-centering from self and begin to see and value through God, not from their own limited perspectives.³⁸ Stage 6 faith integrates a fully mature humanity with others "at any of the other Stages and from any other faith tradition"³⁹ in a monotheistic concept of faith: "a world made over not in their images, but in accordance with an intentionality both divine and transcendent."⁴⁰ Fowler describes the relational aspects of this as "loyalty to the rule of God and in covenant relations with a commonwealth of being."⁴¹

The stage-like nature of human development is also explicit in the writings of 'Abdu'l-Bahá. "From the beginning to the end of his life man passes through certain periods or stages, each of which is marked by certain conditions peculiar to itself."⁴² "The suckling babe passeth through various physical stages, growing and developing at every stage, until its body reacheth the age of maturity. Having arrived at this stage it acquireth the capacity to manifest spiritual and intellectual perfections."⁴³ And, "Development and

progression imply gradual stages or degrees."⁴⁴ The most developed formulation of the stages of development is in The Seven Valleys, in which Bahá'u'lláh describes the soul's progression through stages with transformations at each juncture. "The stages that mark the wayfarer's journey from the abode of dust to the heavenly homeland are said to be seven. Some have called these Seven Valleys, and others, Seven Cities. And they say that until the wayfarer taketh leave of self, and traverseth these stages, he shall never reach to the ocean of nearness and union."⁴⁵ The stages begin with the Valley of Search and end with the Valley of True Poverty and Absolute Nothingness, which is the dying from self and the living in God.

The epistemological framework of growth which is explicit in the writings of Piaget as *genetic epistemology*—the natural emergence of each stage of cognition—falls short of Fowler's interest.

...Faith development theory is not concerned with the construction of *knowledge* but with the construction of *meaning*. The latter is an imaginative activity that cannot be determined simply by identifying an epigenetic sequence of structural Stages.⁴⁶

Fowler refers to a balance of "the logic of conviction" (feeling, passion) and the "logic of rational certainty" to illustrate that knowing has both cognitive and affective (see Glossary) dimensions for Fowler. These twin dimensions are present also in a Bahá'í epistemology of growth. Both knowledge and feeling are critical to the development of faith as indicated in this quote from Bahá'u'lláh:

Having created the world and all that liveth and moveth therein, He...chose to confer upon man the unique distinction and capacity to know Him and to love Him—a capacity that must needs be regarded as the generating impulse and the primary purpose underlying the whole of creation.⁴⁷

To develop the capacity to know, Bahá'u'lláh instructs the individual not to depend on what is handed down by tradition, authority, popular opinion or experience, but to probe and question fundamental beliefs of her culture in order to arrive at her own formulations and sources of authority: "Everything in creation should be studied in the

light of revelation as well as in that of purely rational investigation."⁴⁸ Again, what is intended is not a bare and featureless reason, but the exercise of one's knowing capacity in concert with one's capacity for feeling. Faith engages the entire person. Daniel Jordan, a Bahá'í educator, relates the complementary exercise of knowing and loving as giving substance to the notion of spirituality. "A spiritual person is one who knows and loves God, and who is committed to the struggle of developing these knowing and loving capacities for service to humanity."⁴⁹ Consequently, he explains, refusing to exercise either is a sign of spiritual immaturity or sickness.

Differences with Bahá'í Concepts of Development

Continuing the comparisons between the philosophical theology of Fowler and Bahá'í teachings, there are two areas where the construction of self/others/God relationships in the Bahá'í community present unique points of view as a world religion.

The first concerns the individual's relationship to authority as measured by "locus of authority," one of Fowler's seven aspects in the construction of faith. Stage 3, Synthetic/Conventional Faith, grounds its acceptance of authority in tacit interpersonal values which are consonant with the Stage's form of world coherence and its social perspective taking.⁵⁰ The power of the valued group is relied upon and authorities are generally accepted on the basis of the group's validation and consensus. "If there is evidence that the individual is being separated from the system or institution that he or she represents by critical and rational means, then the statement should be checked against Stage 4 or 5 criteria."⁵¹ The critical feature with regards to authority is whether the individual is embedded within authority structures or whether the aware ego stands outside these structures to view events, decisions, *etc.* At Stage 4, one would measure the authority's compatibility with one's self-selected ideology or set of principles. An emphasis on rules or law and a sense that authority is derived from these because they function to maintain the social order is characteristic of Stage 4 "locus of authority." At issue is the manner of selecting and legitimising authority. At Stage 4 authority structures

are explicit and rational and feature the ability to stand back from authority relationships and evaluate them from the perspective of a world view or ideology. Thus, for Stage 4, authority is internally located and based upon a self-ratified ideological perspective.⁵²

The Bahá'ís' response to issues involving authority must occasionally be seen at a collective level. The following statement by the Universal House of Justice, the international governing body of the Bahá'í community, contextualizes the authority exercised by individual judgment within the Bahá'í Covenant.

In scientific investigation, when searching after the facts of any matter, a Bahá'í must, of course, be entirely open-minded; but in his interpretation of the facts and his evaluation of evidence we do not see by what logic he can ignore the truth of the Bahá'í Revelation which he has already accepted; to do so would, we feel, be both hypocritical and unscholarly.⁵³

In Bahá'u'lláh's hermeneutic, the Divine Word has multiple and hidden meanings.⁵⁴ One's "knowing faculties," what Fowler refers to as the "logic of conviction" and the "logic of rational certainty," are engaged not in discerning whether the Sacred Writings are true or not (that process has occurred in the course of study of the Faith prior to acceptance of it), but in deciding what they "mean" in the particular circumstances of one's life.

The full, harmonious, and proper development of our spiritual capacities means developing these capacities so that we may respond ever more adequately, and with increasing sensitivity and nuance, to the Will of God: The process of spiritual growth is the process by which we learn how to conform ourselves to the divine will on ever deeper levels of our being. From this viewpoint, conscious dependence upon God and obedience to his will is not a capitulation of individual responsibility, a sort of helpless 'giving up,' but rather an assumption of an even greater degree of responsibility and self-control. We must learn through deep self-knowledge, how to be responsive to the spirit of God.⁵⁵

In effect, the vigilance of the aware ego is directed to its constant contact with, reflection on, and application of the Word of God. This is a subtle, but significant, departure from the internally located and self-ratified perspective of a Stage 4 locus of authority. Potentially, there is room here for misinterpretation, both in interpreting faith development interviews, and by Bahá'ís eager to be obedient to the laws and principles of Bahá'u'lláh and their reflection in Bahá'í Institutions.

The second point of divergence in the teachings of the Bahá'í Faith *vis à vis* the theory of faith development concerns the master stories which represent the contents of faith. For Fowler, the master stories are the constructed truths of the religion. Rather than simply doctrines and beliefs, which he considers static and unresponsive to the process of living, they are the modern recreations of these truths, or "stimuli for contemporary experiments with truth."⁵⁶ A faith community which calls its members to development will share and celebrate the "master stories" of its faith which will then "provide models by which adults can construct or reconstruct the faith-truth in their lives for this period."⁵⁷ As contemporary recreations of "reflective faith of persons in the past"⁵⁸ Master stories give one the pattern of lived truths of one's relations with others and God. They become guides, not absolutes.

For Bahá'ís, the master stories are recent. To some extent, they exist in the things Bahá'ís tell themselves and others, particularly in teaching events such as firesides. But the source of these master stories is not the "reflective faith of persons in the past," but the writings of its Founders, or those of the Institutions. The historic filter is there in the mind-set of individuals and communities, as the reader will see in the comparison of growth of Bahá'í communities in both Canada and India, but the explicit character of the Bahá'í Writings provides a more immediate voice in the present which Bahá'ís understand as the voice of God speaking today. The Bahá'í Writings place the Absoluteness of God within the frame of recent history. For this reason, the "Creative Word"⁵⁹ is understood as the "Mother Word," the source of creation and of transformation. As Dan Jordan

describes it, "We know that human beings are often changed by intense experiences of one kind or another. Immersion in the ocean of Bahá'u'lláh's words is not just reading; it is an experience for the whole person, which can become intense enough to free one from ties to the *status quo* and to set us forth on the purpose of our destiny."⁶⁰

The purpose of comparing the time frames of master stories is to engage the issue of the impact of "contents of faith" upon "structures of faith." Fowler writes,

Our being in relationship (faith) becomes real to us as we construct it in knowing. We build our worlds of meaning as related to transcendence; by implication, these worlds of meaning change as we do. The stages provide a model to represent and track the evolution of our knowing systems.⁶¹

To a great extent, the communities of faith within which we operate provide a "modal developmental level."⁶² The modal level provides a kind of coerciveness which operates as a magnet to draw one towards a normative level of development. We might term that "mature faith." In reviewing Randy Simmonds' work in Chapter Two, the reader saw that a community with a modal level of Stage 3 on the Fowler scale encourages development up to, but not beyond, that level. And few members of that community which Simmonds tested exceeded the modal level.

The Researcher's Participant-Observer Status

The researcher began with nearly a lifetime of experience within the Bahá'í community. Hence, hers is an emic perspective in relation to the participants in the study, but an etic approach in relation to the methods and objectives of the study (see Glossary). An emic approach emphasizes concepts meaningful to the participants, while an etic approach is stronger in concepts meaningful to the observers. The pluses of the author's participant-observer status have more than balanced the liabilities in this research. Communication has been demonstrably enhanced. Since the bulk of language we use to describe experience is based upon a world of meanings not present in the symbols themselves,⁶³ the author's personal Bahá'í experience prepared her to better understand the references, experiences, ideas, people, and events which are common to Bahá'ís. Errors

of commission can be avoided by understanding the intended meanings of subjects' statements. It is also less likely that the researcher make errors of omission by failing to note the importance of certain Bahá'í-sensitive statements and themes.

Trust is yet another advantage. Since the data from personal interviews involves sharing many of the precious and intimate experiences of one's life, the security and safety participants felt in honestly disclosing them to another Bahá'í unleashed a rich body of information. Bahá'ís responded to their perception of the researcher as a "fellow believer" by permitting a free-flow of descriptions of life events, thoughts, and feelings.

Access to the community is another advantage. The researcher's participation in the Canadian Bahá'í community allowed access to potential volunteers by providing opportunities in meetings, Bahá'í publications, and word-of-mouth chains of communication. A few Canadian Bahá'ís then opened doors of access and reception for this research effort among the Bahá'ís in India. In contrast to Plackal's difficulties with establishing understanding, disclosure, and trust with his Indian subjects, this research is strengthened by the emic perspective.

An emic approach may also have drawbacks. It can lead to expectations of both the interviewer (interviewer bias) and interviewee which destroy the objectivity of the research process and findings. It may lead the interviewer to anticipate and/or expect certain answers to the questions and to ask "leading questions" that might steer the respondent to answer in a particular way.⁶⁴ One check against the possibility of distortion in the interviews obtained became the achievement of inter-rater reliability used by the Center for Research in Faith and Moral Development.⁶⁵ The author's validation as an independent scorer using standard procedures for faith development research is described later in this chapter.

The second potential drawback is that interviewees may be prompted to give responses they think the interviewer wants to hear or to ignore their own views in preference for those that would be well-received by the researcher. Here, the author's etic

approach to the conduct of the research provided a built-in check against this form of distortion by using the questions of the faith development interview in much the same way during the interview process. Since the interviews were all tape recorded and transcribed verbatim, the flow of conversation is available for review and screening, and the author has frequently returned to the transcripts to analyze the interview approach and consistency for validity.

Research Design

The study conducted by this research emerges from phenomenology as it applies to psychology. Such studies focus inquiry on the subjects' own descriptions of their experience and are looking for what is present in the awareness of those persons, not in the characteristics of the objects they are describing. Donald Polkinghorne establishes the characteristics of the phenomenological approach to psychology in "Phenomenological Research Methods."⁶⁶ Phenomenological research uses the open-ended interview as a research tool to disclose the structures of conscious awareness which the researcher is looking for. The form of its findings are therefore, descriptive; hence, the qualitative nature of this research. "The purpose of phenomenological research is to produce clear, precise, and systematic descriptions of the meaning that constitutes the activity of consciousness."⁶⁷

Data collection in phenomenological research "is the use of other persons as the primary source of original naive descriptions of an experience."⁶⁸ Since the researcher is looking for the ways individuals understand their experience, one does not apply certain manipulations or experimentations to those persons to determine their response to them. An example of experimental design would show people a film and then test their responses to various aspects of the film or to others following the viewing of the film. Experimental designs are more concerned with causal inferences which might be drawn from the results.⁶⁹ This study is concerned with correlational, not causal results, hence, the quasi-experimental (see Glossary) nature of this project. The correlations will be sought between

the faith stage and the control variables of age, sex, education and religion of, first, the Canadian Bahá'ís, and, next, the Indian Bahá'ís. This study is the first cross-cultural study using similar groups of participants from different cultures who share the same faith orientation.

Data collection in phenomenological research does not use random sampling as a way of selecting participants.⁷⁰ Random sampling is used for statistical studies which try to use the group studied as a representative sample of the total population under examination. This is done to be able to generalize the results from the sample to the population as a whole.⁷¹ The aim of this research is not to generalize about the faith maturity of the total Bahá'í population in Canada or India but to discover whether the ways of explaining meaning structures in the model of faith development actually work to describe meaning structures of Bahá'ís as well. Qualitative studies attempt to discover depth of information about the participants instead of quantitative data or generalizability of the theory to a whole population. There were two stages to the data collection in the two cultural contexts, Canada and India. Canadian participants were self-selected since the sampling procedures used in quantitative research do not apply to qualitative research.⁷² (See Glossary) Indian participants were selected to match the control variables of the Canadian participants on an individual basis.

The conduct of phenomenological interviews is described by Polkinghorne as departing from the stimulus-response interaction in survey-questionnaire interviewing.⁷³ In contrast, it is conceived of as a discourse or conversation conducted, usually, face-to-face to engage the subject in sharing the details of his/her experience. Its open-ended format is intended to use probing questions to elicit richness of explanation rather than a quick response to a question.⁷⁴ The potential dangers of such a situation for interviewer bias (see Glossary) and differences in application can be imagined. Care has been taken to eliminate these from the interview process in this research by reviewing interview transcripts.

My study was both descriptive and exploratory. Since previous studies had not been done applying Fowler's theory of faith development to a Bahá'í population, I was exploring whether or not the instrument would measure faith development in Bahá'ís. If the indicators of this measurement confirm its validity (see Glossary) the second stage of the research with the Indian Bahá'ís would cross-validate Fowler's model. Since culture involves religion, by keeping the religion constant, there will be a basis for determining the variations due to culture.

Based upon the cultural portraits in the opening of this chapter, I anticipated more Stage 4 Canadians and more Stage 3 and Stage 5 Indians on Fowler's model of faith development. Both populations of Bahá'ís have grown up in divergent cultures influenced by the dominant religious traditions and values of those cultures: the one, Judeo-Christian; the other, predominantly Hindu. What will be the conventional form of the Bahá'ís' construction of meaning which Fowler's instrument discloses in each of these cultures? Most participants will be converts to the Bahá'í Faith due to the recent establishment of this Faith in both areas.

The researcher sought control of factors related to higher stage scores in previous studies of faith and moral development: education level, socio-economic class, and gender.⁷⁵ Age was not a factor in higher stage scores, but Stage 5 had not appeared in Eugene Mischey's participants before the age of early thirties.⁷⁶ Given similarities in the control variables of 20 cross-cultural pairs of individuals (religion, age, gender, education level) what similarities and differences will I find in the cultural variable as measured by the data of the stage scores and the faith stage descriptors? Visually, the relationships of variables in the cross-cultural application look like Figure 4.

FIGURE 4
APPLICATION OF FOWLER'S MODEL CROSS-CULTURALLY

<u>Instrument</u>	<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Control Variables</u>	<u>Dependent Variables</u>	<u>Anticipated Results</u>
Fowler's Model	Culture A Canada(x20)	age sex education religion	stage scores? descriptors?	More Stage 4
	Culture B India(x20)	age sex education religion	stage scores? descriptors?	More Stage 3 and Stage 5

The instrument is Fowler's model, which is a theoretical construction of how individuals mature in faith. The independent variable in this design is culture. It is a nominal variable with two categories: Canadian and Indian. The dependent variables are the descriptors of Fowler's stages, summed into an overall stage score for each participant. The author anticipates that the scores will range from 3.0 to 5.0. However, the scores are codes⁷⁷ which designate verbal descriptions of seven structural features in an individual's pattern of faith. Those patterns of faith have been reviewed in Chapter One. Thus, at a micro-level the dependent variable of the scores breaks down into the descriptors of the stages as well. It is through these verbal descriptors that the model will be cross-validated.

The generalization of Fowler's model cross-culturally is best tested by using the Canadian sample as primary, and assessing the degree to which the Indian results are similar. The results will be similar or dissimilar in two ways: quantitative and qualitative. Either there will be strong correspondences between the Canadians and Indians in terms of stage scores and characteristics of each of the faith structures, or there will be notable areas

of difference on either of these indicators. The extent to which the results are similar provides an Indian replication of Canadian results and, consequently, demonstrates the generality of Fowler's model. By looking particularly at the already-noted cultural biases of the faith development model from previous studies with Easterners, it will also be possible to target the strength or weakness of the structural approach to maturity, irrespective of the faith contents. The participation of a total of 40 persons, 20 in each culture, further strengthens possible correlations.

The form which these comparisons take will be both verbal and numerical. Verbally there will be the responses of Canadians and Indians to the same interview questions. Comparative responses will be reported in Chapter Six. The questions themselves are each keyed to one or more of the seven aspects of faith structures (see "Scoring Analysis Sheet," Appendix 10). For example, the interpreter derives a Form of Logic score by reviewing questions and responses on the interview regarding decision-making processes, life crises and peak experiences, and growing edge. After interpreting the the phenomena related data by describing patterns found, a numerical Stage is assigned. One then proceeds to the next aspect of faith, reviewing designated questions and responses. When all aspects have been assigned descriptive and numerical interpretations, the seven aspects of faith are averaged to arrive at the global Stage score (see Glossary). A fully-equilibrated Stage 3, 4 or 5 will range three-tenths of a Stage before N to 3.99 after the Stage. (Stage 3: 2.70 through 3.399). Scores from N.40 through N.699 are classified as transitional. Transitional scores imply movement from the lower to the higher Stage.⁷⁸ Following the scoring of all interviews, the numerical Stage scores between Canadians and Indians will be compared. (See Appendix 11—"Comparison of Stage Scores") Quantitative data (the Stage score) is complemented by qualitative data (descriptive) to increase the depth of the comparison.

The process of scoring is an interpretation of words, feelings and ideas which indicate structural patterns—categories which are evaluated subjectively. The researcher

must then interpret that data to discover the structures which underlie conscious phenomena. The important investigative tool here becomes the skill of the interpreter, given *a priori* agreement on the validity of the instrument. The subjectivity of evaluation is controlled by inter-rater reliability. Qualitative research gives more emphasis to the description, discovery and understanding of data than to numerical information.⁷⁹ Even the comparatively quantitative faith Stage score is a holistic measure which synthesizes a variety of dimensions. It is obtained by averaging each of the seven aspect scores to achieve a global Stage score.

Situating the Study in Canada and India:

The choice of Canada for the Western population was one of expediency and familiarity. The author was completing doctoral work at the University of Ottawa. As a U.S. citizen, the author had selected graduate study in another country because she was interested in other cultures and had a personal commitment to become aware of and overcome her own cultural biases. Having attended the University of Ottawa since 1986, the author felt that her position in respect to Canadians was probably more objective than towards Americans. India was selected as the Eastern culture for several reasons: the study of social psychologists indicated that the personal, internal construction of self/others/world of Indians had different forms than are described by Western social psychologists. Anthropological and philosophical studies, as well, indicated that the norms we use are Western-centric.⁸⁰ Since Fowler had incorporated interactive aspects of development into his model (Erikson), the social context of India would offer a different "world construction" of patterns of experience and values than in the West. The adaptation of the Bahá'í Faith to the Indian context had been established by other writers.⁸¹ The large number of Bahá'ís in India (2,300,000 members)⁸² would facilitate finding participants similar in age, sex, education and Bahá'í age to the Canadian volunteers. The widespread usage of English within India, particularly in the Bahá'í community, would make it possible to conduct the interviews in English, and perhaps most importantly, the researcher

loved India—her people, her history, religions and culture—and what could be known of it from the perspective as a teacher of comparative religions in North America. In this case affective and cognitive motivations happily coincided.

Selection of Canadians

Guidelines of the Center for Research in Faith and Moral Development at Emory University suggested twenty participants for research projects. Since this was a cross-cultural study, they recommended twenty in each culture. The choice of participants was done in two phases. The choice of twenty Canadian Bahá'ís for the study was largely governed by the participants themselves given the guidelines of the University Human Research Ethics Committee (UHREC) for research using human subjects. The Committee requested the following information: recruitment procedures, the text to be used to obtain informed consent, an estimation of the risk to subjects, description of measures to assure anonymity and confidentiality, and a list of what subjects would be required to do. The first proposal for recruitment included both personal and impersonal recruitment methods and was turned down. The subsequent, successful proposal described an objective and impersonal request for participants since the Committee wanted to guard against potential participants feeling coerced.

Procedures

The researcher sent out the "Request for Research Participants" (see Appendix 6) to local Bahá'í newsletters and publications and also announced the information verbally during Bahá'í events. The request described the title of the study, that it was for doctoral work in religious studies at the University of Ottawa, the kind of questions participants would be asked, some of the research questions, the nature of the commitment asked of participants, the time frame for the project, and directions for volunteering. The bottom of the form asked for information about volunteers which helped determine their age, ethnicity, profession, years as a Bahá'í. On other occasions, when people asked why an

American was in Canada, the researcher would explain her reasons and her research among Canadian Bahá'ís. Occasionally they would show interest to the extent of wanting to participate in the study. Other volunteers heard of the project from those who had already participated in the interview. The stipulation of UHREC was that volunteers had to come to me; I couldn't go to them. Given clearance from UHREC in June, 1991, the author conducted the first five interviews in the Fall of 1991. The remaining Canadian interviews were dispersed over the months and years through June of 1993, and all took place in Canada.

After filling out the Participant Request form, volunteers were contacted for possible questions and an interview date and time was fixed. When this was in place, they were mailed a lengthy Consent Form (see Appendix 7) which described the project, prepared them for the types of questions and the process of the interview, assured them of confidentiality through the selection of a "pen" name, described potential risks and benefits of the interview, the right of review and withdrawal from the process, and requested their willingness to participate in the various facets of the study. They were informed that all interviews would be tape recorded and then transcribed for their review before the scoring process began. This form was then collected during the interview and any questions relating to it were answered. In addition to the Consent Form, participants received a "Life Tapestry Chart" and instructions (see Appendix 8), both developed by the Center for Research in Faith and Moral Development, which they were to fill in before the interview date. During the Canadian portion of the project many of the interviewees simply did not take time to fill out the Life Tapestry chart. For this reason, this feature of information-gathering was dropped from the Indian interviews.

The guideline for the selection of Canadian volunteers was heterogeneity: a balance of sexes and wide distribution of ages, ethnic backgrounds and education levels. It was reasoned these parameters would insure the greatest possible diversity of faith Stages. Should there be an overload of volunteers in any particular age or sex category, the author

planned to make a selection based upon heterogeneity but did not need to apply this criterion to eliminate any volunteers. One volunteer was not used because conducting the interview became impossible given our travel schedules.

In addition to the materials mentioned above, at the start of each interview an "Interview Data Sheet" (see Appendix 12) was filled out which included all the information on each participant suggested by the Center for Research in Faith and Moral Development, plus some additional questions relating to experiences abroad and languages spoken. The data sheets became a brief profile of each participant and identified variables in addition to the primary four which may provide patterns in interpreting data and understanding Stage scores. Items expected to be most influential were: family background, personal status, education degrees and fields, employment, previous religion if any, travel/living abroad experience, and languages spoken or read.

When transcripts of the interviews were finished, they were mailed to participants for review. Not all participants responded to the opportunity to edit their interviews. Most of those who did respond made only spelling and minor corrections. However, two Canadian participants chose to edit the final transcript of their interview more thoroughly by condensing some responses and eliminating others they regarded as too personal. No participants withdrew from the process so that all interviews were eventually included in the study.

Selection of Indians

Research procedures for the India segment of the research once again needed approval from UHREC at the University of Ottawa. This was obtained in July of 1993. Procedures resembled those used in the Canadian portion with the exception of recruitment. Since the author did not have time or access to Bahá'í periodicals to advertise the research project, recruitment was by word-of-mouth to groups and individuals in the Indian communities in which she lived during her four-month stay in India, September–December, 1993. Indian volunteers were solicited to match the control variables of each of

the Canadian participants: age, sex, education level, and Bahá'í age. The variable profiles of each of the Canadian volunteers and of the Indian volunteers were matched for comparison and control purposes. (See Participant Comparisons in Appendix 11). Bombay, India provided the largest and most diverse potential pool of Bahá'í volunteers to match with as yet unmatched Canadian volunteers.

Potential Indian interviewees were screened according to an additional criterion: facility with English. After a brief discussion, it was determined whether or not a clear basis for understanding one another existed. Potential participants who might have difficulty expressing themselves or understanding the requisite issues in English were not chosen even though they had been recruited using procedures approved by UHREC. Initial contacts were made after arrival by verbal invitation in Bahá'í gatherings and through Bahá'í contacts within each community. Twenty-one Indian interviews were conducted just to be safe, but one was dropped which repeated a cultural match already established. Seven interviews took place in New Delhi, four in Indore, six in Panchgani, and four in Bombay.

Procedures

The four major cities in India were chosen for specific reasons. They were urban areas likely to have educated Bahá'ís to match the Canadian volunteers. They were areas of established Bahá'í communities which had a community history of activities as support for the individuals within them.⁸³ Two of the communities (Indore, M.P. and Panchgani, Maharashtra) were areas with strong programs in Bahá'í Development projects which suggested people further interested in the issue of social development. Social and economic development is a significant and well known facet of the Indian community and a major contribution to worldwide Bahá'í efforts in social transformation. Additionally, the University in Indore has a Chair of Bahá'í Studies whom the author hoped to consult on research efforts among the Indian Bahá'ís. Bombay was chosen for its size, cosmopolitan population and the fact that it was the first Bahá'í community established in India. New

Delhi was the site of the newly-dedicated (1986) Bahá'í House of Worship on the Indian subcontinent.

The researcher began her stay in India as a volunteer serving at the House of Worship in New Dehli. This would, hopefully, prepare her for adaptation to life in India, the diversity of the people, and their cultural customs. New Delhi is also the site of the Bahá'í National Center of India and most promising as a source of published materials on the Indian community and of possible participants. Correspondence contacts in New Delhi, Indore and Panchgani graciously served to orient and assist the author in their respective Bahá'í communities. Contacts within the Bombay community were made after arrival in Bombay.

Because of the sociological component of the research, the author needed to become familiar with community life and context before seeking volunteers and conducting the interviews. William Paden describes context, particularly as it relates to religion, as "a hidden web of surrounding assumptions...what is not said, yet is implied."⁸⁴ Context is the backdrop of meaning for which words, gestures and actions are but the visible foreground. Place creates context.⁸⁵ The interview data would require interpretation within a community and culture. The research design included treating the Indian interviews as a "text" (see Glossary) which needed an aware reading in order to understand the framework of ideas and experiences described. Since meaning "is never disembodied" and the author wanted to be able to look at things according to where the participants were standing,⁸⁶ she needed time to acclimatize herself to each community before being able to really listen to them and see the volunteers' experience through their own eyes. As in the repeated visions of Mont Sainte Victoire painted by Cézanne, each vision is transformed by the particularity of the artist's vision, where he was seeing it from, and under what conditions. The author would need to see and hear through the volunteers' eyes and ears.

To establish the trust of the local Bahá'ís, the researcher planned a three-stage approach to entry in each community. One to two weeks was spent participating in

community life in some form of service, becoming familiar with the background of the community, its activities, persons, and collecting any published materials or newsletters which presented its programs and activities. During the next week or two, a request for volunteers for the research interviews using a "Request for Participants" form similar to the one in Canada was made. Each volunteer received the "Interview Consent Form" to prepare them with background about the kinds of questions, the fact that they would be tape recorded, and to set a time and date for the interviews. The final week would be spent conducting the interviews. Simultaneously, the transcribing of previous interviews on a portable computer was taking place.

The Research Instrument and Application

The research instrument itself is an open-ended, semi-structured interview with five sections: Life Tapestry and Life Review, Relationships, Present Values and Commitments, Religion, and Crises and Peak Experiences. The questions probe both the what's and why's of one's mental and emotional landscape such as: "Characterize your parents. What qualities stand out as you remember them?" and "What present relationships seem most important in your life?" The interview is part of the Manual for Faith Development Research by Romney Moseley, David Jarvis and James Fowler, published in 1986. The Manual states, "the open-ended format lends itself to modification and revision with comparative ease, thus enabling researchers to devise new interview questions and new lines of inquiry as the need arises."⁸⁷ While allowing the respondent to choose the kind and depth of ideas and experiences to be shared, directions in the Manual advise that the interview be administered in the same way with all of the research participants so that the data obtained will be comparable. The Manual acknowledges that the instrument tends to yield more data on the aspects of Social Perspective Taking and Form of World Coherence than on other aspects. Modification of the instrument was made by adding four questions on an individual's choice of and relation to the Bahá'í Faith in particular, and it was

administered with the same revision to both groups, Canadians and Indians (see Appendix 4 and Appendix 5).

Preparation

The Manual was received in the Winter of 1991 before the inception of the project in Ottawa. Using the directions within to prepare by practicing on "dummy subjects," the author interviewed indulgent friends and relatives. From the experience of doing roughly five interviews, it was discovered that the Life Tapestry and Life Review section could take hours and that it was extremely difficult to cut off the interviewees when they were reviewing the significant events of their life. Since this section of the interview is optional and "care should be taken to keep this section of the interview as brief as possible,"⁸⁸ the research focused instead on the question "Which past key relationships, events and experiences seem most important in shaping your development as a person?" to commence each research interview. This initial question condensed the major issues of Part I. During the practice interviews the amount of time devoted to each of the sections of the interview was determined. The timing of each portion was based upon the author's previous experience that interviews longer than two and one-half hours were inadvisable because they tired the subjects without significantly enriching the value of the data obtained.

Modification

Another modification made was the addition of several questions to the religion section of the interview. These additional questions concerned "How did you come into the Faith?" or "Why did you become a Bahá'í?" since most volunteers became Bahá'ís as an adult. The questions are:

1. What attracted you to the Bahá'í Faith or why have you remained with this faith?
2. Would you describe any changes in your relationship to your faith over the years (months) since becoming a Bahá'í?
3. What has been most helpful.....most difficult....in developing that

relationship?

These questions were keyed to several aspects of the interview scoring: Form of Logic, Perspective Taking, Locus of Authority, and Form of World Coherence.

Administering the Interview

Main data collection followed standard procedures in social science for phenomenological research.⁸⁹ The date and time of the interview was usually fixed by phone. Then the "Interview Consent Form" and "Life Tapestry Chart" were mailed to each individual. Interviews were usually held at the homes of participants. With the Indian interviews hand-delivery of the consent materials was utilized since access to mailing was limited. In two cases, interviews were held in the library of the Association for Bahá'í Studies and the seminar room of the Religious Studies building, both on the University of Ottawa campus. Two additional interviews were held in the author's temporary residence in Ottawa since participants were visiting in town from other cities. One family preferred interviews in the park near their home since they had young children in the household and no privacy. And yet another participant had no private quarters and suggested the interview be in the library of the university she attended. The criteria for a good interview site were convenience, comfort, quiet, and a place which would be undisturbed during the interview process. Since the interviews were tape recorded, the site also had to place the participant and researcher within the range of the microphone. The Indian interviews were nearly all conducted in homes or the residences of the participants. The three exceptions were held in the researcher's temporary residence. Interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed verbatim. Notes were made on each interview schedule to reinforce coverage of the questions.

In addition to the above, it was found advisable to extend these procedures in a manner advocated by feminist researchers, Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna,⁹⁰ which suggested a more interactional approach to data collection. This meant that the author presented herself and the project from a personal as well as professional background, both

in the request for interview participants and in the research situation. The participants were regarded as partners in rather than objects of the research. They were invited to ask questions about the questions, about the objectives of the research, about any impressions of what had been discovered to date and even about the researcher herself. The informal interaction between researcher and volunteer was not a part of the formal data collection and was not included in the tape-recorded interviews, but it was important in establishing cooperation, trust and rapport. It is felt the author's Bahá'í sensitivities and depth of understanding contributed to a quicker establishment of mutual understanding and enhanced the depth and validity of responses from volunteers. A further humanistic element was the occasional insertion of personal thoughts or experiences in the interview dialogue if they seemed to clarify something expressed, encourage the line of thinking which respondents were on or served to increase the "comfort-level" of the participant. Comments such as "Yes, I love those too." were in response to specific prayers, for example. However, most of the author's comments were restatements and questions which clarified previous responses, or tested out a correct understanding of the meaning of the response for the individual.

There were several confirmations of the feminist perspective illustrated by Kirby and McKenna as a useful approach for securing meaningful interview data. Much of each interview is, obviously, not entered as codeable data. Nevertheless, it forms a backdrop of understanding to the lives of participants. They sometimes expressed their pleasure in being part of the research. One said: "I think I am very, very happy to be answering questions for you, Paula. Because you've been able to draw things out of me...I think you've put crucial questions and I've been able to understand what you've put to me. Sometimes, when there is no understanding, it's very difficult for me to respond. So I'm very happy." Another confirmation was allowing the interview to reflect more affective elements than with a strictly objective approach. Because one criticism of Fowler had been a devaluing of affective elements, the researcher wanted to enhance opportunities for full

participant expression. Interviewees were asked at the close of the interview if there were anything they wished to add that hadn't been covered or asked them. One respondent, offered the following:

"Yes, I want to add. If anybody says the experience of their life, their ups and downs, their struggles, their joys, their fears, everything...that it's not just for the sake of sharing it. It has a purpose. And the purpose is that....it's like I'm introducing myself to you, with the hope that you will understand. And if you want to be happy in this world, if you can just get this much in understanding. In this whole world. If only one person understands him or her. That's enough for satisfaction. And I'm very glad and thank you very much that there will be many people, far from India, who will know me. Not by my name, but with my story. And that will add me to the world community."

Interpretation of the Interviews

The procedure for the interpreting of the data of the interviews is known as scoring. The researcher correlates the statements of the interview with the descriptors of each faith aspect. Based upon the closeness of the match with the various Stages, a Stage score is assigned to each aspect of faith—Form of Logic, Social Perspective Taking, and so forth. Since the correspondences between interview data and Stage descriptions are structural descriptors it is a lengthy process to learn. The descriptors used were developed from 359 interviews between 1972-1983 and are related in the Manual for Faith Development Research distributed by the Center for Research in Faith and Moral Development at Emory University in Atlanta. Scoring involves keying the questions of the interview to one or more of the seven aspects of faith: Form of Logic, Social Perspective Taking, Form of Moral Judgment, Bounds of Social Awareness, Locus of Authority, Form of World Coherence, and Symbolic Function. These are reflected, with question key words, on the Scoring Analysis Sheet, Appendix 10. Earlier work with the questions left some with only a global reference (see Glossary). By 1991, when the Scoring Sheet was developed, some questions were dropped, rearranged, and all were reflected in the Scoring Sheet. The present synthesis distributes the weight of each aspect more evenly. Preliminary to

"scoring," relevant passages in the text of each interview are selected and marked for codeable data (that leading to an assignment of Stage score based upon Stage profiles) of each aspect. Usually, uncodeable passages might be the narrative description of events in a person's life, or memories of persons which simply *describe* the events leading to marker events or significant people. They are uncodeable in that they are not reflections on experience as much as background material for those reflections. Nevertheless, they form the backdrop of understanding for each interview. One participant related the experiences leading to his being declared legally blind. Since his blindness was something which strongly affected his life experiences, it was important to understand how that came about. Another interviewee was deaf from birth. To learn to see and hear through her eyes and ears, it was important to realize how she had initially rebelled against the technology which was intended to help her compensate for her deafness and subsequently her courageousness in moving out from that silent world. Codeable passages (numbered consecutively throughout the interview) are then entered on the score sheet. Passages are chosen for revealing representative attitudes and ideas related to each aspect.

When all passages are selected, re-reading and assignment of descriptors and Stage scores begins. The intent of the interview passages is referred to the Manual for global Stage descriptions as well as aspect descriptions. Stage and aspect descriptions were summarized in one or two pages which were referred to throughout the scoring process. It was found helpful to estimate a global Stage score after the exercise of selecting passages. Then which Stage aspects to begin referencing for criteria were more apparent. The initial Stage scores were frequently revised in the beginning of the experience as a scorer. As each passage is reviewed, a Stage score (either a flat 3, 4, or 5 or a decimal shading of those, 3.1, 3.4, 3.5, and so on) is given to each passage. After completing the passages in each aspect, an average of all the scores becomes the aspect score. When each aspect is completed, they, in turn, are averaged to form the final Stage score. These are the Stage scores which became the basis for Stage comparisons between the two volunteer groups.

The sliding scale of Stages with decimals was found to be helpful for discerning degrees of agreement with the aspect descriptions in the Manual. Oftentimes, certain elements agreed and others did not. Hence, those passages from N.4 through N.6 became transitional, indicating movement from one Stage to another whether that be 3 or 4 or 5. Passages which were assigned scores of 3.7 through 4.3, for instance, were understood as degrees of Stage 4 and so on. The Manual defines those parameters.

Achieving Inter-rater Reliability

The procedures described above perhaps conceal the difficulty in making judgments which is at the heart of the scoring process. Since the reliability of results relies on the reliability of the scoring process, new scorers must be tested against experienced raters until their results indicate a mastery of the scoring concepts. The Manual describes a 14-step coding process which requires working with another independent rater. Each researcher reviews and scores the interview independently and then their scores are compared. In order to agree (*i.e.* be consistent within an acceptable range of variation) scores should fall within .5 of each other. The mean percent of agreement between experienced raters (5 to 10 years experience) is 90 percent; between new raters (1-2 years experience) with experienced raters the mean is 77 percent agreement. This researcher achieved 95 percent agreement with her experienced rater on the first twenty interviews; and 100 percent on the four thereafter. The time required to gain an acceptable percentage of agreement is three to six months. The author's work with the experienced scorer was spread over a year and a half—from June, 1993, to February, 1995. The experienced rater was one of three choices suggested by the Center for Faith and Moral Development. Communication over the period above was by letter and phone conversations and was both appropriately friendly and professional. The Center's assistance is appreciated by the author.

The training period began in June, 1993, with practice coding short segments of interviews. Scores were then checked with the "trainer" (experienced scorer) for accuracy

and when not correct, reasons were given. Practice scoring sample interviews from the files at the Center was the next stage in July-August, 1993. There were five to six of these. The author's scores agreed with experienced raters on all but one of these full-length interviews. The next stage was to process a few interviews alone. Before leaving for India in September, 1993, the author scored the first four of her practice interviews. Upon returning from India, however, the author learned in January of 1994 that all four of the practice interviews were not in agreement with the trainer. After written and oral communication, disagreement was resolved by rescoring the interviews using the trainer's codeable passages. These new scores, which agreed within .5, were all then accepted. During the process of review and rescoring no other interviews were scored.

When agreement was achieved within .5 on the four training interviews, the author and the trainer began to score the rest of the Canadian interviews independently, comparing scores, reasons and patterns. This process continued for the next year. (See Appendix 13 for "Comparisons of Inter-Rater Reliability"). Both scorers rescored two of the interviews, C-12 and C-19. The author was convinced that they should be Stage 5 and the trainer did not see them this way. She suggested further questions for each participant which would clarify the intent of responses to several questions and resolve the impasse. Questions were sent to both individuals and a phone interview set up with each which was also tape-recorded. This new data was rescored and general agreement resulted.

Since the Indian interviews represented a culturally different framework of applying the Fowler criteria, the author requested that the trainer do the first four interviews as a check of her scoring competence. These were within .5 agreement on all. So the author then proceeded to score the remaining Indian interviews alone.

In reflecting on the difficulty of interpreting the training interviews, the author learned a great deal about structural development; for example, how to read for structure rather than content. Because of the nature of language and symbols described in the first part of this chapter, it is difficult to penetrate the gauze of content to see the patterns or

structures which lie beneath. The author's initial difficulty in adjusting to the faith Stage criteria seems to have been due to the lack of an experiential grasp of the differences between content and structure in the text of the interviews. The researcher found the content of Bahá'í ideas initially misleading and consequently assigned higher faith Stage scores in line with what people were saying. As Jane Lubchenko, president of AAAS, remarked recently to the Christian Science Monitor, "There's a huge gap between saying and doing."⁹¹ Through these mistakes the researcher learned to distinguish whether the narrative ideas were showing up in *processes*. This discovery was to form the basis of a major conclusion of this research.

NOTES: CHAPTER THREE

II

¹ Skewed as in distorted or biased. To look obliquely or from an angle. (Webster's

² Many of the authors in part D, Cross-Cultural Studies section of the Works Consulted, but especially:

Bharati, A. "The self in Hindu thought and action."

Cole, M. and J.S. Burner. "Cultural differences and inferences about psychological processes."

Hui, C.C.H. "Locus of Control."

Luthar, Suniya S. and Donald Quinlan. "Parental Images in Two Cultures."

Miller, Joan. "Bridging the Content-Structure Dichotomy: Culture and the Self."

Kakar, Sudhir. The Inner World: A Psychoanalytic Study of Childhood and Society in India.

³ Alan Roland. In Search of Self in India and Japan: Toward a Cross-Cultural Psychology. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. Choice of Roland's approach here is also in the interests of consistency and brevity.

⁴ The Divine Self referred to is Brahman, the Universal Self. This is a well-known concept in the study of religions.

⁵ Roland, 12.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 12.

¹⁰ Ibid., 196-7.

¹¹ Ibid., 197.

¹² Ibid., 198.

¹³ Ibid., 9.

¹⁴ Ibid., 10-11.

¹⁵ Pauline Kolenda, "Religious Anxiety and Hindu Fate." in Religion in South Asia, ed. Edward B. Harper. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964.

¹⁶ Louis Dumont. Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its implications. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

¹⁷ Roland, 12.

¹⁸ Roland, 12. Roland cites M. Marriott, "Hindu transactions: Diversity without dualism" in Transaction and meaning, directions in the anthropology of exchange and symbolic behavior ed. by B. Kapferer, Philadelphia: ISHI Publishing, 1976. and "Samsara: A game of Hindu rural life." Unpublished paper presented at the A.C.L.S./S.S.R.C. Workshop on Mythology and Hierarchy, Chicago, September, 1980.

¹⁹ Roland, 11.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ *ibid.*, 196.

²² *ibid.*, 199.

²³ *ibid.*, 64.

²⁴ *ibid.*, 201.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ *ibid.*, 202.

²⁷ For points three through five I am indebted to Rhett Diessener, "Cognitive-Developmental Psychology and the Bahá'í Faith: Meaningful Connections." Unpublished paper.

²⁸ The Báb and Bahá'u'lláh. See Works Consulted under part E, Bahá'í, General.

²⁹ Bahá'u'lláh. Gleanings from the Writings of Bahá'u'lláh., Tr. Shoghi Effendi. Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1976, 215.

³⁰ 'Abdu'l-Bahá. The Promulgation of Universal Peace. Discourses by 'Abdu'l-Bahá during his visit to the United States. Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1943, 138.

³¹ James W. Fowler, Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning. San Francisco: Harper and Row. 1981, 16-17.

³² See Peter Smith's discussion, The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions: From Messianic Shi'ism to a World Religion. London: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 138-139.

³³ Fowler, Stages, 204-207.

³⁴ Daniel C. Jordan. Becoming Your True Self: How the Bahá'í Faith Releases Human Potential. London: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, revised ed. 1993. p. 17.

³⁵ Bahá'u'lláh, Gleanings, 218.

³⁶ Fowler, Moseley and Jarvis, Manual for Faith Development Research. Atlanta, Georgia: Center for Faith Development, revised 1993, 48.

³⁷ James W. Fowler, Karl Ernst Nipkow and Friedrich Schweitzer, Stages of Faith and Religious Development: Implications for Church Education and Society. New York: Crossroad, 1991, 18.

³⁸ Fowler, Nipkow and Schweitzer, 113.

³⁹ Fowler, Stages, 210.

⁴⁰ Fowler, Stages, 201.

⁴¹ Fowler, Stages, 295.

⁴² 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Promulgation of Universal Peace, 438.

⁴³ 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Selections from the Writings of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, 285.

⁴⁴ 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Promulgation, 131.

⁴⁵ Bahá'u'lláh. The Seven Valleys and the Four Valleys. Tr. Marzieh Gail. Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1945, 4.

⁴⁶ James W. Fowler, W. Romney Moseley and David Jarvis. Manual for Faith Development Research. Atlanta, Georgia: Center for Faith Development, Candler School of Theology, 1986. p.3.

⁴⁷ Bahá'u'lláh. Gleanings, 65.

⁴⁸ "Message to Bahá'í Scholars from the Universal House of Justice." Bahá'í News, June, 1979, 2-3.

⁴⁹ Daniel C. Jordan. Becoming Your True Self, p.18.

⁵⁰ Fowler, Moseley and Jarvis, Manual, 49.

⁵¹ Fowler, Moseley and Jarvis, Manual, 49.

⁵² Fowler, Moseley and Jarvis, Manual, 57.

⁵³ "Message to Bahá'í Scholars from the Universal House of Justice." Bahá'í News, June, 1979, 2.

⁵⁴ Bahá'u'lláh. Kitáb'i'Iqan: The Book of Certitude. Tr. Shoghi Effendi. Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1981, 70.

⁵⁵ William Hatcher, "The Concept of Spirituality", Bahá'í Studies. Association of Bahá'í Studies, 1982, 13.

⁵⁶ Fowler, Stages, 295.

⁵⁷ Fowler, Stages, 295.

⁵⁸ Fowler, Stages, 295.

⁵⁹ The terms Creative Word and Mother Word appear often in the Bahá'í writings, most especially in the Gleanings, 142. The reader is referred to the author's discussion of this term in "Feminine Forms of the Divine in Bahá'í Scripture," The Journal of Bahá'í Studies, Vol. 5 #1, March-June, 1992, 16-18.

⁶⁰ Daniel Jordan, Becoming Your True Self, 36.

⁶¹ Fowler, Stages, 297.

⁶² Modal is defined as average expectable level of development for adults, p. 294 Stages.

⁶³ Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture, New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1976, Chapter 6.

⁶⁴ Interviewer or researcher affect indicates bias to affect the outcome in a particular way. Leading questions would be a specific form of research bias that lets the subject know what the interviewer would like to hear. See "interviewer bias" in Glossary. Winston Jackson, Research Methods: Rules for Survey Design and Analysis, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988.

⁶⁵ Fowler, Moseley and Jarvis. Manual for Faith Development Research, revised ed, 1993, 6-10.

⁶⁶ Donald Polkinghorne, "Phenomenological Research Methods in "Existential Phenomenological Perspectives in Psychology," Eds. Ronald S. Valle and Steen Halling. New York: Plenum Press, 1989.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 45.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 47.

⁶⁹ Winston Jackson, Research Methods: Rules for Survey Design and Analysis, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988.

⁷⁰ Polkinghorne, 48.

⁷¹ Sellitz, Wrightman and Cook. Research Methods in Social Relations. Toronto: Holt Reinhart, 1976, Appendix A, "An Introduction to Sampling."

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ D. E. Polkinghorne. "Phenomenological Research Methods." in R.S. Valle and S. Halling eds. Existential-Phenomenological Perspectives in Psychology. New York: Plenum, 1989, 49.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Richard Shulik's dissertation offers a clear assessment of correlates with stage scores. Shulik notes that the relationship between socio-economic status and faith development is positive and significant. Additionally, education is a correlate of higher faith development. There is a slight tendency for older subjects to have higher scores but the data suggest no reason for this. Other variables which are appropriate to predicting faith-stage level were "age sense" and moral stage. Variables which did not correlate with faith stage scores were: age, sex, marital status, religion or origin. Shulik used path analysis to isolate educational attainment and socio-economic status as the most correlative variables. "The possibility that faith development is but an artifact of socio-economic status or educational background must be seriously considered." (page 80) "The possibility that faith development cannot progress beyond a certain level of maturity without the helpful advantage of a good educational background must also be seriously considered." (page 81) Faith Development, Moral Development and Old Age: An Assessment of Fowler's Faith Development Paradigm. University of Chicago, 1979, Chapter Five.

In Eugene Mischey's study of 30 young adults, 20 to 35 years of age, the highest scores were among four persons, three males and one female, whose mean age was 30. No one younger than 30 years has scored Stage 4-5. Faith Development and its Relationship to Moral Reasoning and Identity Status in Young Adults. Unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto, 1976, Chapter Six.

Carol Gilligan's work in moral development has questioned the descriptions of formal operational thinking (Stage 4 of Fowler's scale) as representing only one style of moral decision-making, the justice perspective, while ignoring characteristics of a parallel style, the care perspective, found often in women. In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982.

⁷⁶ Eugene Mischey. Faith Development and its Relationship to Moral Reasoning and Identity Status in Young Adults. Unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto, 1976.

⁷⁷ As used by Edward T. Hall in Beyond Culture.

⁷⁸ Transitional movements occasionally move backward to lower scores on certain aspects for the period of the transition. Fowler addresses this issue in Stages of Faith and explains it as a recapitulation of previous capacities. p. 286-291.

⁷⁹ Kjell Erik Rusdestam and Rae R. Newton. Surviving Your Dissertation: A Comprehensive Guide to Content and Process. Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage, 1992. chapt.3

⁸⁰ F.S.C. Northrop, The Logic of Sciences and Humanities. W.C. Smith, Religious Diversity; Schultz and Lavenda, Cultural Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition.

⁸¹ Momen, Vol. 2 #2; Garlington, 1975, 1984; Garrigues, 1976.

⁸² Annual Report, 1994-95, Ridvan 152 B.E. National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of India. The figure is actually 2,250,480.

⁸³ Based upon reading of community histories in Bahá'í World vols. I-XVIII. The "established" feature is covered in Chapter Five.

⁸⁴ William Paden, Interpreting the Sacred: Ways of Viewing Religion. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992, Chapter Seven.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 111.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Fowler, Moseley, and Jarvis, Manual for Faith Development Research. Atlanta, Georgia: Center for Faith Development, Candler School of Theology, 1986, 12.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ D.E. Polkinghorne, "Phenomenological Research Methods."

⁹⁰ Experience, Research and Social Change: Methods from the Margins. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1989. :

⁹¹ Christian Science Monitor, Tuesday, Nov. 14, 1995, in "Theologians, Scientists Meet on 'Green Ethics.'"

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXT—THE BAHÁ'Í FAITH IN CANADA

Brief History and Overview of the Bahá'í Faith

The Bahá'í Faith is an independent world religion with communities in some 233 countries and territories of the world. The five million Bahá'ís around the world live in over 120,000 localities include 2,112 tribes, races and ethnic groups¹ and 174 national governing councils (personal communication with the Bahá'í Research Office in Wilmette, Illinois. August 26, 1995). Bahá'ís accept the Persian prophet, Bahá'u'lláh (1817-1892) as the latest in a series of intermediaries between God and humankind. Others have included such personages as Abraham, Krishna, Buddha, Moses, Zoroaster, Christ, Muhammed, and the Báb. Bahá'ís believe that such "divine educators" or "Manifestations of God" (see Glossary) spoke with one voice, reaffirming ancient spiritual teachings such as love and justice, and revising laws and principles governing human social relationships.

The Bahá'í Faith originated within Shi'ah Islam in the middle of the last century as a messianic movement which challenged the orthodoxy of Persian Islamic religio-political rule. In 1844 a young merchant of Shiraz, Persia, proclaimed that he was the spiritual reformer expected by Muslims—the "Primal Point" whom followers of the Shaykhi sect of Shi'ite Islam had expected to usher in the Day of Judgment. The Báb further proclaimed one to follow who would establish the foundation for the unification of humanity. The Shirazi merchant, titled the Báb or "Gate" (1819-1850), was executed in 1850 following a stormy six-year ministry in which he challenged the leaders of Islam theologically and morally. Public outbreaks of violence and persecution were stirred in Tehran, Qazvin, Yazd, Nayriz, Zanzan, and the seven-month siege of Shaykh Tabarsi (1848-49), in Mazandaran during the last years of his ministry.² Thousands of the Báb's followers were executed in the twenty years following his public proclamation at Mecca (1844).³

Bahá'u'lláh, as he was known by his followers, was born Mirza Husayn Ali in

Mazindaran outside Tehran. He was the son of a wealthy minister in the Shah's government and led a life of philanthropy before his association with the Bábí cause. When he became a follower of the Báb, his fortunes changed and he was stripped of his wealth, position and safety. The public ministry of Bahá'u'lláh (1817-1892) began in 1853 with his incarceration in the Black Pit (Siyyih Chal) of Tehran in retaliation for an attempt on the life of the Shah by a young Bábí. Bahá'u'lláh's subsequent imprisonment and exile to Baghdad, Constantinople, Adrianople, and Akka, Palestine, as a political enemy of the Persian and, later, the Ottoman governments mark the last 39 years of His life. In 1863 outside of Baghdad he announced that he was the one promised by the Báb.

The unfolding of Bahá'u'lláh's ministry is marked by the revelation, over a period of roughly 35 years, of numerous letters and books (over a hundred in number) which reaffirm the spiritual teachings of previous religions; explain symbolic allusions in the scriptures of Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Islam; describe in its broad outlines a world order for the development of the human race, set down numerous teachings in the form of social principles; and establish laws for the governing of a future world society.

Among the central teachings of Bahá'u'lláh is the relativity of religious truth to time and place, hence the continuing or progressive unfoldment of divine laws and principles through successive "Manifestations of God." That human society has ever been and will ever be visited periodically by these divine teachers is the framework within which Bahá'ís understand the founders and holy books of the major world religions. Religions are successive chapters in the education, uplifting, and unification of the worlds' peoples.

Principles which Bahá'u'lláh regarded as necessary for the establishment of unity at this time include the oneness of humanity, the oneness of religion, the independent investigation of truth, the harmony of science and religion, the equality of men and women, the abolition of all prejudices and of extremes of wealth and poverty, a spiritual solution to economic and political problems, universal education, a universal auxiliary language, a world script and system of weights and measures, a world tribunal, and world peace

upheld by a world government.⁴

These teachings which Bahá'ís often refer to as the "twelve principles" are the heart of Bahá'u'lláh's social gospel. His religious and spiritual teachings reaffirm the Unity of God, His exaltation beyond the knowledge of humanity, His love for His creatures, the necessity of worship and guidelines for doing so, the twin duties of prayer and fasting, a collection of moral principles for the conduct of a "chaste and holy life," and the immortality of the soul.⁵ Additionally, clergy is abolished and, in its place, a system of democratic, elected institutions or spiritual assemblies, are to form the bedrock of the administrative order. The nucleus of that administrative order exists presently in the form of nine-member, elected bodies on the international, national and local levels, each with appointive institutions.⁶ (See Appendix 14)

Upon his death in 1892 at the age of 75, Bahá'u'lláh was succeeded by his son, 'Abdu'l-Bahá, which translates as the "Servant of the Glory," who was named the "Center of His Covenant" in Bahá'u'lláh's written Will and Testament.⁷ After release from confinement in 1908 by the Young Turk's Revolution, 'Abdu'l-Bahá traveled for three years to Egypt, Europe and America to spread the teachings of his father abroad.⁸ According to Will van den Hoonaard, "the Bahá'í Faith had been spread to five countries in the Middle East and India" by that time. Under 'Abdu'l-Bahá, the Bahá'í Faith spread to other lands and continents, including South America, South Africa, Burma, Australia, Japan, and Hawaii."⁹ 'Abdu'l-Bahá's visit to Canada during 1912 will be summarized shortly in order to sketch the teachings which became planted in the early Canadian community of Bahá'ís.

In 1921 upon the death of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, the mantle of leadership of the Bahá'í world community passed to his eldest grandson, Shoghi Effendi Rabbani (1897-1957).¹⁰ Shoghi Effendi was thereafter referred to as the Guardian of the Bahá'í Faith, continuing the promise of Bahá'u'lláh that his Faith would not be split, but would always be united. Under Shoghi Effendi's leadership the Bahá'í Faith spread from 35 countries to 257.¹¹

The Guardian also translated many of Bahá'u'lláh's writings into English, supervised the translation of literature into many other languages, established the Bahá'í administrative system of National and Local Spiritual Assemblies, the sending of Bahá'í "pioneers" to many parts of the world, developed the Shrines of the Báb and Bahá'u'lláh at the religion's world center in Haifa, Israel, and the House of Worship on the North American continent in Wilmette, Illinois.¹² "Upon his death in 1957, authority was for a time assumed by a group of women and men known as the "Hands of the Cause" (see Glossary) who gradually prepared the Bahá'ís for the election of the "Universal House of Justice" in 1963."¹³ Today, this body is the supreme administrative authority of the Bahá'í world with the right to legislate on matters not expressly set down in the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh. Elected every five years by members of the National Spiritual Assemblies, the Universal House of Justice with its auxiliary institutions in Haifa, Israel, guides the development and course of the Bahá'í world community a mandate outlined in with the writings of Bahá'u'lláh, and 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Shoghi Effendi, the two authorized interpreters.¹⁴

Growth and Development of the Canadian Bahá'í Community

Compiling a socio-historical background of the Canadian Bahá'í community has presented problems for this researcher in terms of the number of resources available.¹⁵ Accordingly, she has drawn heavily on very few sources. Among them have been The Bahá'í World: An International Record, in 18 volumes; and the Bahá'í Magazines: Star of the West, published from 1911-1927, Bahá'í News, and Bahá'í Canada which have provided the equivalent of first-hand accounts for the time periods they cover. The recently-established Journal of Bahá'í Studies which fosters a wide selection of Bahá'í themes has not published works on Canadian sociology or history. The richest vein of scholarly material is indebted to the recent work of Canadian sociologist Will C. van den Hoonaard, who is nearly the sole scholar working in the Canadian field, and another sociologist, Peter Smith, who lives in Thailand.

The diversity of Canadians over the last 25 years establishes the social context of an

ethnically mixed Bahá'í community which was characteristic of the population in Eastern Ontario and its adjacent communities in Quebec which form the majority of the volunteers in this project. How this diversity took shape and evolved from the first Bahá'í converts to this Oriental religion is the main story of this chapter. The ethnicity of the twenty Canadian Bahá'ís in this research represents the greatest element of diversity besides age. The twenty participants self-identify ethnically as: two French Canadians, one African, one West Indian, one Jew, two East Europeans and the rest (thirteen) Anglo Canadians. All those from other countries (three) had been in Canada at least five years. The growth of the Canadian Bahá'í community from its upper-middle class Protestant liberal roots begins in London, Ontario in 1898.

The Bahá'í Faith has grown from a single family in London, Ontario in 1898 to a community of about 22,000 spread across the Canadian provinces and into the Yukon and Northwest Territories in 1991.¹⁶ The process of this growth and the forms it has taken will suggest the unique character of the Canadian Bahá'í community. The oral history and developmental themes of this community will be important in situating the "worlds of meaning and value" (Fowler's terms for the construction of faith) of the Canadian interviewees and the ways these concepts are manifested in the daily lives of this faith community. This section will describe the stage-like development of the Canadian Bahá'í community in terms of six evolutionary periods of growth which correspond to the awareness of and functioning of group identity: 1) Social/Spiritual Idealism, 2) Social Action as a Community, 3) Group Formation and Administrative Development, 4) Global Teaching Plans, 5) Formation of National Identity, and 6) Universal Role.¹⁷

Social and Spiritual Idealism (1898-1912)

This period, from the first shoot transplanting the Bahá'í message to Canadian soil in 1898, to the visit of 'Abdu'l-Bahá to Montreal in 1912, was a mixed period carrying mere strands of the Bahá'í teachings and none of its social/community organization into the lives of select communities in Montreal, St. John, New Brunswick, and Vancouver. Early

Bahá'ís comprised a chaotic group of mixed ideologies and commitments and loose affiliation with the Bahá'í Faith based upon attraction to the ideals of social reform and social change. The genesis of the Canadian Bahá'í community began during the Chicago World's Parliament of Religions in 1893.¹⁸ Edith Magee, while visiting her uncle in Chicago, came upon the teachings of the Bahá'í Faith from her uncle, Gus Magee, a Chicago newspaperman.¹⁹ The first mention of the Bahá'í Faith in the West was in a talk on behalf of Rev. Henry Jessup at the 1893 Chicago World's Parliament of Religions. When Edith returned to her home in London, Ontario, she began sharing these teachings with her mother, Anne, who traveled to Chicago to learn more. By 1900 five of the Magee family were Bahá'ís. They moved shortly thereafter to New York.²⁰

The first stable Bahá'í locality was in Montreal, Quebec founded by May Ellis (*née* Bolles) Maxwell after leaving Paris in 1902 with her just-married husband, Sutherland Maxwell, who would later become a prominent Canadian architect. The Maxwell family typifies the largely Anglo, upper-class early Bahá'ís in Canada. Their home became a center of Bahá'í activity.²¹ May Maxwell had a clear sense of Bahá'í mission and purpose, perhaps developed during her pilgrimages to Akka and Haifa starting in 1899 to visit 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Her leadership of the nascent community in Montreal was sustained by both devotion and action. Devotion to the person of 'Abdu'l-Bahá, assisted by frequent letters to and from Haifa, provided a focus for the early North American communities. Early Bahá'ís tended to understand the new religion in terms similar to their Christian background. Hence, 'Abdu'l-Bahá was to Maxwell a "Christ-like" figure. It was only later that his station was made clear to the earliest Western Bahá'ís.²² Association both personally and by mail with the Montreal Bahá'ís paved the way for 'Abdu'l-Bahá's visit for nine days in 1912 on his extended tour of North America. Of many of Canada's first Bahá'ís, we know little, since members often retained local church affiliations, had little or no group identity and were widely scattered individual believers with no common body of teachings and scriptures.

Social Action as a Community (1912–1921)

The visit of 'Abdu'l-Bahá to America in 1912 proved a strong impetus to the growth and direction of the small North American Bahá'í community, some of whom had traveled to Haifa, Israel, since 1898 to visit him. It launched the second phase of Bahá'í development in Canada, characterized by a clearer wedding of social ideals to social action as a community.²³ Except for the stories brought back by the North American pilgrims and the teachings of scattered adherents in selected United States cities, there were no official scriptures or literature in the first developmental chapter of the Bahá'í Faith in North America. An overview of the themes and teachings which 'Abdu'l-Bahá shared with the Canadians will highlight the beliefs and ideas of the Bahá'í Faith which these early individuals embraced. In the absence of translated scriptures, 'Abdu'l-Bahá's teachings functioned to educate both believers and non-believers about the substance of the faith of Bahá'u'lláh. Of the seven public addresses he delivered while in Montreal two of them will be summarized here: one to the Church of the Messiah (Unitarian), and one at St. James Methodist. (See Appendix 15)

The central Bahá'í theme of the oneness of humanity opened 'Abdu'l-Bahá's September 1st address to the Church of the Messiah. He recounted the purpose of the prophets in sharing "life-giving teachings" to nourish humanity's growth toward perfection. He reaffirmed the unity of all religions as stemming from one divine source. During the last part of his address, he challenged his audience with the establishment of international peace and dwelt upon some of the barriers to peace which they were called upon to overcome. "Consider the prejudice of patriotism. This is one globe, one land, one country. God did not divide it into national boundaries. He created all the continents without national divisions. Why should we make such division ourselves?"²⁴ (See Appendix 15)

The September 1st address has two features of the Bahá'í world view which deserve special mention here: the essential unity of the spiritual teachings of all religions,

and the relativity of the social teachings to the exigencies of time and place. The first principle asserts that all revelation seeks to unify humanity with its Creator and each other. The second, that the conditions for implementing divine teachings differ and require different remedies according to time and place.

The September 5th talk began by addressing those assembled as “truth seekers” and noted the priceless gift of human reason which needs to be exercised in the independent investigation of truth. Divine Unity and its relationships to humanity were then related to the bounties dispersed by the Holy Spirit which nourishes the hearts and minds like the sun nourishes physical life. The latter part of his talk, as before, was devoted to the social principles of the Bahá’í Faith. He explained eleven of them and called on the two great American nations to take the lead in universal peace. (See Appendix 15)

The above are some of the teachings which attracted those early believers in the Bahá’í Faith and served, as notes, in the absence of translated scriptures, to guide the faith of the first generation of Bahá’ís in Canada. Themes touched upon in other talks while in Montreal include that the ancient faith of God is renewed, and humankind is called to unite in one spiritual family; to reconstruct its social life based upon the principles of Bahá’u’lláh; and to loose itself from the imitation of religious or secular traditions.

The coupling of these teachings with social action was the result of several events punctuating this period of development. Most decisive was the dissemination of ‘Abdu’l-Bahá’s Tablets of the Divine Plan²⁵ in 1919, a series of letters to the Bahá’ís of North America. The Tablets charge the North American communities with the responsibility of spreading the Bahá’í Faith around the world and are addressed specifically to the Bahá’ís of the United States and Canada. ‘Abdu’l-Bahá says, “Should you display an effort, so that the fragrances of God may be diffused among the Eskimos, its effect will be very great and far-reaching.”²⁶ Elsewhere, he calls attention to teaching the Native peoples of America. The Tablets still remain the framework for expansion of the North American Bahá’í community. Several staunch Bahá’ís, May Maxwell and Marion Jack most notably,

undertook a series of traveling teaching journeys across the breadth of Canada, from Newfoundland to the Yukon, to spread the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh. At this time, Bahá'í beliefs became more clearly identified with its founder and history, while the subject of talks and public addresses was overwhelmingly social in nature. The way in which early Bahá'í identity manifested itself was devotional—to the person of 'Abdu'l-Bahá and to Bahá'u'lláh. Peter Smith describes the combination of devotion and obedience as a polar motif in the community of this period. "For individual, highly religiously liberal Bahá'ís, devotion to 'Abdu'l-Bahá provided the link between their continued theological liberalism and their obedience to the commands of 'Abdu'l-Bahá and the divine laws of Bahá'u'lláh."²⁷ The latter, seen as the founder of a new and universal human cycle, was perhaps more remote, while the letters and visits of 'Abdu'l-Bahá made him very close.

Group Formation and Administrative Development (1921-1937)

The earliest building block in emerging Bahá'í administrative framework was the establishment in 1908 of Bahá'í Temple Unity, the first organized national Bahá'í body in the world which was originally established to oversee the construction of the first Bahá'í House of Worship in Wilmette, Illinois. Canadians served on this council and a French Canadian was selected as the architect, but it was not until the late 1920s that the basis of community identity was solidified. A far more important landmark for development of Canada's Bahá'í community, yet still linked to its larger sister in the United States, was the legal incorporation of the joint Spiritual Assembly of Canada and the United States in 1927, a group that had been formed in 1922 under the leadership of Shoghi Effendi of which Bahá'í Temple Unity was a forerunner. The formation of this Spiritual Assembly in 1922 marked the definition of clearer boundaries of Bahá'í membership and the beginnings of its administrative framework.²⁸ Administrative development was fostered and pursued by those who "saw the Bahá'í religion as an independent, and even exclusive, revealed religion, and who tended to favour organization, doctrinal controls, and 'epistemological authoritarianism'."²⁹ These Bahá'ís conceived of the Bahá'í Faith quite differently from

those who saw it as "a loosely knit, inclusive, spiritual philosophy infiltrating the existing religions."³⁰

During the 1920s concentrated growth was centered in the communities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, although "Bahá'í communities existed in about half a dozen localities in Canada in the pre-1921 period."³¹ Montreal formed its first spiritual assembly in 1922, Vancouver in 1927, and Moncton, St. Lambert, in 1938 and Toronto in 1938.³²

Shoghi Effendi crafted the form of local assemblies which were based upon the "houses of justice" mandated in the writings of Bahá'u'lláh. They were local administrative councils of nine, elected annually by the Bahá'í adult membership within civil jurisdictions. The Bahá'í community has been administered since 1923 by such elected councils on both the local and national level since the early days of the Guardianship, and they have been the pattern of measuring Bahá'í expansion from that time forward. Under the leadership of Shoghi Effendi, a vision of massive social and spiritual transformation towards a new world order was shared with Bahá'ís throughout the world, but became the special vision of the North American Bahá'ís, principally those in the United States. The development of these institutions and of community identity was nourished by a continuous flow of letters from the Guardian in Haifa, Israel, acknowledging the efforts and achievements of devotees and urging them on to greater victories.³³ The Guardian's letters and goals functioned as a charter for the development of the Canadian Bahá'í community. That development was focused on legally-constituted administrative groups such as incorporation of the Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of Montreal in 1935...the first incorporation under Canadian law.³⁴

Global Teaching Plans (1937-onwards)

"The great transformation of the Bahá'í community in Canada occurred during the fourth period (1937-1941)."³⁵ Shoghi Effendi launched the first of successive world-wide teaching plans which were to move the infant community forward and be the standard for

measuring its growth. He called for a systematic teaching campaign directed at establishing a spiritual assembly in at least one city in every province. From nine adherents in 1901 to 153 in 1944, the entire community numbered only 90 Bahá'ís in the whole country at this time.³⁶ The specific goals given to Canada from 1937 onwards continue and extend the Tablets of the Divine Plan which 'Abdu'l-Bahá bestowed on the two national American communities.

Community expansion occurred in one of two ways: by converts from other faiths (or no faith) and through sending Bahá'ís to settle in new areas. Regarding the former, converts often came in through the public talks and lectures supplied by a succession of traveling teachers. The pattern of settlement known as "pioneering" did not start until the early 1930s. A pioneer is one who settles in another country, state or town for the purposes of carrying the message of Bahá'u'lláh and establishes the Faith in that community (see Glossary). In effect, it is a kind of outpost characteristic of the pattern of dispersal which has guided Bahá'í expansion. Pioneering goals and target areas are included in all the teaching plans. The pioneer may or may not remain several years or a lifetime in the adopted locale.³⁷ In the Tablets, 'Abdu'l-Bahá emphasized the importance of teaching the Native peoples, the Indians and Inuit, which was accomplished largely by sending pioneers.

The specific goals given to Canada by the Guardian from 1937 onwards reveal the developmental concept in action within the Bahá'í community. The goals set by the global plans are both administrative and spiritual, thus defining development in both practical (quantitative) and qualitative terms. Examples of Canada's administrative goals include the establishment of the Canadian National Spiritual Assembly in 1948 and its incorporation by an act of Parliament. Others formulated during the "Ten-Year Crusade", 1953-63, are summarized below:

1. Opening of new territories not part of the Canadian Dominion;
2. Consolidation in nascent areas within and without the Canadian borders;

3. Purchases of land for a Canadian House of Worship;
4. Establishment of Bahá'í endowments;
5. Increased number of local spiritual assemblies;
6. Teaching committees established for the Americas and Asia; and
7. Establishment of an Israel branch of the National Spiritual Assembly which is empowered to own property.³⁸

Spiritual goals frequently relate to the "deepening and consolidation" of individuals and groups in terms of study of the holy writings, establishment of Bahá'í schools, increasing strength of faith evidenced by individual and community teaching efforts, recognition of Bahá'í Holy Days, and sending out pioneers and traveling teachers.³⁹

An example of spiritual goals is the Universal House of Justice directives to the Canadian Bahá'ís in the last phase of the Seven-Year Plan (1974–1986) to increase:

- 1) Active, deepened followers from all strata of society and from all ethnic backgrounds;
- 2) Spiritually united Bahá'í families;
- 3) Firmly grounded, active Local Spiritual Assemblies;
- 4) Highly motivated youth who commit their lives to active Bahá'í service through planned schooling, pioneering, social and economic projects and Bahá'í teaching goals; and
- 5) Bahá'í children who receive education in Bahá'í character and participate in family and community life towards the highest development of their potentials.⁴⁰

These goals illustrate the "spiritual" directives of consolidation which are part of the teaching plans. Administrative and spiritual goals are understood as mutually complementing and strengthening one another. They form the charter for individual and community development in ensuing years and cast development increasingly in terms of social institutions and their functioning. Progress is monitored by the frequent letters of the Guardian (1921-1957) or The Universal House of Justice (1963 onwards) which call attention to the achievements and capacities of the Bahá'ís and challenge them to new levels of service. The letters are almost never disparaging in tone or content and continually convey infusions of hope and love to inspire both material and spiritual growth.⁴¹

Formation of a National Identity: 1940s and 50s

Entering adolescence, the Canadian community became independent with its own National Spiritual Assembly in 1948. Upon incorporation in 1949, it was given additional goals to help expand and strengthen it. In 1948 there were only eight National Spiritual Assemblies in the Bahá'í world.⁴² Will van den Hoonaard calls attention to the impact of world events on the formation of this national identity: "World War II helped create this identity among the Bahá'ís through the forced necessity of establishing a Canadian Bahá'í fund and articulating the Bahá'í position towards noninvolvement in politics in general and in World War II, in particular."⁴³ The war made it necessary for Canadian Bahá'ís to have their own fund, their own summer schools and their own governing council. Principal teaching avenues in this period continued to be the sending of traveling teachers, holding of conferences, and Bahá'í schools. According to Will van den Hoonaard, "When Canada's Five-Year Plan was completed in April, 1953, there were 30 Assemblies and 72 other places with Bahá'ís, and 554 Bahá'ís in all of Canada."⁴⁴ The Canadian goals for the next ten years, articulated as part of the "Ten-Year Crusade" (listed earlier) brought Canada's modest numbers to 2,500 Bahá'ís, 68 local spiritual assemblies and 290 localities.⁴⁵ This more than four-fold increase in individual believers and more than a double increase in governing councils suggests that Canada's independent identity as a national community contributed strongly to the growth of the Bahá'í community in Canada.

Canada's International Role

The consolidation of Canadian Bahá'í national identity in the 1940s paved the way for a new stage in the development of the Canadian community in the 1950s and 60s—its international role. Its inauguration, known by Bahá'ís as the "Ten Year Crusade" (1953–63), gave increasing responsibilities to each of the twelve National Spiritual Assemblies which functioned as administrative bases for the expansion and consolidation efforts of the ten years of the plan. Each national assembly was given goals which expanded its national focus to other continents and broadened its national mandate into responsibility for a world-

encompassing faith. Canada was among these twelve national assemblies. Collectively, they were given objectives to quadruple the number of National Spiritual Assemblies, increase by 91 the number of languages into which Bahá'í literature was translated, establish Bahá'í endowments and land acquisitions for future Mashriqu'l-Adhikárs (see Glossary), increase the number of publishing trusts, and so forth.⁴⁶ The achievement of a series of international objectives was to integrate and intermingle the communities of East and West.⁴⁷

The Universal House of Justice, elected in 1963, in consultation with national communities has crafted these subsequent plans:

- a. The Nine Year Plan, 1964-1973;
- b. The Five Year Plan, 1974-1979;
- c. The Seven Year Plan, 1979-1986;
- d. The Six Year Plan, 1986-1992;
- e. The Three Year Plan, 1992-1995;
- f. The Four Year Plan, 1996-2000.

Each of these plans has achieved a rapid expansion in Canada's international role in assisting consolidation of foreign National Spiritual Assemblies, developing Bahá'í publishing efforts, land acquisitions, and, most especially, in sending pioneers to targeted areas.⁴⁸ "Between 1964-1986, 669 Canadian Bahá'ís settled in overseas goals."⁴⁹

Canada's assistance abroad has been balanced by the growth of the Bahá'í community at home. That growth is measured by increasing numbers of Bahá'ís as well as strengthening Bahá'í institutions. During the period of the 1970s and '80s Canada inaugurated Bahá'í institutions in remote areas such as the summer schools at Baker Lake and Grand Manan and formed the Maxwell International Bahá'í School in Vancouver Island in 1987 (a secondary school offering the International Baccalaureate). Civil recognition of the Bahá'í Faith has included the recognition of Bahá'í marriage (the first in 1960) and Holy Days by provincial authorities.⁵⁰ The outward development of Bahá'í institutions is understood as complementing the less tangible or spiritual signs of Bahá'í

development. For instance, the dedication of the Bahá'í National Centre April 28, 1974, was understood as a confirmation of the promises of 'Abdu'l-Bahá earlier in Montreal that "The future of the Dominion of Canada is very great, and its historical events infinitely glorious."⁵¹

Numerical growth was especially strong among the Native peoples in the "Ten Year Crusade." By April, 1963, twenty percent of the Bahá'í Assemblies were native assemblies.⁵² The 1970's were a period of "mass teaching" in many regions of the Bahá'í world. In Canada, an article in the Bahá'í News in 1974 features "Mass Teaching in Cities" in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan which focused on minority groups, particularly Native Americans.⁵³ The growing numbers of Native Bahá'ís, both in the United States and in Canada, lead to the holding of Native Councils which assemble indigenous Bahá'ís of the Americas to celebrate and learn together. The first Bahá'í Native Council was held in 1978 on the Yakima Indian Reservation in Washington State (United States). It spawned a traveling teaching team of Native Bahá'ís who called themselves the "Trail of Light" and began to travel and teach the Bahá'í faith in Native villages and reserves. The first six-member team was comprised of three Inuit and three Native American Bahá'ís.⁵⁴ The Councils feature speakers, workshops, and celebrations of Native singing and dancing; the goal of the councils is to strengthen Native communities and their efforts in teaching the Bahá'í faith. One feature of these Councils was the "Trail of Light" teaching team who had traveled throughout the Americas in "a heightened desire to unite North and South America in closer bonds of fellowship and love."⁵⁵

Another strong pillar in Canada's global outreach has been the activities of the Association for Bahá'í Studies. This Association was formed in 1975 in response to the Five Year Plan issued by the Universal House of Justice to "cultivate opportunities for formal presentations, courses, and lectureships on the Bahá'í Faith in Canadian universities and other institutions of higher learning."⁵⁶

The resulting "Canadian Association for Studies on the Bahá'í Faith" drafted a set

of purposes and goals "to awaken the Canadian academic community to the existence of the Faith...to acquaint them with the quality of the academic resources that it offers."⁵⁷ The Association has since sponsored a series of conferences and publications to draw the attention of the academic community to the resources and principles of the Bahá'í teachings. Among these has been the symposium on the relationship of the Bahá'í Faith to Islam on March 23-25, 1984, at McGill University in Montreal;⁵⁸ and another such conference on the Bahá'í Faith and Marxism held in January, 1986, at the Louhelen Bahá'í School in Michigan. These conferences are in addition to the annual conferences of the Association of Bahá'í Studies which widened its net of participation in 1984 with the eighth annual conference held in Chicago, Illinois. More than thirteen nationalities participated in this conference which drew more than 500 people and a number of non-Bahá'í speakers including Dr. Ervin Laszlo, director of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research; and Dr. Joanna Macy, author, community development facilitator and professor at the University of California, Berkeley; and Dr. Gustavo Correa, project director of FUNDAEC, Cali, Columbia. The Association began encouraging Bahá'í studies through "Awards for Excellence" presented during its annual meetings.⁵⁹

The work of the Association of Bahá'í Studies has continued to expand by forming a number of sections targeted at developing Bahá'í expertise in specific fields. The first such group was the Bahá'í International Conference on Health and Healing in June, 1980, in Ottawa, Ontario. Global perspectives on health, the unity of science and religion, and the tasks facing Bahá'ís in health professions were topics explored by conference participants.⁶⁰ As can be seen in the development of the Association of Bahá'í Studies, the teaching plans chart goals which must be put into action.

In responding to the goals of the teaching plans enumerated at the beginning of this stage of growth, Bahá'í communities grow: numerically; by strengthening their institutions; through recognition outside the religion among groups and individuals with similar values; and as individuals and communities with expanding capacities. In terms of Canada's

historical roots, each teaching plan has focused on the further spread of the Bahá'í Faith outside the dominant majority of Anglophone Canadians.

Since the 1980's the Canadian Bahá'í community has received special recognition for its work with the Canadian Immigration Office in accepting Bahá'í refugees from Iran – 2,020 by 1987.⁶¹ The influx of Bahá'ís from the East has "contributed to establishing and maintaining Spiritual Assemblies in remote areas, and has assisted in the integration of these refugees into the general Bahá'í community."⁶²

Summary of Growth

Using the analogy of maturation, during the first thirty years of its life, the Bahá'í community in Canada was developed in its childhood by the contributions of a number of outstanding individuals among whom were two architects, Sutherland Maxwell and Louis Bourgeois, and energetic traveling teachers May Maxwell and Marion Jack. As its institutions strengthened, in the 1930s and 1940s, the efforts of key individuals, though still present, were eclipsed by the work of Bahá'í institutions, primarily the National and Local Spiritual Assemblies. In the period of its most recent maturity in the 1970s and 1980s, the Canadian Bahá'í community has taken a stronger leadership role in the world Bahá'í community. Today, Canadian Bahá'í individuals, groups and institutions sponsor and support projects which link the Canadian Bahá'í community closely with others the world over in the Association of Bahá'í Studies, work with Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Net-East (liaisons with former Soviet bloc countries), conference planning, publishing, artistic projects and world health initiatives.

Social Characterization of Canadian Bahá'ís:

Whereas early Bahá'í converts tended to be almost exclusively high class women of liberal Protestant origins persistent efforts in addressing a wider representation of Canadians have succeeded in drawing a diverse ethnic, national, racial, and economic mixture of people within the Bahá'í community.⁶³ Robert Stockman characterizes the first Bahá'í believers as from the liberal Protestant, theosophical and spiritualist movements

popular in the 1890s and early 1900s.⁶⁴

Religious Background

No group statistics are available regarding the previous religious identification of new Bahá'ís. However, in community studies such as van den Hoonaard's of St. John, New Brunswick,⁶⁵ we view close-up the largely Protestant origins of the early Bahá'í converts and see why the Bahá'í Faith was accessible to them.

While Theosophy, Methodism, and Rosicrucianism constituted the source religious affiliations of many of the very early Bahá'ís, it is clear that liberal Protestantism was the principal anvil upon which the Bahá'í community was forged. With its emphasis on individuality, personal responsibility, and its proclivity towards organized modern life, Protestantism provided the organizational basis for Bahá'í expansion. Notably, the use of fireside meetings in the home and public meetings allowed the Bahá'í community to attract those who favoured both home life and a neutral setting to teach and hear about the new religion.⁶⁶

The Protestant flavor which pervaded the early Canadian Bahá'í community was based upon three themes which appealed to a largely Anglo, liberal, middle-class temperament. Those are: 1) personal responsibility, 2) organized community life, 3) interest in social transformation.⁶⁷ These themes help to explain the congruence between faith development theory, developed in Chapter One, and Bahá'í theology, developed in Chapter Three. James Fowler's own background has been liberal Protestant as has the background of early adherents of the Bahá'í Faith in Canada. The values of liberal Protestantism can be seen in the direction and values charting Bahá'í growth in Canada as well as in the ethnic composition of the Canadian Bahá'í community. The religious backgrounds of the Bahá'ís in this study included ten Protestants (Anglicans, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and United Church), four Catholics, three individuals with no affiliation, one Muslim and two lifetime Bahá'ís.

Ethnicity

For a religion whose main principle is the unity of humankind in one spiritual family, the unbalanced distribution of the early Canadian community was addressed by the

National Spiritual Assembly in subsequent plans. Teaching among Native Americans, an important theme of Tablets of the Divine Plan, was reaffirmed in each of the teaching plans Canada has developed since its legal independence in 1948. The Five Year Plan (1948-1953) included "the enrollment of Eskimos and native Indians as members of the community ready to exercise their administrative rights."⁶⁸ As a result of the emphases of subsequent plans, especially those from 1973 onwards, by 1991 Canada's Native community was sixteen percent of its membership, and seventeen percent of Bahá'í communities were on Native Reserves.⁶⁹ Native communities opened to the Bahá'í Faith in May, 1979 included about 450 localities.⁷⁰

The largest minority of Canadians, the francophones, included only ten Bahá'ís until 1960. However, recent enrollments indicate that francophone Canadians are 5.8 percent of new Bahá'ís from 1986 to 1988.⁷¹ The task of including more French Canadians has been a difficult one according to Douglas Martin, (1975) then assistant secretary of the National Spiritual Assembly:

Bilingualism is one of our greatest challenges. The inhibitions and fears of English Canada are present within the English-speaking Bahá'í community, though we are consciously trying to overcome them. Our community will gain more vitality, variety and imaginativeness as more and more French Canadians enter the Faith and the Canadian community becomes truly bilingual.⁷²

Efforts to attract francophones continue. The Canadian Bahá'í periodical, Bahá'í Canada, has assisted in the development of the francophone Bahá'ís both in Canada and around the world.⁷³ During the Five Year Plan (1974-1979), the National Assembly suggested that all children become bilingual. The Six Year Plan of 1986-1992 includes special teaching efforts among the native, Inuit and francophone peoples of Canada. During the two years the author lived in Ottawa (1986-87 and 1990-91), the community worship services were conducted in both French and English, although there were very few francophones in the community. Canadian census figures for the Province of Quebec are some measure of the spread of the Bahá'í Faith among francophones to date: 1,185

Bahá'ís total includes 625 males, 565 females.⁷⁴ This represents nearly a 55 percent increase from the 1981 census of 640 Bahá'ís in Quebec. However, census figures for Quebec do not necessarily represent francophones. Increasing numbers of francophones and, consequently, increasing unity between the francophone and English speakers in Canada remains a challenge.

In reflecting on the absence of French and black Canadians in the Bahá'í community, van den Hoonaard speculates that:

Catholic and French-Canadian adherents, before 1948, must have found the lack of ritual and congregational prayer, the large number of single people and couples without children, and the absence of family and social ties an unfamiliar landscape. ...Blacks entering into a Bahá'í dimension would have been struck by the absence of the religious social self. Instead of finding a social community that engaged all social aspects of the individual, a Black man or woman found an individualistic community.⁷⁵

Another ethnic community of recent origin among the Canadian Bahá'ís are Middle Easterners.⁷⁶ The Seven-Year Plan (1979-1986) saw the increasing immigration of Iranian Bahá'ís fleeing oppression in their homeland in the wake of the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Bahá'ís, working closely with the Canadian government, were instrumental in the settlement of many Iranian Bahá'í refugees in Canada. Iranian immigrants have also attracted a number of new enrollments from the Middle Eastern community (5.6 percent from 1986-88)⁷⁷ to comprise sixteen percent of Canada's total Bahá'í population.

The participants in this research differ significantly from the Canadian Bahá'í community as a whole. The ethnicity of the Canadian volunteers has already been described in the opening of this chapter. The large proportion of Native Bahá'ís and the visible minority of Middle Easterners in the Canadian Bahá'í community are not represented at all. Since participants were self selected, this researcher can only conclude that such a project did not attract the Natives and Middle Easterners or that the net for seeking volunteers did not reach them. It is clear that the Bahá'ís in this study are not a representative sample of Canadian Bahá'ís even though the researcher made efforts to

attract as diverse a group of participants as possible.

Experience Abroad

This overview of the Canadian community has noted the global outreach of the Canadian Bahá'ís in the last three decades of its growth. Part of that global outreach has been participation in pioneering and travel teaching. As a group, the participants in this study have pioneered to the following countries and continents: North America, Martinique, South America, Zaire, Guadeloupe, Africa, Switzerland, Austria, Netherlands, Ghana, Burkina Fasso, Australia, and Cameroon. Traveling teaching trips collectively have included: Russia, Puerto Rico, India, unspecified communities in Asia, two in South America and many in Africa. The likelihood of any random sample of Canadians having this much experience abroad seems small. It provokes the question: What have been the possible effects of this international exposure on faith development, particularly the "Bounds of Social Awareness?"

Gender

The overwhelming majority of women which carried the Bahá'í Faith in its earliest years has given way to a more balanced distribution of male and female—about 55 percent female. The earlier preponderance of females was explained by the fact that single women attracted other single women. That pattern has changed in recent years. Enrollment statistics kept by the National Bahá'í Centre in Thornhill, Ontario indicate that between April, 1986 and February, 1989 new enrollments were 55 percent female and 45 percent male.⁷⁸

The participants in this study showed a higher proportion of females than the Canadian norm with thirteen women and seven men. Additionally, the personal status of interviewees included nine single persons (three of whom were previously married) and eleven marrieds. The single persons were all female, a fact which echoes van den Hoonaard's characterization of women in "Broad Contours of the Canadian Bahá'í Community." He notes that "the Bahá'í Faith consistently attracted a large proportion of

women..."⁷⁹ who then shaped community expansion.

Geographic Distribution

The development of communities has focused on a pattern of dispersal rather than density which contrasts the usual development of Christian faith communities. By comparison, Bahá'í communities are often small, widely spread, and ethnically diverse.

Doug Martin characterized the Canadian community in 1975:

There are only 10,000 Bahá'ís in Canada, but we're spread out from one end of the country to the other, and the community is very dynamic and energetic. We are only the size of a middle-sized urban congregation, yet we have over 300 independent administrative bodies (Spiritual Assemblies). We're not all in the same place as in the case of many churches who have many more adherents than we do.⁷⁹

According to van den Hoonaard, 39 percent of Bahá'ís live in urban settlements, 27 percent in small towns, 16 percent in rural communities and 17 percent in native settlements or reserves.⁸¹ This geographical distribution is different from the Canadian norm.

According to Kim Naqvi (1989) of the Department of Statistics and Records at the Bahá'í National Center, Bahá'ís "are more diffused and more highly represented in smaller cities, towns and rural areas, and are less centralized in Ontario and Quebec."⁸²

In addition to the above patterns of dispersal, the highest ratio of Bahá'ís per one million people are in the Yukon (29,024 per million), the Northwest Territories (9,054), and Saskatchewan (2,417).⁸³ In fact, the further west one goes, the more the Bahá'í population increases relative to the Canadian population. This can be explained by the proportionately large number of native Bahá'ís in Canada.⁸⁴

The Bahá'ís in this study were geographically dispersed through Ontario (seventeen) and Quebec (three) with thirteen from large urban communities, seven from small towns, and none from rural areas. The initial group of participants was from the Ottawa/Hull region. The selection of participants was not based upon a representative sample of Canadian Bahá'í settlements.

Age and Education

Additional features involved in the selection of volunteers which are not treated demographically in the published materials of the Bahá'í community include age and education. Education levels were identified to remain roughly comparable with the Indians selected. In general, this was a very well educated group which is consistent with the figures on Canadian Bahá'ís as a whole published by Statistics Canada. Statistics Canada lists 35 percent of Canadian Bahá'ís between the ages of 24 to 44 with university degrees and over half of those in the same age group with some post-secondary education.⁸⁵ Three individuals had high school diplomas plus some additional schooling, and this was the lowest educational level of volunteers. There were eight bachelor's degrees; six master's degrees and three doctoral degrees. One wonders why so many educated Bahá'ís volunteered for this project. Since the author was within an academic community for her work at the University of Ottawa, perhaps her visibility was greater among those with university degrees. Or, it could be that educated Bahá'ís have a greater sense of confidence to share their lives and experiences for a project of this sort. Since more educated people have tested consistently higher on the Fowler faith stages model, education was a variable to monitor.

Age distribution was measured in two ways: by biological age and by Bahá'í age. How long participants had been Bahá'í was identified to trace any relationship between length of time Bahá'í and faith stage maturity. Identifying "Bahá'í age" will allow for follow up studies (longitudinal analysis). Biological age differences were sought over a wide range of adults to make possible the largest range of stage scores on the Fowler instrument. In the four age groups identified, there were three from 21-30; eight from 31-40; five from 41-50 and four who were older than 51.

Class Background

Professions of parents was asked in order to have some gauge of class identification. It seemed that the group struck a higher-than-average class composition

from the Canadian norm which van den Hoonaard describes in a descending arc.

While initially the community attracted members of the upper class, it successively moved to attract people of the managerial class and, eventually, those from lower-middle class occupations. The occupational skills of the lower-middle class gave them freedom to move around the country and settle in those locales where the need for new Bahá'ís was the greatest.⁸⁶

Van den Hoonaard reports that "only 40-60 percent of the Bahá'í population can be said to be earning an income."⁸⁷ The following occupations refer to occupations of parents of the research participants and include those of both parents if they both worked:

- management consultant, construction company owner;
- geologist, professor, social worker, lawyer, economist, teacher, research engineer, clergyman, engineer, librarian;
- data processor, insurance representative, office worker, designer/draftsman, businessman;
- carpenter, farmer, factory worker, steamship worker, longshoreman, city laborer, custodian.

However, many of the mothers of volunteers were homemakers.

Summary of Social Composition

A number of changes have occurred in the Canadian Bahá'í community over the years since its founding in Canada: the population has become more balanced in gender, while still favoring a slight majority of women; it has become more ethnically mixed, changing the largely white, Anglo-orientation of early Bahá'ís to include a large proportion of Native believers and Persians, and small minorities of francophones; the class status of membership has declined from largely upper class Bahá'ís to one based on lower middle-class people.

Summary

It has been the purpose of this section to lay out the social community within which

the interviewees are situated. To do so, it was first necessary to describe the range and extent of growth among the Canadian Bahá'ís and the international standards and institutions which measure that growth. The institutional and administrative framework of growth is the social context of community and individual Bahá'í life and, therefore, corresponds with "the church" for a Christian. The author has then attempted to convey some of the themes and concepts which are central to the Bahá'ís of Canada and which form the "world view" within which the lives of the Canadian participants is shaped. Thirdly, the diversity of the Bahá'ís in terms of ethnicity has been a persistent theme of its recent social make-up, the challenges it faces in establishing unity, and the goals it carries. Lastly, the uniqueness of Canada within the Bahá'í world has been touched upon but is summarized here by Alan Raynor:

Of course, Spiritual Assemblies the world over are in a nascent, embryonic state, in a state of evolution and progress. However imperfect, our Local Spiritual Assemblies in Canada are light years ahead of Local Spiritual Assemblies in some other parts of the world....In Canada it has been possible to establish firmly with the civil authorities that the Faith derives its basic principles from no order or institution that now exists or has ever existed, be it social, religious or political. I don't know any country where this can be done to the same extent as in Canada. When a Local Spiritual Assembly is properly incorporated and civil authorities realize what it is, they in fact recognize an institution completely independent in character from anything they have ever seen.⁸⁸

The freedom and recognition of civil authorities which the Canadian Bahá'ís have enjoyed has lead them to focus their efforts abroad since the 1970s through pioneering, third-world development projects, scholarly associations/publications and other international endeavours. The international character of the Canadian Bahá'í community is apparent in the Canadian participants of this study.

NOTES: CHAPTER 4

¹ The Bahá'í World, 1992-1993, 311. (Note: The overview is based on the author's teaching notes for past twenty years as teacher of Comparative Religions at Macomb Community College, Warren, Michigan.)

² Peter Smith, The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions: From Messianic Shi'ism to a World Religion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 216-7.

³ For a fuller history of the Bábí movement, consult Peter Smith's, The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions: From messianic Shi'ism to a world religion, chapter one.

⁴ 'Abdu'l-Bahá, Foundations of World Unity. Compiled from Addresses and Tablets of 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1945.

⁵ *Ibid.* and "The Dynamic Force of Example," Bahá'í Comprehensive Deepening Program, Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1974, chapter 11.

⁶ Shoghi Effendi, Bahá'í Administration. Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1968. And "The Bahá'í Electoral Process," in Bahá'í Comprehensive Deepening Program.

⁷ Smith, 73. The title "Center of the Covenant" refers to 'Abdu'l-Bahá' as the point of unity and leadership of the followers of Bahá'u'llah after his death in 1892.

⁸ Smith, 218.

⁹ Will C. van den Hoonaard, "Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Canadian Bahá'í Community," May 30, 1989. Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Laval University, Quebec, 3 June, 1989.

¹⁰ Smith, Chapter 8, "Institutionalization in the Formative Age."

¹¹ van den Hoonaard, "Socio-Demographic Characteristics," 8.

¹² Ruhiyyih Rabbani, The Priceless Pearl. Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire: The Broadwater Press, 1969.

¹³ van den Hoonaard, "Socio-Demographic Characteristics," 8.

¹⁴ Smith, 132-134.

¹⁵ The lack of archival material available, published memoirs and journal articles is noted by Will C. van den Hoonaard in a talk delivered to the Association of Bahá'í Studies 13th annual meeting in Ottawa, 1988, "Building a Cultural Heritage: Researching the Canadian Bahá'í History." It seems the contributions and developments of the Canadian Bahá'í community were consistently overshadowed by those of the United States until very recent times.

¹⁶ "Canadian Bahá'í Statistics," Department of Records, July 19, 1991.

¹⁷ The first three of these stages are indebted to Will C. van den Hoonaard; "Broad Contours of the Canadian Bahá'í Community," Sept. 3, 1994, and "The transplantation of non-Western religious movements to Western societies: the Making of the Bahá'í Community of Canada," Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion, Montreal, June, 1995.

¹⁸ van den Hoonaard, "Broad Contours".

¹⁹ Robert H. Stockman, The Bahá'í Faith in America: Origins, 1892-1900, vol. 1, Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1985, 131.

²⁰ Stockman, *ibid.*

²¹ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 9.

²² See May Bolles' encounter with 'Abdu'l-Bahá in Stockman, Vol. 1, which sheds light on the devotional nature of the faith of early converts.

²³ van den Hoonaard, "Broad Contours," 1994.

²⁴ Promulgation of Universal Peace: Discourses by 'Abdu'l-Bahá During His Visit to the United States in 1912. Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Committee, 1922, 293.

²⁵ 'Abdu'l-Bahá. Tablets of the Divine Plan, Revealed by 'Abdu'l-Bahá to the North American Bahá'ís. Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1977. Although the Tablets were written during the war years of 1916-17, they were not disseminated until 1919.

²⁶ *ibid.* p. 28.

²⁷ Peter Smith, The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 110-111.

²⁸ "The Bahá'í community has deliberately pursued a close relationship with civil authority as an integral part of its development." The Bahá'í World, 1992-93, 305.

²⁹ Peter Smith, 113.

³⁰ Vernon Elvin Johnson, "An Historical Analysis of Critical Transformations in the Evolution of the Bahá'í World Faith," Ph.D. dissertation, Baylor University, Texas, 1974, p. 392 as quoted in Smith, 112.

³¹ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 1989, 11.

³² Written correspondence with Will C. van den Hoonaard, September 11, 1995.

³³ See Peter Smith's account of Modern Bahá'í authoritative literature which discusses the contributions and role of Shoghi Effendi in shaping the development of the Bahá'í community, both ideologically and administratively, from his service as Guardian. Smith, pp. 136-138.

³⁴ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 1989, 11.

³⁵ Will C. van den Hoonaard, "Broad Contours of the Canadian Bahá'í Community," unpublished paper, September 5, 1994, p. 2.

³⁶ van den Hoonaard, *ibid.* p. 2.

³⁷ The author's great aunt, Josephine Kruka, was a pioneer to Finland following the first Seven-Year Plan in 1937. She remained there alternately with pioneering to Havana, Cuba until the 1960's when her health forced her back to the U.S.

³⁸ Linda O'Neil, "A Short History of the Bahá'í Faith in Canada, 1898-1975," unpublished paper, p. 16.

³⁹ The Bahá'í World, vol. XII, pp. 253-272.

⁴⁰ Bahá'í Canada, Ed.6 #1, 1984.

⁴¹ See Shoghi Effendi, Citadel of Faith: Messages to America, 1947-1953. and Universal House of Justice, Wellspring of Guidance, 1963-1968.

⁴² Ruhyyih Rabbani, The Priceless Pearl, 297.

⁴³ van den Hoonaard, "Broad Contours of the Canadian Bahá'í Community."

⁴⁴ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics" 13.

⁴⁵ *ibid.* 13.

⁴⁶ The Bahá'í World, Vol. XII, 1950-1954, 253-275.

⁴⁷ The Bahá'í World, vol. XIII, 1954-1963, 459-478.

⁴⁸ The Bahá'í World, vol. XIV, 1963-1968, 425-439.

⁴⁹ Muttart, 1986 as quoted in van den Hoonaard, "Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Canadian Bahá'í Community," 1989, 14.

⁵⁰ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 12-13.

⁵¹ As quoted in "Remarkable strides taken by believers," Bahá'í News, August, 1974, 3.

⁵² van den Hoonaard, *ibid.*, 27-28.

⁵³ Bahá'í News, April, 1974, 7.

⁵⁴ "Trail of Light," Bahá'í News, September, 1980, 6-7.

- ⁵⁵ "Third North American Native Council," Bahá'í News, November, 1982, 8-9.
- ⁵⁶ As quoted in "Bahá'í Studies," Bahá'í News, October, 1980, 10-13.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., 10.
- ⁵⁸ Bahá'í News, December, 1984, 15.
- ⁵⁹ "Association's 8th annual Conference," Bahá'í News, January, 1984, 8-11.
- ⁶⁰ "Healthy Outlook," Bahá'í News, November, 1980, 8-9.
- ⁶¹ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 14.
- ⁶² van den Hoonaard, unpublished paper for "The Bahá'í in Atlantic Canada: A Retrospective on a New Religious Movement." Conference on the History of Religion in Atlantic Canada, Department of History, University of New Brunswick, Oct. 2-4, 1992.
- ⁶³ Much of this is drawn from recent issues of Bahá'í Canada, and the 1993 Statistics Canada, #93-319, Religions in Canada.
- ⁶⁴ Stockman, The Bahá'í Faith in America: Origins, 1892-1900, vol. 1, 101-103.
- ⁶⁵ Will van den Hoonaard, "The Development and Decline of an Early Canadian Bahá'í Community: Saint John, New Brunswick, 1910-25," in Community Histories: Studies in the Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, vol. 6, ed. Richard Hollinger. Los Angeles, Kalimat Press: 217-39.
- ⁶⁶ van den Hoonaard, "Broad Contours." 3.
- ⁶⁷ The themes used are taken from van den Hoonaard's "Broad Contours."
- ⁶⁸ Bahá'í World, Vol. XII, 1952, pp. 20-21, as quoted in O'Neil, 15.
- ⁶⁹ Department of Records, Canadian Bahá'í Community Statistics, July 19, 1991, coupled with Canadian Bahá'í News, Vol. 4, #3, July, 1991, 13.
- ⁷⁰ Bahá'í Canada, May, 1979.
- ⁷¹ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics" Table 8 and p. 31.
- ⁷² Quoted in O'Neil, "A Short History," 30.
- ⁷³ Ibid. 30.
- ⁷⁴ 1991 Census of Canada. Cat. 93-319, Statistics Canada, June, 1993. 1981 Census of Canada, Cat. 92-912 Vol. 1, Statistics Canada, Dec. 1983.
- ⁷⁵ van den Hoonaard, "Broad Contours," 1994, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁶ Statistics, Department of Records, Bahá'í National Center, Thornhill, Ontario. Prepared by Kim Naqvi, 1991. Middle Easterners identified as Persians account for 16% or over 4,000 Bahá'ís in the 1991 Bahá'í community statistics.

⁷⁷ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 33.

⁷⁸ Department of Statistics, National Bahá'í Centre, Thornhill, Ont. as quoted in van den Hoonaard, "Demographics" 1989.

⁷⁹ "Broad Contours of the Canadian Bahá'í Community," p. 4.

⁸⁰ as quoted in O'Neil, 31.

⁸¹ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 9.

⁸² "Year End Report Ridvan 144 to 145 B.E." Prepared Oct. 6, 1988 by Kim Naqvi, Statistics and Records.

⁸³ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 1990, 9.

⁸⁴ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 1990, 10.

⁸⁵ Religions in Canada, Statistics Canada, June 1993, #93-319, 153. Its total Bahá'í population of 14,730 represents considerably less than the 22,000+ in the Bahá'í Community Statistics. Out of that number, 2,100 are university degree holders. However Statistics Canada uses only a 20% sample as the basis for their data.

⁸⁶ "Broad Contours of the Canadian Bahá'í Community", 4.

⁸⁷ van den Hoonaard, "Demographics," 21.

⁸⁸ as quoted in O'Neil, 30.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTEXT—THE BAHÁ'Í FAITH IN INDIA

The Bahá'í Community of India Within the Bahá'í World

The Bahá'í community of India is the largest Bahá'í national community in the world with 1,533,802 adults and 688,662 children and youth at the close of 1993 when the author spent four months there. Administratively, the community has 4,156 local governing councils, 22,024 groups and 4,035 isolated centres. Of the more than 4,000 administrative councils, only a little over 600 are actively functioning.¹ Bahá'í literature has been translated into twenty Indian languages, an essential in both teaching and deepening the rural populations. Thirty-five literacy programs are ongoing.

By 1983, over half of all local Spiritual Assemblies in the Bahá'í world and 47 percent of all localities settled by Bahá'ís were in India and South East Asia.² These proportions reflect a pattern of geo-cultural development which will be helpful in visualizing significant relationships and differences between the Canadian and Indian Bahá'í communities.³ Briefly, this pattern observes the Bahá'í movement originating in Iran within a Middle Eastern milieu, then moving to the West and its cultural enclaves in Europe and the South Pacific in the next developmental phase, and, finally, burgeoning in 'third world' countries in the present phase.⁴ At each stage of movement, the religion acquires different membership groups, becomes aligned to different symbol systems and concepts, and diversifies its cultural and geographical base. Sociologist Peter Smith asserts that "the overall change from an essentially Middle Eastern community to one that is predominantly 'Third World' in composition is clearly revealed."⁵ "It is the Third World which has come to predominate, and by 1983 some 89 percent of world localities and 87 percent of Local Assemblies were located in this area."⁶

India, as the first and largest of those 'third world' areas, has four Development Institutes (see Glossary) which have emerged in the wake of large-scale mass enrollment

programs targeted at the rural masses in the 1960s and 70s. There are no published sociological studies of the present Indian Bahá'í community since the mid-1970s when two doctoral dissertations were written examining the conversions in Malwa of large numbers of rural, scheduled caste persons.⁷ Peter Smith's sociological/historical work offers an excellent general perspective but does not focus particularly on India. Therefore, resources for socio-historical background have been drawn from volumes of The Bahá'í World: An International Record and issues of the Bahá'í magazines, Star of the West and Bahá'í News. India has succeeded Iran (earlier) and North America (for the first part of this century) as the most concentrated power base in the Bahá'í world (numbers of assemblies, localities, individuals, teaching institutes, development work).

The Bahá'í community of India has also received considerable international attention from visitors to New Delhi due to the dedication in December, 1986, of the first Bahá'í House of Worship on the Indian subcontinent.⁸ It is host to increasing numbers of visitors each year, amounting to 3,600,000 annually in 1995.⁹ It is the seventh such structure in the world, each one having a central dome with natural lighting, nine sides, and distinctive designs reflecting the character of its host culture. The India temple is in the shape of a lotus with three concentric sets of nine petals each surrounding a central dome and springing from a raised podium.¹⁰

Growth and Development of the Indian Bahá'í Community

Patterns of growth similar to those in Canada will be observed in the Indian community—that is, stage-like transformations in its developmental emphases which radically change the ways in which the community envisions itself and operates: independent efforts; from group to national identity; teaching campaigns; mass teaching; institutional development.

The first period, Independent Efforts, corresponds to the periods of social idealism and social action in Canada and includes the period from 1872 until 1919. The periods differ somewhat based upon events within the Indian community. The second, "From

Group to National Identity," coincides with the beginnings of administrative development and boundary definition in Canada as well. This period is clearly the outgrowth of the leadership of Shoghi Effendi as Guardian. The influence of the Guardian on the development of Bahá'í community life around the globe has already been referred to in the Chapter Four. The third period, "Teaching Campaigns," is, again, comparable to the global teaching plans inaugurated in Canada at the same time. The process started later in India, 1940, and extends through 1961. The fourth period, "Mass Teaching," begins in 1961, and extends through 1980, perhaps even later. During this phase of development the community of Bahá'ís in India might pass through its most dramatic change of membership. The most recent period, "Institutional Development," responds to the call issued by the Universal House of Justice for the social and economic development of communities in which Bahá'ís live. It represents a significant outreach in community focus, governed largely by its flourishing membership resulting from mass teaching.

Independent Efforts: 1872-1919

In the first stage the Indian Bahá'ís are an extremely small community exported from Iran with leadership resting upon the efforts of a few key individuals.¹¹ The first of these is Jamal Effendi, a learned scholar of Arabic and Persian, sent to India at the request of Bahá'u'lláh for the purpose of proclaiming the Bahá'í teachings to the subcontinent. There is mention of several Bábís in India prior to 1872, but the first active teaching of the Bahá'í Faith was done beginning in 1872 by Jamal Effendi.¹² He arrived first in Bombay and began to give public talks about the claims and principles of the Bahá'í Faith but was met with hostility, particularly among the Muslim religious leaders of Bombay. He met with many high officials in India in other towns and cities and was present at the 1876 gathering in Delhi to honor Queen Victoria as "Empress of India." Among the dignitaries he met on this occasion was Swami Sarasvati, founder of the Arya Samaj. Following a year of travels, he managed to convert only a handful of people, three of whom were prominent individuals.¹³

"From the 1870s through to at least the 1930s," according to Peter Smith, "the Bahá'í community of India appears to have remained substantially unchanging in its social composition and methods of teaching. ...the core of the community remained a Persianized Muslim or Zoroastrian section of the urban middle class."¹⁴ As in Canada, the growth of the Faith in the first twenty years of the Twentieth Century was centered in three cities: Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Bahá'í public talks were the principal means of reaching potential converts and were often presented in cooperation with the Theosophical Society, or, later, with the Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj movements (see Glossary).¹⁵ As the content and style of presentation in public talks in universities and to business associations was an appeal to the liberalized, educated elite, it is not surprising that the earliest persons attracted to the movement were members of educated Indian society.¹⁶

To encourage the growth of the movement in India, sent several distinguished traveling teachers to India during the years of his leadership (1893-1921) and by 1908 there were Bahá'í local spiritual assemblies in Bombay, Calcutta, Aligarh and Lahore.¹⁷ By 1905 when an American, Sydney Sprague, traveled to India and Burma, the community in Bombay had taken the lead in teaching the Faith and translating literature into Indian languages. Sprague reports attending three meetings a week at which 80 to 100 men were present.¹⁸ Sprague undertook his year of travels at the invitation of 'Abdu'l-Bahá as the first Western Bahá'í to visit the Orient, a privilege he understood to be fulfilling the injunction of Bahá'u'lláh that "the East and West shall embrace as lovers."¹⁹ He visited Bombay, Calcutta, Aligarh, Delhi and Lahore in India, giving many public talks, visiting with Bahá'ís and others drawn to the strange mixture of occidentals and Orientals associating so freely.

Sprague was followed by two American women, Mrs. Lua Getsinger and Mrs. H. Stannard in the years immediately following the election in 1911 of the first all-India Bahá'í Council, to coordinate propagation activities across the entire country. These two spoke at gatherings from one end of the country to the other on various aspects of the Bahá'í

Faith.²⁰ Mrs. Stannard also represented the Bahá'ís at the All-India Theistic Conference of 1913.²¹ The two American women were enthusiastically received and paved the way for future traveling teachers from America to India.

From Group to National Identity: 1920-1938

The Teaching Council elected in 1911 was the first coordinated effort of the Bahá'ís of India to spread the Bahá'í teachings in a systematic way. It formed the preliminary to the first All-India Bahá'í Convention held in 1920 in Bombay. Important resolutions passed by the estimated 175 individuals at the conference were to establish a framework of goals and achievements. They included:²²

- 1) Establishment of a fund to build a Bahá'í temple in India;
- 2) Establishment of a school for the education of children in Bombay;
- 3) Establishment of a Bahá'í library, reading room and bookstall;
- 4) A publishing society to translate Bahá'í literature into Indian languages;
- 5) Expansion of teaching activities through sending traveling teachers and distribution of Bahá'í literature.²³

The conference, which lasted several days, included talks such as "The Next Avatar," "The Equality of Men and Women," "A Prophet Promised," "The Proofs of the Bahá'í Religion," "Life After Death," "Universal Peace," "Solution of the Economic and Industrial Problem" and "Universal Language." Themes were a blend of metaphysical issues and social idealism with emphasis on a modernist approach to social issues. These themes parallel the social and spiritual idealism of the Canadian Bahá'í community. Several prominent individuals were present and the presentations included a variety of languages: Gujarati, Urdu, English, Persian. One unusual outcome of the Convention was the presence of a large number of women²⁴ who had to be admitted, contrary to custom, because one of the main speakers was also a woman (Miss Elizabeth Stewart). These activities formed the basis of community endeavours through 1938.

In 1923, Shoghi Effendi established the first National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of India and Burma. They met periodically in Bombay and were incorporated in

1933 by the Government of India. The community continued its teaching efforts, including the distribution of Bahá'í literature, often in concert with other religious societies. Bahá'ís were granted special camp grounds during the 1925 celebration of Arya Samaj for the birth of their founder and distributed 5,000 booklets.²⁵ The Guardian's correspondence with the new national community constantly encouraged the Bahá'ís to expand their teaching efforts on the part of all the "friends" (*i.e.* Bahá'ís). To stimulate teaching activity, the Guardian sent a succession of traveling teachers from various nations to India. Among them was another American, Miss Martha Root. Her two Indian tours, in 1930 and 1937-8 were well received, widely covered by various publications and established a knowledge of the Bahá'í teachings among many of the leading personalities of the country, including the poetess Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.²⁶ Many of her contacts among India's elite were made during the First Convention of Religions' Congress in Calcutta in December, 1937 and the International Theosophical Conference of the same year.²⁷

Developmental emphasis during this period was on education, publishing and the use of traveling teachers. Advancements in the field of publications included translation of Bahá'í literature into Urdu, Gujarati, Bengali, Sindhi and Hindi, the inauguration of a Bahá'í magazine, and the publication of over 200 articles in newspapers and magazines throughout the country.²⁸ Bahá'í schools included the establishment of a children's school in Poona and the first Bahá'í summer school in September 1937. The distribution of Bahá'í books to libraries and officials, and the launching of a Bahá'í center in Karachi completed the goals enunciated during the first All-India Bahá'í Convention of 1920. In spite of such efforts, the growth of the Faith was slow and included only three new local Spiritual Assemblies in the 18 years since the Convention. The target audiences, comprised largely of intellectuals and civic leaders, while adding to the movement's prestige, did little to swell the ranks of active adherents.²⁹

Teaching Campaigns: 1940-1961

The year 1937 marks the first of Shoghi Effendi's Teaching Plans for the expansion and consolidation of the Bahá'í Faith around the world. As the North American Bahá'ís were the primary participants in the first Seven-Year Plan, the Indian community, meeting in Karachi that year, also wished to have a plan of growth. They decided on a Six-Year Plan to commence in 1938. Due to lack of funds it was not until 1940 that it actually got underway, and this happened with the aid of a special teaching fund sent by the Guardian to finance it. The new Plan involved a change of strategy and audience. Instead of sending traveling teachers to visit largely elite audiences, the Six Year Plan was to send "pioneers" (see Glossary) to settle in virgin areas and begin to address the local inhabitants as one of them. Mr. Soroosh Yaganani of Poona was the first to leave his home and settle in Bangalore in October, 1941. Others followed. The results of this campaign were quickly apparent: three new spiritual assemblies in each of the first two years of the Plan. Halfway through the Plan in 1943 at the annual Bahá'í Convention held in Poona, eight new assemblies had formed. The plan of expansion continued with a total of 29 local spiritual assemblies by 1944.³⁰ Further advances were made in the incorporation of local spiritual assemblies in Ahmedabad, Andheri, Bangalore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Panchgani, Serampore, and Vellore.³¹ Clearly, the emphasis in this period of growth was in the expansion of the Bahá'í Faith to new areas and the development of local governing councils.

The method for expansion by sending "pioneers" to settle in new territories and establish Bahá'í communities may be observed in the state of Madhya Pradesh. The first Bahá'í pioneers to settle there were the Meherabanis and Munjes who moved from Bombay to Ujjain in 1941. Business problems plagued their early attempts at settlement and the two husbands were forced to return to Bombay. However, the remainder of the families established residence. The slow growth of personal contacts who were invited to pursue knowledge of the Bahá'í Faith through home meetings called "firesides" (see Glossary)

enabled the Bahá'ís to establish their first local Spiritual Assembly (see Glossary) in 1942 (requisite nine adult Bahá'ís). In 1944 the Ujjain Bahá'ís were invited to participate in the city's interreligious conference which allowed them to establish contact with several individuals who would later be instrumental to the growth of the Faith in Madhya Pradesh. Kishan Lal, the depressed caste leader from Shajapur district and, later, Dayaram Malviya became the first villagers to enroll in the Faith in Central India.³³

The Guardian's launch of a subsequent Four-Year Plan in 1947 resulted in much the same success (measured by the increase in Bahá'í groups and assemblies) despite the disruptive events of India's political agenda and the partition of Pakistan. By this point the Bahá'ís in Madhya Pradesh had one Assembly and a well-established group in Indore as well. Summer schools increased and funds poured in from around the world to finance another project of teaching the faith in 1951.³⁴ The move of Mrs. Meherabani from Ujjain to Gwalior in 1950 opened another central Indian community to the Bahá'í Faith and demonstrates the success of the "pioneering" concept of growth in action. "For the next ten years Bahá'í missionary activity in Central India followed a similar and traditional pattern. After the Disturbances of Partition had died down, study classes were inaugurated in Indore, and fireside teaching and public proclamations were initiated in Gwalior."³⁵ Gwalior became the second local Spiritual Assembly in M.P. in 1952, with Indore added to Assembly status by 1958.³⁶

The third Bahá'í teaching project launched in September, 1951, lasted only 19 months. Bear in mind that the Indian National Assembly was still, at this time, in concert with that of Pakistan and Burma. All of its five objectives were not completed, but most were, and the others ongoing:

- 1) To offer 2,50,00 Rs. to the Shrine of the Báb Fund;
- 2) To translate Esslemont's Bahá'u'lláh and the New Era into three additional languages;
- 3) Pioneering goals in eight countries including Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, Sarawak, Zanzibar, Madagascar, and Nepal;

- 4) Establishment of ten new local assemblies in India and the consolidation of thirteen others; and
- 5) Expansion of the Bahá'í New Era School in Panchgani, Maharashtra to bring it to the status of government recognition (it was founded in 1945.)³⁷

A major objective of the third plan was the translation of Bahá'í publications into India's fifteen major languages. As a result, over 4,000 books and pamphlets were sold. By the end of 1953 there were approximately 700 Bahá'ís in India.³⁸

The culmination of this intermediate period of Bahá'í growth was the "Ten-Year Crusade" inaugurated at the Fourth International Teaching Conference convened in New Delhi. The Guardian's message to representatives of the seven national assemblies which gathered called for the establishment of the Faith in 41 new territories and islands. The conference was alive with discussions of strategies for achieving these goals and caught the attention of journalists and government officials, including the President and Vice-President of India and Prime Minister Nehru.³⁹ One result of the new plan was the separation of the composite national assembly of India, Pakistan and Burma into three national assemblies. Another was the translation of Bahá'í teachings into simple Hindi to be distributed in rural villages.⁴⁰ It was during the "Ten Year Crusade" that the site of its future Mashriqu'l-Adhkár temple (see Glossary) was acquired near New Delhi. In addition to her own growth goals, the Indian Bahá'í community was instrumental in the introduction and consolidation of the Faith in South East Asia, leading to the formation in 1957 of the Regional National Assembly in that area.⁴¹ By 1961, there were 58 Spiritual Assemblies in India, 17 in Pakistan (by 1963) and 11 in Burma.⁴² One of the barriers to expansion had been linguistic and religious differences in India which limited inter-group association. The Bahá'í community's roots within Persianized Islam and style of presenting their faith in either English or Urdu, as the early Bahá'í magazine *Kanukab-i-Hind* suggests, limited its appeal to the Hindu majority. Smith notes that in 1952 "Hindu-background Bahá'ís were a minority in a country which after partition (1948) was overwhelmingly (85 percent)

Hindu."⁴³ The socio-religious composition of the Indian Bahá'í community was to change radically during the next period of its growth.

Mass Teaching: 1961-1980

As part of the Ten-Year Crusade, the village of Rampur near Benares had hosted a teaching conference, and requested that leaflets be printed in simple Hindi to hand out to villagers and that local Hindi classes be established. The seed of this conference among village people and the resulting liaisons with city Bahá'ís for the celebration of holy days was the catalyst for a new program of teaching the Bahá'í faith begun in 1961.⁴⁴ Dr. Muhajir, a "Hand of the Cause," (see Glossary), while on one of his frequent visits to India, called for a village conference in central India similar to the one in Rampur. The village teaching conference was launched in Shajapur district, Madhya Pradesh in the village of Kishan Lal Malviya, a scheduled caste leader who declared himself Bahá'í in the 1940s. Earlier, Dr. Muhajir's advice to the Bahá'í teachers in a special session in 1960 with the Indian National Spiritual Assembly was to go teach in the villages.⁴⁵ Mrs. Meherabani responded by going to Madhya Pradesh and began teaching in the villages of the Dewas district. The village of Kweitiopani was soon to become 75 percent Bahá'í as a result of Mrs. Meherabani living and teaching among them.⁴⁶

Madhya Pradesh was formed in 1956 when the government of India decided to organize its states on a linguistic basis. The region is primarily rural, having less than twenty percent of its population in cities. One of the largest cities in the region, Indore, is the center of a district with only 60 percent urban population and a 38 percent literacy rate (the highest in the region).⁴⁷ The other M.P. districts have much lower literacy rates: Rajgarh, 10 percent; Dhar, 13 percent; Shajapur, 13 percent; Dewas, 17 percent.⁴⁸ The success of the conference in Shajapur in enrolling large numbers of villagers encouraged the spread of "mass teaching" to other villages in India.

The concept of "mass teaching," as it came to be called, involved the proclamation that Bahá'u'lláh fulfilled the messianic expectations of previous religions and had appeared

to unite humanity as members of one family—a global spiritual community. According to Garlington, "the Bahá'í Faith's major goal is to unite mankind by bringing people from different religious backgrounds together in a new religious system, complete with its own values and institutions."⁴⁹ The attractiveness and accessibility of the Bahá'í message to Hindus was related to the framing of Bahá'í themes within a Hindu symbol system. Bahá'í teachers spoke of Bahá'u'lláh as an avatara, and acceptance of this station became the only prerequisite for enrollment as Bahá'ís.⁵⁰ The Bahá'í message was shared in public meetings, impromptu street forums and door-to-door visits using local social networks. Mass teaching, so-named for its target "mass" audience, represented a shift in both the audience of Bahá'í teaching efforts and prerequisites for enrollment. Instead of focusing on the themes and directions of social transformation, it focused on the person and claims of Bahá'u'lláh. Instead of a largely educated audience, its message was for the "masses" of humanity who may be illiterate. "For the first time," says Peter Smith, "effective measures were taken to adapt Bahá'í teaching techniques to a rural audience...In dealing with a largely illiterate audience, use was made of visual aids, music and singing (rather than books, which had hitherto been the main aid)."⁵¹ Instead of months or years of study and knowledge of all aspects of Bahá'í teachings (community life and administration, laws and requirements, history) as a prerequisite for becoming a Bahá'í, emphasis was placed on a heart willing to accept Bahá'u'lláh as the avatar for this age. In a letter written on his behalf in 1953 the Guardian had urged the Bahá'ís to focus on essentials of the Faith:

...the friends should be very careful not to place hindrances in the way of those who wish to accept the Faith. If we make the requirements too rigorous, we will cool off the initial enthusiasm, rebuff the hearts and cease to expand rapidly. The essential thing is that the candidate for enrollment should believe in his heart in the truth of Bahá'u'lláh. Whether he is literate or illiterate, informed of all the Teachings or not, is beside the point entirely.⁵²

Garlington's statistics for Malwa (as this area of Madhya Pradesh is known) reveal "the number of declared believers in India jumped from less than 1,000 in 1961 to close on

90,000 by March of 1963, an increase of approximately 89,000 in two years."⁵³ The attention of the Bahá'í world community was focused on India by the Ridvan (see Glossary) message of the "Hand of the Case" in 1962:

India, one of the first countries in the world to receive the light of a newly-born Revelation has, during the past year, witnessed a tide of mass conversion not only wholly unprecedented in that country but without parallel anywhere in the entire world during the last 100 years of Bahá'í history.⁵⁴

In two years, from February 1961 to February 1963, the number of Bahá'í individuals and groups mushroomed. By April 21 of 1963, (Ridvan) there were 87,000 individuals and over 3,600 centres. The bulk of that growth occurred in just two years—from February, 1961, to February, 1963.

TABLE 1
GROWTH DUE TO MASS TEACHING IN INDIA

	<u>Feb. 1961</u>	<u>Feb. 1963</u>
Assemblies:	58	675
Groups	35	1,341
Individuals	850	65,355

At the close of the Nine-Year Plan (1964-1973) there were 400,000 Bahá'ís in India.⁵⁵

The growth spurt which changed the character of the Bahá'í community within a twelve-year span represented a community shift from a primarily urban to a primarily rural movement, a primarily educated and middle/upper-class population to one with the bulk of its membership in the lower or "scheduled" (see Glossary) castes of India, many of whom were illiterate upon entering the Faith. A third shift from previously Muslim and Zoroastrian faith backgrounds to Hindu traditions is perhaps attributable to these shifts in population characteristics. The masses of villagers who accepted Bahá'u'lláh in the wake of the "mass teaching" programs were grounded within Hindu traditions whose cultural

and religious symbols were markedly different from the previous Indian Bahá'ís.⁵⁶ Garlington notes that because the early pioneers had come from Persian backgrounds and were, therefore, more likely to communicate with others who were similar in language and culture, the Bahá'í community had more in common with Indian Islam than it did with Hinduism.⁵⁷

The village teaching programs made a concerted effort to communicate with those people of Hindu traditions in a language of concepts and symbols which they could relate to: avatara, dharma, karma.⁵⁸ "In reaching the rural masses of Malwa the Bahá'í Faith has used the concept of the avatara as a cultural bridge; it has become the primary conceptual vehicle by which the movement's teachers present its doctrines."⁵⁹ Bahá'u'lláh has been linked specifically with the **kalkin avatara**, a Vaishnavite doctrine of the avatara to appear at the close of the **kali-yuga**. (See Glossary) The Mahabharata and Puranas both make use of this figure as one who will destroy the wicked and usher in a period of righteousness. Though not a prominent plank of Hinduism, the promise of a future deliverer who releases them from suffering is taken seriously by the scheduled castes.⁶⁰ In presenting the Bahá'í concept of the returning Manifestation of God within the Hindu symbology of Avatara, the Bahá'ís were following the urging of the Guardian who counseled the Bahá'ís to couch their teachings in ways which are understandable to those being addressed. He wrote, "...to adapt the presentation of the fundamental principles of their Faith to the cultural and religious backgrounds, the ideologies, and the temperament of the divers (*sic*) races and nations whom they are called upon to enlighten and attract."⁶¹

The shifts in community membership were apparent for the first time in May, 1975 when the majority of participants at the first National Teaching Conference of the Five-Year Plan in Bangalore were native Indian believers.⁶² The influx of so many new Bahá'ís in such a short period gave a sense of urgency to Bahá'í efforts to deepen and consolidate the faith of new believers. Several methods were employed in this effort: the revision and dissemination of correspondence courses⁶³; publication of teaching briefs in English, Hindi

and fourteen regional languages; more local administrative independence via 24 State Teaching Councils, the holding of youth conferences, and the development of teaching institutes to train Bahá'í teachers how to go into the villages and communicate the Faith and its system of administration to largely illiterate villagers.⁶⁴

The shift in audience and emphasis within India paralleled similar developments in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s. The largely Anglo-Canadian, middle- to upper-middle-class background and education levels of early Canadian adherents changed dramatically in the 1960s and 70s when Canadian teachers began addressing the Native American communities on reservations and enrolling large numbers of Native American Bahá'ís.

Institutional Development: 1983 to present

The following description and background of a few of the Indian institutions of the Bahá'í Faith will enable the reader to understand the social context of many of the Indian volunteers in this research. Thirteen of the interviewees were connected with some form of Bahá'í institution, and, therefore, involved on a daily basis in the institutions described in this section.⁶⁵

The most recent phase of Bahá'í development in India adds to the preceding processes of expansion which focus on growth of the Bahá'í community. But consolidation activities show a shift in emphasis signaled by an important letter issued to the Bahá'ís of the world on October 20, 1983, by the world administrative body in Haifa, Israel, the Universal House of Justice.⁶⁶

Their summons to apply the principles of Bahá'u'lláh to the "reconstruction of society" reaffirmed earlier, but separate, position papers of the Bahá'í International Community to various sessions of the United Nations (in 1975, 1978, 1983); elements of the principles of Bahá'u'lláh relevant to developmental issues were presented to various United Nations bodies.⁶⁷ However, the letter constituted a distinct shift from the social idealism professed by a small community of believers in earlier periods to social action. The substance of this letter was to urge communities to undertake action programs related

to local needs and populations to begin to transform their communities into the outlines of a future Bahá'í world society. Such plans of social and economic upliftment were to be animated by the spiritual principles laid down by Bahá'u'lláh and were, in their fundamental bases, also meant to be different from avenues to development pursued by other political and educational organizations.⁶⁸ The spiritual bases of development cited in the House of Justice letter specify:

The steps to be taken must necessarily begin in the Bahá'í Community itself...through their application of spiritual principles, their rectitude of conduct and the practice of the art of consultation, to uplift themselves and thus become self-sufficient and self-reliant....In the process and as a consequence, the friends....will extend the benefits of their efforts to society as a whole, until all mankind achieves the progress intended by the Lord of the Age.⁶⁹

The timeliness of this summons to action was clearly related to the recent growth of numbers of Bahá'ís, particularly in third-world countries, and the needs of those communities:

[The Bahá'í community]...has grown to the stage at which the processes of this development must be incorporated into its regular pursuits; particularly is action compelled by the expansion of the Faith in Third World countries where the vast majority of its adherents reside.⁷⁰

Guidelines cited in the letter for formulating such plans advise "well-conceived measures to involve the thought and actions of Local Spiritual Assemblies and individuals in the devising and implementing of plans, within the constraints of existing circumstances and available resources." ⁷¹ The social and economic development initiatives were to be largely self-supporting and utilize the resources of local communities.

Let them step forth...in the arena of service where their talents and skills, their specialized training, their material resources, their offers of time and energy and, above all, their dedication to Bahá'í principles, can be put to work in improving the lot of man.⁷²

In addition, an international Office of Social and Economic Development was created at the religion's world centre in Haifa to guide and assist initial efforts. It counseled:

The success of our projects will depend upon the degree to which we bring the spiritual teachings of our Faith to reflect upon all aspects of the selected project, its objectives, design, implementation, personnel, and evaluation.⁷³

The Office of Social and Economic Development spelled out a variety of ways projects could be initiated, guidelines for project selection and implementation, evaluation, financing and selected letters of the House of Justice to various communities and individuals offering suggestions at all stages. Among the important themes was the following direction to a National Spiritual Assembly in which service to the community is to be a primary motive, rather than business:

While it is the wish of the House of Justice to see social and economic development become a part of the life of Bahá'í communities, great care should be exercised that our limited efforts and [sic] directed to projects whose primary objectives is not business but service to the community.⁷⁴

The scale of such projects was to be modest and manageable:

It is important that our undertakings be modest in their scope at the present time. Then, as we gain in confidence and experience and as our resources increase, our work will encompass expanded objectives, and the friends will explore new areas of social and economic activities.⁷⁵

The Bahá'í writings stress economic self-sufficiency as an important value in while emphasizing "universal participation." Without clergy or priesthood of any kind, its efforts at expansion and transformation are dependent on the resources and efforts of local communities of volunteers. By August 29, 1988, nine of the thirteen State Bahá'í Councils who gathered in Lucknow were economically self-sufficient.⁷⁶

The concept of social action implementing Bahá'í spiritual and social principles was not new to India as the early developments in Bahá'í schools, particularly its flagship, the

New Era School (begun in 1945) in Panchgani, Maharashtra will attest.⁷⁷ The implementation of social upliftment through education has been a consistent theme of Bahá'í activities, especially in India. What was new was the call to the grassroots level in initiating/sustaining such projects and the focus of emphasis. Hitherto, the Bahá'í community had focused primarily on activities of proclaiming the Bahá'í Faith. These included public meetings with social and spiritual themes, dissemination of the message of Bahá'u'lláh as the messianic fulfillment of former religions, diffusing the Bahá'í teachings through publications, talks, summer schools, children's classes, deepening classes, women's classes and the like, and working with other like-minded, non-political organizations to achieve common objectives. Now Bahá'ís were called upon by the Universal House of Justice to engage in activities designed to transform their communities, not merely to proclaim the Bahá'í teachings. Garlington notes the earlier "preference for symbolic and utopian expressions of change rather than direct social action" in the mass teaching programs of the 1960s and 70s.⁷⁸

India has become a model of social and economic development activities and institutions to other communities of the Bahá'í world. This recognition became apparent in a presentation of development work with women given by the Director of the Bahá'í Vocational Institute for Rural Women, Mrs. Janak McGilligan, at the Bahá'í World Congress in New York City in November of 1992. A fact sheet published by the Indian National Spiritual Assembly in June, 1992, lists four such institutes: The New Era Complex in Panchgani, Maharashtra which includes a primary school, high school and junior college, and the New Era Development Institute (NEDI); the Bahá'í Vocational Institute for Rural Women (BVIRW) in Indore; the Rabbani School in Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh; and the Narain Rao Vakil Institute in Malhausi, Etawah district, Uttar Pradesh.⁷⁹ The author spent six weeks of her time in India as a participant-observer in the first two institutes and will use her experiences for describing the patterns and emphases of India's Bahá'í development during the current institutional phase of growth.

Bahá'í Vocational Institute for Rural Women, Indore

The Institute was established by the National Spiritual Assembly of India in Indore, Madhya Pradesh in June, 1985, to serve the needs of rural women, mostly from districts Jhabua, Dhar, Khargone, Shajapur, Dewas, Indore and Ujjain, which were the primary areas of mass enrollments during the teaching campaigns of the 1960's and '70's. The Institute is a private, non-governmental, non-profit initiative launched by the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of India with occasional assistance from the Bahá'í World Centre in Haifa. Each year the Institute trains approximately sixty rural women who previously had no opportunities for education or training and typically have less than a four percent literacy rate. It is the only development institute in the state to allow nursing mothers to attend with their babies. Its three types of training programs utilize a residential format.⁸⁰

The uniqueness of the Bahá'í Vocational Institute for Rural Women is its integrated and holistic approach to educating and training rural village women from the above-mentioned districts of Madhya Pradesh. The Institute offers a three-month residential program twice a year to village women between the ages of 15 and 35. The Institute integrates material and spiritual education on a foundation of spiritual principles. Those principles which find clearest expression in the work of the Institute are the oneness of humanity, the abolition of all prejudice, the right and responsibility of each human being to develop his/her spiritual and material potential, and the equality of the sexes. Crowning these is the special role and promise given to women in the Bahá'í Writings to usher in humankind's maturity, if given opportunities for education.

The heart of the Institute's educational program is the training in Hindi literacy and numeracy, which find numerous practical applications in the skills taught by the Institute: reading, writing, speaking, measuring, calculating, reading calendars, telling time, *etc.* Women are trained in family and preventative health which includes the basics of a balanced diet and nutrition, immunizations, sanitation, the value of doctors, and, in

general, a scientific approach to health care issues and problems. Students receive skills training in sewing and stitching along with other crafts, vegetable gardening and riding bicycles. The nucleus of the spiritual education is a daily class in moral and spiritual principles: freedom from prejudice, the potentialities of human life, the equality of men and women, the importance of justice in human affairs, care for the environment, worship of God, and how to pray to God. Classes are taught in a participatory fashion and use local songs, dances, role playing, and arts and crafts to capture interest and generate enthusiasm. Furthermore, ideas and concepts find immediate application and expression in the training sector of the curriculum.

The Institute has two other training emphases which have evolved in response to the need to sustain and build upon the programs' values and skills. The selection and training of area coordinators from among the initial trainees who have shown leadership promise is an additional one-month residential program. It trains the coordinators to organize women's groups and activities in their own villages. The second is the family life program which educates 12-15 married couples each year for ten days in the principles of family life.

It is the hope of its staff that women trained at the Institute return to their villages empowered to improve the quality of life for themselves, their families, and, ultimately, their communities. The Institute gives them the skills to begin income-generating activities, teach children literacy, improve the health of their families, and continue the patterns of sharing, cooperation, care of children and love for humankind which are so amply demonstrated in life within the Institute.⁸¹

In recognition for its work with 302 villages in eliminating the cause of Guinea worm disease, the Institute was awarded a special United Nations "Global 500 Award" in 1992.⁸² In September, 1990, two trainees from the Institute won first prize in a learner's song competition organized by the International Task Force on Literacy, a UNESCO-sponsored program. Other tangible achievements of the Institute's work include the

planting of 2,500 trees in five villages, the regular practice of sanitary habits: covering drinking water pots, washing vegetables before cooking them, covering food, and turning away from alcohol consumption. Surveys of recent graduates indicate that 70 percent now include leafy vegetables in their diet and 42 percent have started growing vegetables for personal consumption and/or market sales. Of recent graduates, 45 percent have established small businesses of sewing clothes, 62 percent are now functionally literate or semi-literate, many continue to attend regional conferences and craft fairs.⁸³

Cooperation with other institutions towards common objectives is evident in the joint sponsorship with the Indore branch of the all-India Women's Conference for a workshop to make recommendations which will be presented to the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995.⁸⁴ As a resource for implementing innovative methods of education in rural areas, the Institute is listed in the UNESCO journal, "Education for All, Innov Database." As such, the Institute is one of eight projects in India and eighty worldwide to showcase development projects. In addition, graduate students in social work at the University of Indore train as interns at the Institute, working in such areas as evaluation and testing.⁸⁵

The New Era Complex, Panchgani, Maharashtra

The New Era complex is a set of educational institutions located in Panchgani, Maharashtra which include the New Era High School, the New Era Junior College and the New Era Development Institute. The school began in 1945, but the Institute has evolved considerably over the years to become one which attracts an international student body. The New Era School serves 800-900 students annually and is primarily a boarding institution. The three grade levels indicated in their 1992-93 annual report include 327 students in primary grades, 433 students in secondary grades and 54 students in junior college. This number includes some 200 day students.⁸⁶ The School teaches a full academic program leading to an external examination of the Central Board of Secondary Education of India. Additionally, it offers a two-year course leading to the International

General Certificate of Education (GCE) for foreign students whose native countries demand more than the Indian School Certificate. In addition to its academic program, the school offers cultural events, service projects, and a wide variety of sports.⁸⁷

The New Era School employs approximately seventy staff members and offers them a variety of staff development activities in curriculum development workshops, outside consultants (particularly in its language program), cooperative learning and performance-based assessment. With its sister institution, the New Era Development Institute, directors envision its growth towards an eventual Bahá'í University.⁸⁸

The Development Institute (NEDI) offers a wide range of courses, programs and extension activities at the certificate and diploma levels. NEDI has added programs successively to the Rural Development Program begun by the local Bahá'í community in 1975. Rural Technology was initiated in 1980 and expanded in 1983 to become the New Era Centre for Rural Education and Development. By 1988, through assistance from a NORAD grant, it had become a national training institution for community development facilitators (a CDF course) which trains its students to work at the village level, sharing the living conditions of rural people while empowering them to take the initiative in their own self-chosen community activities in a self-reliant and sustainable way. One class was completing its program and moving into field work in villages when the author arrived in Panchgani in November, 1993. The training program is a one-year course and has graduated 43 persons to date in 1993. Village work is carried on, as with BVIRW, in liaison with the local Spiritual Assemblies in the villages.

NEDI also serves local communities in the area surrounding Panchgani in health, agriculture, reforestation, animal husbandry, women's and youth education activities. The author spoke with Canadian Dr. Ethel Martens, who regularly trained community health workers in India and other developing nations, and shared a brief of a course she had planned in September, 1987, for a dozen community health workers in Panchgani. Those trained included both Bahá'ís and non-Bahá'ís.

Extension activities for graduates of the Institute include Vocational Training Programs and Small Businesses Development. The vocational program, in collaboration with an agency of the Indian government (CAPART), teaches theory and practice of motorcycle repair, house wiring, motor rewinding, pump repair, welding, construction, radio, television, tape-recorder and sound system repair and farm mechanics. Programs are always balanced with classes in moral education, community service, and field trips.

The third training area which NEDI offers is language instruction. Presently, this focus is on training preschool teachers, primary school teachers, morals class teachers, English language teachers, and development of educational materials.

The administration of the New Era Complex has become more localized in the 1980s and '90s, but is still under the jurisdiction of a School Committee appointed by the National Spiritual Assembly of India. The committee manages policy and budget. A local administrative council is drawn from staff of both institutions and works closely with the New Era School principal and the Director of NEDI to coordinate functions. As in other communities the spiritual life of the Bahá'í community of Panchgani remains the responsibility of its Local Spiritual Assembly, elected annually from the adult membership of the Bahá'í community. They may, or may not be, members of either institute.

The development institutes discussed are part of a human resource development strategy developed by International Bahá'í Office of Social and Economic Development to focus on geographical clusters. Concentrated efforts over a long period of many years are made to optimize the resources of development programs within a limited geographical area, usually five to six local spiritual assemblies. By strengthening the number and accessibility of programs within the cluster, the limited material and manpower resources of the present Bahá'í community can best hope to provide a stimulus for transformation of large numbers of Bahá'ís who will then provide resources for other areas.⁸⁹ One premise of Bahá'í development is that human beings are understood as resources to be developed, not as problems to be solved.⁹⁰

The Bahá'í House of Worship, New Delhi

A Bahá'í House of Worship is known as a *Mashriqu'l-Adhkár*, an Arabic term signifying the "dawning place of the mention of God." Its physical structures symbolize the Bahá'í concept of joining worship of God with service to humanity: as the central edifice is dedicated to worship God from whatever faith/culture background one enters, and the surrounding structures or dependencies (yet to be built except the old age home near the first such house of worship in Wilmette, IL) to serve humankind. In its complete form, the worship hall is to be surrounded by social service dependencies affording social, humanitarian, educational and scientific centres. Its future role at the heart of Bahá'í community life embodies the integration of worship and service to humanity. The subsidiary institutions are to include a hospital, a drug dispensary, a school for orphans, a traveler's hospice and a University.⁹¹

The Bahá'í House of Worship in India is dominated by the worship hall which is for individual prayer and reflection. In contrast there are two brief services daily in which scriptural selections from all the world's major religions are read, sung, or chanted. The ground floor includes a library, lecture hall, offices, a bookstall, display cases and the residence of its caretakers.

Except for a small permanent staff headed by the Director General, Dr. G. Gopinath, the New Dehli House of Worship is staffed by volunteers from all over the Bahá'í world who are housed off-campus in two volunteer residences. During September, 1993, as a volunteer at the House of Worship, the author worked with representatives from Australia, Afghanistan, Malaysia, South Africa, Britain, Russia, Iran, Nepal and India. The volunteers help to manage the 10- to 20,000 visitors who come each day, to hand out literature on the House of Worship and the Bahá'í Faith, and to talk to visitors. Bahá'í community members join the regular volunteers on Sundays, the biggest attendance days.

Most of the visitors to the House of Worship are Indians from many states and cities, but a good share of foreigners visit as well. School groups, tourists, businessmen,

families, groups of teenagers, and visiting dignitaries of all faiths stream through and are welcomed by the volunteer workers. Three of the interviewees were permanent staff members with this Institution and another was a volunteer who served with the author. The experience of working in this institution exposes one to the broadest possible cross-section of humanity imaginable from nations around the world: rich and poor, well-educated and illiterate, singly and in groups of hundreds. Although contact with visitors is brief, that with staff members and volunteers is more prolonged since the institution is the hub of many social, worship and educational activities in the Kalkaji section of New Delhi.

Summary of Growth and Development

The India of most of the interviewees is the India of Bahá'í institutions, either one of the development institutes, the national office, or House of Worship. The historical overview which precedes has given the genesis of these institutions and their role in the present Indian Bahá'í community. Peter Smith discusses the "organizational exclusivism" of the second phase of Bahá'í growth which focuses on administrative structures. The third and last period he refers to is that of mass enrollments which change the geo-cultural bases of the worldwide Bahá'í community.⁹² Both of those emphases may be observed in India and they are both still ongoing. Administrative development in this last phase is focused outward in integrating the Bahá'í community with others as a service resource. Since the institutional framework is the backdrop from which many of the participant volunteers in this study have come, it is not, however, the India of most of the Indian Bahá'ís, many of whom are from rural communities. The study has looked at the leadership of the Bahá'í community, particularly in the last developmental phase to present the framework within which half of the Indian volunteers work. William Garlington's characterization of the urban Bahá'ís who have taken the responsibility for training many of the more recently declared, rural-based Bahá'ís is an accurate sociological portrait of the Indian community with whom the researcher was working:

As a group, the urban Bahá'ís were characterized by their relatively high educational achievement and material success. Although several were from Parsi rather than Hindu backgrounds, they were nearly all Indian: most were born and raised in the sub-continent and spoke fluent Hindi.⁹³

According to Peter Smith, the biggest challenge of the Indian Bahá'í community today, particularly for those arising to serve it, is "consolidating the faith and knowledge of those who generally lacked the literacy and organizational skills to consolidate their own faith and knowledge...."⁹⁴ To this end, the rural teaching teams, training institutes and local teaching projects "appear to have brought their burgeoning rural expansion under full and proper control."⁹⁵

The Indian Bahá'ís in this Research

The participants in this research project were all living in the North at the time of the interviews: New Delhi, the capital; Indore, Madhya Pradesh; Panchgani, Maharashtra; and Bombay, Maharashtra. Although northern, urban localities are suggested, the participants come from a much broader sweep of northern and southern, small town, rural and urban communities than their present residences suggest: Madhya Pradesh, West Pakistan, Bombay, Punjab, Gujarat, West Bengal, Delhi, Karnataka, Orissa, Burma, Uttar Pradesh, Yazd, Iran, Himchal Pradesh, Maharashtra, and London. All have spent the bulk of their lives in India, even those who were foreign-born. In this respect they represent Indians rather than those identified with other countries.

Another important factor of socio-demographics is the previous faith background of the participants: nine were former Hindus, two were Muslims, one was a Catholic, one a Zoroastrian, and one with no faith affiliation before becoming Bahá'ís. There were also seven lifetime Bahá'ís. The great number of former Hindus also suggests more recent converts to Bahá'ísm while the seven lifetime Bahá'ís represent offspring of some of the early "Persianized Muslim or Zoroastrian section of the urban middle class" [as Smith (193) refers to them] who had settled in Bombay initially and moved to "pioneer" to

various states from there during the 1940s and 1950s. Thoroughly Indian, they nonetheless suggest some elements of the Middle Eastern orientation of the early Bahá'ís in India.

Socio-economic status of the volunteers suggested by parental occupations represents occupations typically held by the Indian middle class. Four had professional fathers; two were in management; nine in business; three were civil servants; one was a large farm owner and two were farm laborers. The latter two had lower class backgrounds but were upwardly mobile due to their education levels. The mothers of volunteers were all homemakers with two exceptions: one whose mother was a professor, and another whose parents were both physicians. Since many Indians are involved in business, large and small, the researcher was unable to determine class status for the businessmen fathers of volunteers. As a whole, volunteers included a range of backgrounds from upper-middle class to lower-middle class. No records are kept on caste in the Bahá'í community since caste is not recognized. Occasionally, an individual would mention caste background, but usually the topic never came up. It appeared that Bahá'ís did not identify with caste status although a few strongly identified with their parents' personal status, either in the community or in character and training.

A clearer indication of personal background is educational level achieved by the participants. Educational systems differed from the Canadian, but both are based upon the British and thus are roughly comparable. Four were high school graduates, some with advanced training; eleven had bachelor's degrees; three had master's degrees; and two had doctor's degrees (these were one Ph.D. and one M.D.) The education level of the Indians as a whole is slightly lower than that for Canadians, with more bachelor degrees and fewer master degrees.

Slightly more of the Indian Bahá'ís were married with eight singles and 12 marrieds. Of the single Bahá'ís, two were male and six were female and none of them had previously been married. Age and sex distributions were closely parallel to those of the

Canadians with eight males, twelve females; two in the 21 to 30 age group; nine in the 31 to 40 group; four in the 41 to 50 group and five 51 and older (see Appendix 11).

Given the comparable socio-historical backgrounds of both the Canadian and Indian volunteer populations, the research findings will disclose their patterns of faith.

NOTES: CHAPTER FIVE

¹ Annual Report, 1992-93, National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of India . Measures of "active functioning" include holding 19-day feasts, children's classes, adult deepenings and youth activities.

² Peter Smith, The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions: From Messianic Shi'ism to a World Religion. London: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 168-9.

³ Smith, Chapter 10.

⁴ Smith uses the term, "cultural enclave" to refer to Westernized populations whose education and cultural orientation make them amenable to conversion to a 'modernistic' world religion and who were thus alienated from the wider traditional societies in which they lived. (p. 164) Correspondingly, the designation 'third world' refers to societies or groups within them which were at the periphery of the world historical process of modernization.

⁵ Smith, 165.

⁶ Smith, 170.

⁷ William Garlington, The Bahá'í Faith in Malwa: A Study of a Contemporary Religious Movement. Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, 1975, and Steve L. Garrigues, The Bahá'ís of Malwa: Identity and Change Among the Urban Bahá'ís of Malwa. Doctoral dissertation, Lucknow: Department of Anthropology, Lucknow University, 1976.

⁸ Foreign ministers and heads of state from countries around the world as well as Indian governmental officials have regularly been visitors. Reflections, 1991. Bahá'í House of Worship, Bahapur, New Delhi, India. Year End Report.

⁹ Annual Report, 1994-1995 of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of India.

¹⁰ Dawning Place of the Remembrance of God. The Bahá'í House of Worship of the Indian Sub-Continent, New Delhi. Bahá'í Publishing Trust, New Delhi, India, 1993.

¹¹ Peter Smith refers to this stage as "universalistic individualism," where the believer is the prime locus of authority and boundaries are yet diffuse.

¹² Smith, 193.

¹³ Star of the West, Vol XXII, July 1931, p. 112.

¹⁴ Smith, 193.

¹⁵ Smith, 194.

- 16 Garlinton, 1975.
- 17 Garlinton, 59.
- 18 Sidney Sprague. A Year with the Bahá'ís in India and Burma. Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1986, 15.
- 19 Sprague, 6.
- 20 Garlinton, 59-60.
- 21 Star of the West, vol. 5 #2, April, 1914, p. 23.
- 22 "Among the delegates were the representatives of all the great faiths of the world and representatives of the different provinces of India." wrote the convention secretary, Pritam Singh. The Times of India, commented "...amidst a very large audience of ladies and gentlemen of the Parsi, Mohammedan and Hindu communities, Dr. Mazharali presided." Dec. 28, 1920, (Star of the West, vol. XII, pp. 21-27)
- 23 Star of the West, vol. XII, #1, 21.
- 24 Photograph, Star of the West, vol. XII, p. 23.
- 25 Garlinton, 62.
- 26 The Bahá'í World, vol. VII, April, 1938-40, 686.
- 27 Bahá'í World, vol. VII, 689-692.
- 28 Garlinton, 65.
- 29 Garlinton, 66.
- 30 All of the above from The Bahá'í World, vol. IX, 58-63.
- 31 Ibid.
- 33 All of the above from William Garlinton, "Bahá'í Conversions in Malwa, Central India" in From Iran East and West: Studies in Bábí and Bahá'í History, ed. Juan Cole and Moojan Momen. Los Angeles: Kalimat Press, 1984, 162.
- 34 The Bahá'í World, vol. XII, 1950-54, 30-32.
- 35 Garlinton, 1984, 163-4.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 The Bahá'í World, vol. XII, 69.

38 Garlington, 1975, 69.

39 Garlington, 1975, 70.

40 *Ibid.*

41 Bahá'í World, vol. XIII, p. 298.

42 Smith, p. 194.

43 Smith, 194.

44 "Dr. Muhajir," in Bahá'í News, July, 1981, 7-8.

45 Garlington, 1984, 165.

46 *Ibid.*

47 Garlington, 1975, 79.

48 Garlington, 80.

49 Garlington, 1984, 180.

50 Garlington, 1975, 74.

51 Smith, 195.

52 in Arise to Service, p. 97 as quoted in Garlington, 1984, 165.

53 Garlington, 1975, 72.

54 Bahá'í World, vol. XIII, p. 298.

55 The above is from The Bahá'í World, vol. XIII, 299, and Garlington, 1975, 72.

56 Garlington, 1975, p. 73.

57 *Ibid.*

58 Garlington, p. 75.

59 Garlington, 198.

60 Garlington, 197.

61 Shoghi Effendi, Citadel of Faith: Messages to America, 1947-1953. Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1970, 25.

⁶² The Bahá'í World, vol. XVI, 1973-76, p. 246.

⁶³ 7,500 people had completed such a course in 1975.

⁶⁴ Garlington, 1975, 74.

⁶⁵ The term "institution" is the administrative component of Bahá'í community life and functions in the absence of a professional clergy to guide and direct the affairs of the Bahá'í community at the local, regional, national and international levels. Most institutional posts are volunteer members of the Bahá'í Faith serving without pay. Some are appointed, as in the Directorships of the Development Institutes, members of the Continental Board of Counselors and officers of the secretariat of the National Spiritual Assembly and some are elected, as is the case with the Spiritual Assemblies and House of Justice. (See Appendix 14: Bahá'í Institutional Structure.)

⁶⁶ The Universal House of Justice. "Message to the Bahá'í World, 20 October, 1983." Bahá'í World Centre.

⁶⁷ Annual Conference of Non-Governmental Organization, September 5-7, 1984 on "Principles of Development"; 24th session of the Commission for Social Development of the U.N. Economic and Social Council, January 6-24, 1975 on "Universal Participation"; Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly May-June, 1978 on "Disarmament and Development"; U.N. World Population Conference, Bucharest, Romania, August 19-30, 1974 on "One World, One People—A Bahá'í View." from Bahá'í Focus on Development, Moojan Momen, Bahá'í Publishing Trust, London, 1988, Appendix.

⁶⁸ The author was a fellow in the summer of 1986 at the Center for Advanced Study of International Development at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan in which developmental philosophies and approaches were explored both historically and regionally. Fellowships, awarded to college teachers in the Midwest, were designed to aid faculty in the incorporation of development issues in their teaching. Each participant completed a project during the summer which was related to CASID's work. My project was to compile a bibliography for a course in the sociology of religions in India, China and Japan. As fellows, we learned that there had been a recent shift in developmental emphases from top-down, costly initiatives to those motivated and guided by grassroots support and resources. However, few of them engaged the underlying value orientations of a spiritual community.

⁶⁹ Universal House of Justice, letter to the Bahá'ís of the World, October 20, 1983.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ "Guidelines on Social and Economic Development Projects," December 12, 1983 from Office of Social and Economic Development, Bahá'í World Center.

⁷⁴ Office of Social and Economic Development, as above.

⁷⁵ Message to a National Spiritual Assembly, December 8, 1983, from "Guidelines on Social and Economic Development Projects."

⁷⁶ Bahá'í News, January, 1989, Bahá'í National Center, Wilmette, IL., p. 15. Those states were: Maharashtra, Karnataka, Orissa, Gujarat, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana.

⁷⁷ See "The History of New Era High School" by James P. West in Bahá'í World, vol. XVI, pp. 320-326.

⁷⁸ Garlington, 1984, pp. 180-181.

⁷⁹ Bahá'í Social and Economic Development in India, Fact Sheet. June, 1992.

⁸⁰ From materials received from BVIRW which included brochures, written course material, evaluations of previous visitors, goals and objectives and interviews with the directors. The researcher's time as a volunteer was spent writing background material for a grant for the Institute. Therefore, most of the copy is the researcher's own based upon materials provided and responses to questions asked.

⁸¹ The author traveled with the directors to two villages served by the Institute for Holy Day celebrations in October, 1993, and was able to observe a few of the leadership skills taught by the Institute in action.

⁸² Global 500 Forum--Linking the Members of UNEP's Global 500 Roll of Honour. Issue No. 10, September, 1993.

⁸³ 1994 version, Institute brochure.

⁸⁴ The Garha Chronicle, March 7, 1994. Madhya Pradesh's First English Evening, Indore, M.P.

⁸⁵ Bahá'í Vocational Institute for Rural Women. Brochure photographed and produced by James R. McGilligan.

⁸⁶ The New Era Educational Complex: New Era High School and Development Institute, P.O. Box 19, Panchgani 412805, India. Brochure.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ "The New Era Complex: Towards the College of Human Services." October 20, 1993. Newsletter.

⁸⁹ The best description of such a long-term developmental strategy is Learning About Growth published by the Ruhi Institute, Cali, Columbia in July 1991.

⁹⁰ Annual Report, 151 B.E. (1994-95), National Spiritual Assembly, Bahá'ís of India. The Great Being saith: "Regard man as a mine rich in gems of inestimable value. Education can, alone, cause it to reveal its treasures, and enable mankind to benefit therefrom." (Gleanings from the Writings of Bahá'u'lláh, CXXII)

⁹¹ Dawning Place of the Remembrance of God: The Bahá'í House of Worship of the Indian Sub-Continent, New Delhi. Bahá'í Publishing Trust, New Delhi, India, 1993.

⁹² Peter Smith, pp. 193-195.

⁹³ Garlington, 1984, 176.

⁹⁴ Smith, *ibid.* 192.

⁹⁵ *ibid.* 193.

CHAPTER SIX

APPLICATION OF FOWLER'S MODEL TO TWO POPULATIONS OF BAHÁ'ÍS

Introduction to Cross-Religious Validity

The first stage of applying James W. Fowler's model of psycho-social development to a volunteer population of Bahá'ís in Canada yields some interesting comparisons between psycho-social development with a strong cognitive thrust (the Fowler model) and the concepts of development and their expression among Bahá'ís. In Chapter Three the author established several convergences between Fowler's model of faith development and teachings of the Bahá'í Faith. Convergences lead to the expectation that Fowler's model will be valid when applied to the Bahá'í community. If Fowler's model measures faith development among North American Bahá'ís, how is that demonstrated? The cross-religious validity will be established in three ways. First, the most general range of validity is that the range of stage scores among participants should span Stages 3 through 5. Secondly, responses to the seven aspects or structures of faith for an individual should cluster at some gravitational point represented by the stage score and not be widely spread over a number of stages. Thirdly, the descriptive data which justifies the stage chosen should follow the coding criteria for that stage. The descriptive data should be comparable to what is usually obtained. And the questions of the interview should be understandable to the participants and yield responses that can be coded.

Lastly, what can we learn about the structuring power of the contents of faith? Given the contents of faith discussed in Chapter Three, the author expected Bahá'ís in the Canadian sample in general to score at Stage 4 and beyond, and saw potential correspondences between faith development stages and Bahá'í teachings in the following aspects of faith. The "Form of Logic" at Stage 4 should be explicit, reflective and perform operations on the thinking process itself with attention to testing and validating any accepted ideas. Bahá'í emphasis on the "independent investigation of truth" (in Chapter

Four) and the study of everything in creation from the standpoint of revelation as well as reason encourages an independent, critical stance from which to view the phenomena of experience. "If theology were not critical reflection on the faith experience," states Jack McLean, a Bahá'í scholar, "it would remain undifferentiated from 'blind faith' or religious practice, that is, an accepted and unquestioned belief system."¹ However, the system boundaries of Stage 4 thought processes are **not** characteristic of Bahá'í teachings. The application of a process of decision-making and problem-solving called consultation refers all questions of judgment and action to a group process of open-ended discovery.²

Second, "Social Perspective Taking" at Stage 4 shows a systematic approach which looks for generalized systems of relationship which are viewed through the lenses of one's self-selected world view. Others are understood in terms of their ideas or in relation to world view. From a Stage 4 perspective, the self is disembedded in its relationships and can see itself and others from a third-person point of view. Bahá'í teachings emphasize the construction of "perspective-taking" in thinking about "the other" in terms of general rules, laws or principles of relationship.³ Bahá'í ontology views human beings within two simultaneous frameworks of relationship—spiritual and material.⁴ Both are governed by laws and principles and interact with each other in observable ways. This teaching suggests the multiple or multi-layered meanings characteristic of the logic of Stage 5, Conjunctive Faith, which has a "willingness to embrace the tensions and polarities that a multiple perspective approach to reality is bound to generate."⁵ Such an embrace would show less concern with defense of one's own perspective and a greater ability to grant autonomy to the other.

"Bounds of Social Awareness" at Stage 5 selects groups on the basis of principles they represent. Such a principled mode of identification actively seeks contact with groups and persons who are different for purposes of enlarging and enriching one's circle of association. Openness to differences and willingness to include persons who are unusual are hallmarks. Such a construction is echoed in Bahá'í principles of the oneness of

humanity and the elimination of prejudice of all kinds. The expansion of inherited boundaries and norms is strongly encouraged in the practice of pioneering to other cities or countries which has been demonstrated in the community development of both Canada and India in the previous chapters.

The "principled" approach to "Form of Moral Judgment" at Stage 5 is based upon principles of right or justice which are seen as prior to the upholding of a social order.⁶ A critical distance from any limited social order is maintained at Stage 5 moral judgment and works with multiple perspectives on issues of moral concern.⁷ The Bahá'í writings place emphasis on the principle of justice, calling it "the best beloved of all things in My sight."⁸ "Justice implies the impartial adjustment of claims, rights, and needs and the exercise of authority and power in upholding the standard of righteousness"⁹ and makes unity unattainable without it. Thus, Bahá'í scriptures uphold a principled approach to moral judgment which is prior to society and governed by laws revealed by the Manifestation (see Glossary) as the standard of justice.

The final area of expectation for the Bahá'í participants related to stages of faith is "Symbolic Function." One's appropriation of symbols for Fowler is clearly tied with the form of logic which transcends the literal quality of symbols at Stage 3 and places them within a systematic framework or world view at Stage 4 or opens them to demythologizing and evocative power at Stage 5.¹⁰ Demythologizing occurs repeatedly in the Bahá'í Writings in the metaphorical language which Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá use to explain relationships between phenomenal events and spiritual principles.¹¹ As an example of this, the Bahá'í writings "exhort Bahá'ís not to place any emphasis on the miracles associated with Bahá'u'lláh. As 'Abdu'l-Bahá points out, the act is valuable only to those who witness the event, and even those may doubt what they have seen."¹²

Fowler's Model Applied to a non-Christian Religion:

Faith Stages in Canadian Bahá'ís

Demographic Description of Sample

Given the correspondences and differences in approach explained above, how do Bahá'í subjects show up in the Fowler schema? The 20 Canadian Bahá'ís studied were volunteers from the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec who represent a range of chronological age from 23 through 77 years, and a range of Bahá'í age from one year to 44 years. Table 2 presents the Canadian sample in relation to the four control variables.

Since the stage scores provide the numerical measure of maturity of the faith development paradigm, what story is told by the stage scores themselves in Table 3?

The first indicator of validity is the distribution of stage scores across the span of stages three through five. Table 3 illustrates that distribution by faith stage, frequency and per cent. As anticipated, the scores do span all faith stages, but there is a noticeable absence of participants **beyond** Stage 4 (only 15 percent). Conversely, 35 percent of participants are lower than the Stage 3-4 transition. The mean stage score is 3.76 which places the mean barely within the numerical range of Stage 4. If we combine the individual scores into global stage groups, the numerical distribution is more focused, as in Table 4.

TABLE 2
DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE CANADIAN SAMPLE

Respondent Age (years)	Frequency
21-30	3
31-40	8
41-50	5
51+	4
Totals	20

Respondent Sex	Frequency
Male	7
Female	13
Totals	20

Respondent Education	Frequency
High School +	3
Bachelor's	8
Master's	6
Doctorate (M.D. or Ph.D.)	3
Totals	20

Respondent Bahá'í Age	Frequency
0-5 year	4
6-10 year	3
11-20 year	6
21+	5
Life	2
Totals	20

TABLE 3
STAGE OF FAITH IN THE CANADIAN SAMPLE

Global Stage	Faith Stage	Frequency	Percent
3.0	3.0	0	0
	3.1	2	10
	3.2	4	20
	3.3	1	5
3-4 transition	3.4	0	0
	3.5	1	5
	3.6	2	10
4.0	3.7	1	5
	3.8	0	0
	3.9	2	10
	4.0	1	5
	4.1	0	0
	4.2	2	10
	4.3	1	5
4-5 transition	4.4	1	5
	4.5	1	5
	4.6	0	0
5.0	4.7	0	0
	4.8	0	0
	4.9	0	0
	5.0	1	5
Totals		20	100%

Range: 3.1-5.0; Median: 3.65; Mean: 3.76, SD. 55

TABLE 4
GLOBAL STAGE FREQUENCY, CANADIAN

Global Stage	Range	Frequency
3	3.0-3.39	7
3-4	3.4-3.69	3
4	3.7-4.39	7
4-5	4.4-4.69	2
5	4.7-5.39	1
Totals		20

Looked at in terms of global score, half of the respondents are below Stage 4, and half are at or above. These score distributions are slightly lower than those comprising Fowler's 359 cases which were the basis for stage descriptions in Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning. Fowler's figures are organized by age group and percentage of each faith stage within that age group. Direct comparisons with the Canadian Bahá'ís in this study are not the purpose of this study and are complicated by different reporting styles owing to the differences in sample size. (See Appendix 16 for Stage of Faith figures for other FD studies.) Adding to the difference in reportage is the fact that since 1981, stage criteria have been refined and developed through usage in favor of more stringent parameters of stage designations.

Quantitatively, the Canadian scores do not match the expectations established by faith contents—that is the beliefs, concepts and world view suggested by the teachings of the Bahá'í Faith—that the majority of interviews would be Stage 4 and beyond. However, a broad test of the validity of Fowler's model is established. This distribution raises several questions related to why half of the sample have not yet achieved formal operational thinking. These questions will be addressed in the next chapter.

Clustering of Faith Stage Aspects

The next indicator of validity is the clustering of stage aspects to indicate the wholeness of the structural stages. Clustering establishes the hierarchical structures of faith development and the integrity of the stages as integrative structures of human knowing, valuing and committing. Randall Furushima in his 1983 study of Buddhists in Hawaii using a small sample of twelve participants had found four of the twelve participants he studied exhibiting aspects of faith which did not cohere with the dominant faith stage.¹³ In three of his subjects, one aspect was Stage 6, while the bulk of other aspects were Stage 3 or Stage 5. He attributes this feature to the possible arbitrary characteristics of Stage 6 as it is presently defined.¹⁴ It is not based upon empirical data, and its characteristics are described in terms of both structure and content. The content descriptions are in terms familiar to Christians, but do not reflect Buddhist concerns. He concludes that the hierarchical movement from Stage 5 to Stage 6 is sacrificed since the aspect characteristics of Stage 6 are found among those in other stages.¹⁵ Table 5 summarizes the clustering of faith aspects among the Canadians in this study.¹⁶

TABLE 5
CLUSTERING OF STAGE SCORES IN THE CANADIAN SAMPLE

Stage/Faith	Respondent	Score Range	Lowest	Highest
3	c-1	within .5	3.0	3.3 bounds
3	c-2	.7	3.0 moral	3.7 logic
3	c-3	within .5	3.0 logic,coher	3.4 locus
3	c-8	within .5	3.0 4 aspects	3.5 locus
3	c-11	within .5	3.0 locus	3.4 bounds
3	c-14	within .5	3.0 moral symbol	3.3 perspective
3	c-16	within .5	3.0 coher.	3.33 perspective
3-4	c-5	.6	3.3 moral	3.9 locus
3-4	c-7	1.0	3.0 symbol	4.0 moral
3-4	c-10	.7	3.3 cohere. perspective	4.0 moral
4	c-4	.6	3.9 perspective	4.5 cohere
4	c-6	.6	4.1 bounds logic	4.7 moral
4	c-9	.7	3.4 logic	4.1 locus symbolic
4	c-13	within .5	4.0 moral	4.5 cohere symbol
4	c-17	.7	3.75 logic	4.5 bounds
4	c-18	1.7	3.3 logic	5 bounds
4	c-20	within .5	3.9 locus	4.2 symbol cohere
4-5	c-12	.9	4.0 symbol	4.9 locus
4-5	c-15	within .5	4.2 symbol	4.6 cohere
5	c-19	within .5	5.0 4 aspects	5.5 cohere

Column one indicates the global stage, column two gives the code number assigned to each participant, column three is the range of aspects of faith, and the remaining two detail the numerical lowest and highest aspects with key words referring to the aspect names. What should be the standard deviation of aspect scores for the clustering idea to hold true?¹⁷ The revised Manual states, "we have found that in transitional interviews, the aspects are not as consistent as in more equilibrated interviews. In fact, one or more aspects may lead or lag behind the average by a whole stage."¹⁸ This implies, that in fully-equilibrated stages, the standard deviation is less than one whole stage. This researcher had been operating on the assumption that clustering should range no more than .5 stage since this was the measure of consistency used in establishing inter-rater agreement. When questioning this standard in conversations with the experienced rater and with James Fowler, she discovered that the .5 faith stage standard deviation is too stringent. The stages should cluster around a mean point but there are instances of certain aspects going beyond the standard deviation by as much as an entire faith stage due to unique circumstances. Those might include a strength or weakness in certain aspects due to the influence of close friends or family, professional expertise, or particular experiences which give individuals sensitivity to and an advanced (or retarded) mode of construction in those areas. Fowler explained (phone conversation, October, 24, 1995) that some researchers he has conversed with (Kohlberg) prefer to give priority to certain aspects and use those as a leading indicator of faith stage. The Manual indicates that this is not done with faith development scores. Each aspect has equal weight in that all are averaged for the faith stage score. The final shape of the aspects might represent a bell curve where the bulk of aspects gravitate to within .5, but a few others may lie further from the center. Devising a more flexible range of aspects, what is a reasonable range of stage aspects to indicate a stable stage? Since James Fowler has indicated that .5 may be too stringent and ignore differences among the variety of interviews which one stage describes, if the standard

deviation is shifted to some figure between 1.0 and .5, one arrives at .75 deviation in the clustering of faith stage aspects.

All Stage 3 scores in this study, except one, were within .5 and the exception is still within the revised range of .75. Transitional stages are expected to show a broader spread of aspect scores since these interviews show movement between stages, not a fully-equilibrated or stable stage structure. Correspondingly, two transitional interviews had a .6 range of aspects and one, a range of .7. Only two of the Stage 4 scores had aspect ranges within .5 with the majority showing a range of .6, .7 and one at 1.7. C-18 showed the widest range of aspect scores for any interview. Of the three Stage 4-5 transitional and Stage 5 persons, two had closely clustered scores and one did not. Conceivably, all features of our meaning-making structures do not move in a lock-step; some lead the way, while others follow, but the range of aspect scores for Stage 4 raises questions about the validity of the structuring operations as they are presently described to define stable stage positions.

If all fully-equilibrated stages must meet the criterion of .75 range, then only one does not. Fowler's model is partially validated with 95 percent of the interviews clustering to within .75 range of aspects scores. This seems the most balanced criterion to use. If, however, one maintained the .5 criterion for aspect range, then six out of twenty interviews, or 30 percent, would not demonstrate clustering of stage aspects. The two other interviews with a broader range are C-7 and C-12, both of which are transitional.

Analysis of Wide-ranging Aspects in a Stage 4 Interview

The range of 1.7 in C-18 merits a closer look. Several possibilities to explain the range of scores present themselves:

- 1) This is a characteristic of C-18's (pen name, Runman) interview and hence a skewing of faith structures;
- 2) The questions of the interview did not probe this individual's faith sufficiently for clarity on the issues in question;
- 3) Interpreter error in scoring the interview;

4) Lack of sufficiency of the stage descriptors to account for the variety of structuring styles among Stage 4 interviews.

The following will describe C-18 in the discrepant areas: Bounds of Social Awareness, the highest; and Form of Logic, the lowest, to expose characteristics related to the first two possibilities.

The highest aspect of faith for C-18 was "Bounds of Social Awareness." This aspect of faith has several dimensions but refers principally to the mode of a person's group identification: how the person relates to the group to which he or she belongs and how persons and groups are treated within one's social awareness. The questions which elicit these structures are related to marker events in one's life, group identification and changes in relationships.¹⁹ This researcher measured Runman's interview Stage 5 in "Bounds of Social Awareness" based upon an integrated, expanding social awareness which moved outward from a very close family life to groups as far away as China. In other words, how the individual defined "we" was very broad. The interview showed a principled mode of identification with other groups, an embrace of pluralism for the differences it offered and great clarity in respect to personal and cultural roots. The outward identification was not overly generalized, but concrete enough to indicate careful thought and integration of this aspect within his behavior; it also indicated a trust in intuition, a central feature of Stage 5.²⁰ Here are two long excerpts from the interview to indicate A) the strength of his family roots, and B) the ease with which he moved outward from those roots. Runman was explaining the genesis of his career in finance as tied to a risky move he and his family made to Newfoundland. The letters "I" below refer to interviewer and "R" refers to respondent. The numbers designate passages of the interview since each is numbered consecutively from 1 onwards.

I-37 What other gifts do you envision from that experience while you were in Newfoundland?

R-37 Oh, so many! Because that was a unique Bahá'í experience in a Bahá'í community. When we went there in '68 there were only a handful of

Bahá'ís at that time. My wife and I and four kids were in a town 500 miles away. It was a painful struggle for years, the ups and downs and disappointments and happiness, joy and tears. But the community that came together was unique. Both our C____ community which had a lot of Newfoundlanders in it and pioneers who would come and go...would come together in the centre once or twice a year. There was such a bond there. Many of us will speak of that as a unique experience. And the closeness that it created in the family. Without a doubt, the increasing effect it had on enhancing the closeness of my wife and I. We were in that together.

39b Then we were approached, soon after moving to P. (Ontario), by the World Center (Haifa, Israel) to see if we would consider serving there. We filled out an application, and nothing happened there. Then we adopted to go short term pioneering early the next year. Before that happened, we received a query from the World Center. The House [Universal House of Justice] wanted us to come, wanted me to serve on a three-person team to review the financial operations...two people from the States and me.

39-c Joan came also because we were both being considered for service. We were both interviewed while we were there. So this was a wonderful opportunity to serve the House directly, work with committees of the House, meet up on the second floor of the Seat. Talk about life being meaningful, I just couldn't believe it was happening at the time.

I-40 Sort of at the heartbeat of the affairs of the Faith in the World?

R-40 Oh, yes! Why me? We kept saying well, why me? We had been on pilgrimage twice before that. We kept saying, why me? Then later that year we got the invitation from the National Assembly in the States to come there to work on the World Congress. ...We worked long distance from our home through the following winter and spring and then we went down again right through the World Congress. We were responsible for putting together the whole financial aspect of it, giving contracts.

40-b It was such a wonderful way to use your talents, the skills you developed over your life, to be able to contribute. It was a volunteer service. You wouldn't want to be paid for this. Again, talk about meaningful!

43-b So I mentioned China as part of the meaningfulness because when Joan was asked in Macao if she would pioneer. ...They were suggesting that she

call me at home. She replied that it wasn't fair to me to put that question long distance. They were wanting her, if she would agree, to go talk to a group of pioneers who were going into China. So anyway, she deferred, and asked me about it when she got home and my major reaction was YES, do you have a choice? When you are able, do you have a choice?

43-c So, we've been working aggressively on that. We've sent applications out to 34 universities directly... And the committee sent her résumés to a certain number of other universities. We've received a number of inquiries back...And so we're going for a year...we FAX the Bahá'í Committee for China with a list of universities and their locations so they know what our priority is and to which one we want to go. Shantung was one where there are no Bahá'ís. It's down in the south-central part. It's one of the four furnace cities. It gets 52 inches of rain a year. But our position is, so what? That's irrelevant. I mean it's a chance to serve. China is one of the remaining countries mentioned in the Tablets of the Divine Plan that has yet to be opened to the Bahá'í Faith...and it's such an opportunity to participate in that.

This interview showed a convergence of cognitive and affective structures in the attitudes towards moving out from conventional boundaries repeatedly during his lifetime: first to Newfoundland, then to Haifa, Israel, then to New York for the World Congress, and, finally, to China. There was an awareness of risk, but a pattern of trust developed which deepened this interviewee's structure of faith and integrated his life choices around service.

The interview's low score was 3.3 in "Form of Logic" and 3.4 in "Symbolic Function." Sometimes the interview showed a tacit system of values and embeddedness in his meaning system as in the following description of an event earlier in his life:

R-47 I guess the key decision was to become a Bahá'í.

I-48 How did that come about?

R-48 Again, that wasn't really a decision. I call it a decision, but it was just something that happened. It had to happen. Once we learned about the Bahá'í Faith...and it was Dave who worked down the hall from me at this company in S. C., who I first approached about the Faith. And he invited us to a fireside. I just remember going back to my desk and talking to Dave on a Monday morning. Joan

and I had made up our minds that would better go back to church because we now had one small child, a little over a year old. We had attempted to go to church when we first got married, but we weren't ready. The church didn't hold anything for us, so we just didn't bother. But now two/ three years later, we thought "Well, we have a family, we have to assume responsibility and establish church roots, so to speak. But we thought, let's not go back to the United Church. Let's try something else that will interest us". So we were down on our hands and knees on the living room rug looking at the church ads page in the Saturday paper. There was a Bahá'í ad in there which was just a perfect ad, especially for me. As I had expressed before about my concern over the years about it's not fair, it's not Christian. Here was this Bahá'í ad saying Bahá'ís believe that all of the world's religions as founded were from God and were valid. That was it. Actually, from that point, I was a Bahá'í.

The decision-making process is tacit here and not explicit and aware. The individual does not show evidence for constructing a systematic approach to making decisions which is followed through. The decision seems to be a matter of timing and relies heavily on a "felt experience." However, this event is a recollection of previous experiences. FD theory postulates that when an individual matures, he recasts his previous experiences into the framework of his new meaning-making structures.²¹ This reforming is one of the evidences of qualitative change from one stage to another. The following passage shows a more explicit and aware reconstruction of previous experiences in the light of a principle feature of Runman's world view.

R-36 Oh, absolutely. Well, I just believe that when Bahá'u'lláh talks about the repayment is many-fold for any efforts provided. The payment occurs on many levels. And if we make efforts to serve, then there is no question that the repayment is there. You are not necessarily certain in what form that payment is going to occur. I believe in our case the repayment occurred in many ways including a satisfying career and more money than we had ever been used to. Certainly in Newfoundland for those six years we did without. A low paying job, we couldn't afford a car, we walked everywhere. When the car broke down, that was the end of the car. That was also a good experience for our kids because our kids learned something about values and doing without. We did things together. We walked and we carried our lunch with us.

Runman's interview is a good chance to become aware of the diversity of responses within an interview which may indicate variations of faith structures and aspects, and, therefore, a range of scores when rendered numerically. There are other possible reasons to account for the disparity in aspects. Perhaps it was my lack of experience of applying the structural concepts to Bahá'í content. I consulted my trainer's scoring to check. Our scores for the interview as a whole were within .1 (3.8 and 3.9 respectively). Yet, she had scored "Bounds of Social Awareness" as a Stage 4 because he saw his religion as a structure independent of the people within it. He used identity groups as a vehicle for service. She scored his "Form of Logic" a 3.83. The lowest aspect score which the trainer gave to Runman was 3.25 for "Symbolic Function." Our rationale for this aspect was similar. The establishment of inter-rater reliability as a check on the subjective nature of interpretation operates in a broad fashion here. Overall results can be roughly comparable, but it is not feasible to control the refinements of the scoring process. There is no check on the choice of passages to review, nor on the ways those passages are assessed by the interpreter.

Critique of the Averaging Process for Stage Aspects

The averaging of aspects to arrive at the total stage score conceals many of the possible divergences between several aspects of the stages. If one must relegate each aspect to the total interview to arrive at a stage score, then they cease to be unique variables and are "read" only as specific instances of one dominant feature or of a global score. They do not come clearly into focus unless the researcher analyzes aspects separately as has been done here. If the structural and integrated nature of faith development is to be maintained, there is a need for clearer resolution of this issue of the clustering of aspects. What is considered an acceptable standard deviation of stage aspects? Based upon the clarification received in my phone conversations with the trainer and with James Fowler, it seems unreasonable to regard .5 as the only acceptable standard deviation. If that figure is revised to .75, then 15 percent of the sample do not have clustered scores, leaving 85 percent who

do.

The validation of Fowler's model is partially supported by the findings in the Canadian Bahá'ís. All fully-equilibrated interviews except one show a normal clustering of aspects. The remaining two which show a broad range are both transitional interviews.

Structuring of Contents: Faith Stage Comparisons for Form of World Coherence and Locus of Authority

The foregoing provides a relatively quantitative, yet global, test of Fowler's Stages 3, 4, and 5. A more detailed, molecular and explicit test can be conducted by examining participants' responses to selected questions of the FD interview. The questions chosen represent three different aspects of faith scored at the different stages. Such a comparison provides a more detailed, qualitative test. The reader will observe how Bahá'í content (see Glossary) is shaped at successive faith stages, and, in the process, examine the descriptors of faith for their ability to define different styles of faith structuring. "Does human life have a purpose? If so, what do you think it is? and What makes life meaningful for you?" are key questions to probe both Locus of Authority and Form of World Coherence. Interviewer questions and remarks are once again indicated by an "I" preceding, and those of respondent with an "R".

Stage 3: Does human life have a purpose?

R: We're taught as Bahá'ís what Bahá'u'lláh said which is to believe in God and recognize His Manifestation for today and to follow His teachings. Which I adopt...but, I make it more specific for myself, purposely, in how I see my relationship with God, and the specific things that I do in my life.

I: How do you see your relationship to Bahá'u'lláh? Is that the same?

R: Um, yeah. That's something I'm still working on. I still haven't understood the concept of the Manifestation, and that's one of the reasons why I'm reading The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh. I have yet to be able to explain for myself and to get a handle on His Essence as a human being and as something more, too. I think it's easier to relate to God. I don't know why. I already know that God is

intangible, unknowable and all the other attributes that we ascribe to Him. I've been on pilgrimage; I've seen the photograph and the portraits of Bahá'u'lláh.

Stage 3-4 transitional: What makes life meaningful for you?

R: First of all, my Faith. I would say even before my family. My family is personally most important to me, but as I am developing a global perspective...even my own life is meaningful in the global perspective in the meaningfulness of the Faith. When you get down to the house and me, then my family. My family is very precious to me. I would truly feel like dying, if my family died...especially my husband. I would probably continue, but I would probably pour myself into the Faith. Nothing else would have any meaning for me. It's very...I think it's an essential thing for human beings to have something more meaningful than immediate life. Because that's transient. It's subject to the chances and changes of the physical world....even though we don't like to recognize that. I don't, anyway. My Faith is something that goes beyond that.

I-41 So that is the main area of commitment?

R-41 Absolutely. It's something that my husband and I share. We are so committed to each other and to our Faith. It's what brought us together in the first place.

Stage 4: How do you see the meaning of life for you in the present?

R: Well, this has been the year that I've decided to get involved in the Bahá'í community. To me that was the reason that I signed my card.²² I didn't sign my card from the realization that Bahá'u'lláh is the Manifestation. I didn't doubt it, but the reason I signed was akin to campus groups I had been with. I thought, enough reading books; I'd like to meet these people and start working with them. I expected to find a community of activists. And I found what seemed to me a community of evangelists. I was really rubbed the wrong way at first. But I knew that this was just an imperfection of humanity trying to adapt itself to the Writings, so it didn't take away anything from my understanding of the Writings. If anything, it only strengthened them. There's a million potentialities here for what Bahá'í culture will be. For the tradition of what Bahá'í community life will be. Some of them will fade away, because now is a time of a lot of experimentation, a lot of trying things and within the Bahá'í community there's a lot of fads about what's important and what's not important. That's exciting and confusing. The

thing I have been thinking in regard to my disillusionment when I first came in, is "What am I going to do about that?"

Stage 4-5 transitional: Does human life have a purpose?

R: Well, this is an easy question for a Bahá'í because we are told that our purpose in life is to know God and to love Him and to carry forward an ever-advancing civilization. But, when expanded, operationalized to a large sphere, I think I tend to include within that the process of personal, spiritual growth. We are engaged in this process of developing those qualities and attributes of God. And the soul is our raw material, the substrate, if you will, for developing these qualities and attributes. And these are part of those sensory organs or characteristics which we need as we proceed beyond this life into other worlds of God. So what we're in the process of doing is polishing our souls as the mirrors, if you will, of the attributes of God, and developing mercy, justice, humility, compassion, wisdom, sovereignty...all of those things which reflect these attributes which we know are the purpose of our existence.

I: Any particular ones which are special to your life?

R: Wisdom has been a long-term historical focus for me. And, of course, I've often thought about the words, "The essence of wisdom is the fear of God, the dread of His scourge, and the apprehension of His justice and decree." But there's tremendous wisdom in that statement about wisdom because the fear of God is the fear of our remoteness from Him...the fear of being distant from Him, not knowing or following His Will in our lives. The dread of His scourge is the dread of his desertion, the dread of His leaving us to our own flawed, human selves. And the apprehension of His justice and decree is recognizing that in the order of the Universe, and thus in the order of our own lives, there is divine justice and regardless of how errant we become, this divine justice will eventually continue to raise forces against us to channel us back to the direction that we should go. And the severity of those forces are proportional to the severity of our error in wandering away from God.

Stage 5: Does human life have a purpose?

R: I think it's service to humankind. That's the purpose of life and that's what I've been involved in all my life. I believe in looking at a pattern of my life

that I have not guided. I've guided certain elements of it, but all these other changes that came my way...I didn't make those decisions. They were made for me.

I: So, you feel that your life has been pretty well guided by divine assistance?

R: Well, circumstances, yes. And things over which I had no control. Somebody has been orchestrating that part of it.

I: What of the implications of the work that you're doing down the line?

R: Well, the House of Justice is satisfied with what I'm doing and that gives me impetus because the implications are linked to Bahá'u'lláh's plan for the spiritualization of humanity. Training health care workers in what they're doing is in the material world. If you grow in the material world, you grow in the spiritual world, too. If you uplift the communities in which you are working, you have an influence on the total community. So that is the connection of my work to the great goal of the spiritualization of humanity. It's just a cog in the wheel.

Analysis of Responses

The Stage 3 response is global and general. The refinements of thinking and of application have not been thoroughly worked through. Likewise, there is a self-focus here which represents the individual's embeddedness in human relationships and in the system of which he/she is a part. There's an acceptance of authorities from which one learns but no separation of self from those at this point. The individual strives to please them. Stage 3 persons cannot test beliefs for coherence and consistency and will tend to justify actions based upon evidence which fits with the chosen belief system. Conflicts can be detected but often not resolved.

The Stage 3-4 transitional response is nearly Stage 4 in that she identifies her life within the faith system and subsumes her family values within the context of meaningfulness as a Bahá'í. In contrast to the above, her grasp of her relationship to her faith and others is more certain and more explicit. Her faith and her family are two great commitments, but she sees her primary commitment to the Faith. Others flow from that.

The strong interpersonal focus carries great feeling and illustrates the concept of "connected knowing."²³

In contrast, the Stage 4 response is detached and critical. The individual is clearly disembedded from the system and sees "the system" as the primary value rather than the individuals within it. Stage 4 charts one's own course rather than being very influenced by authorities, is aware of alternatives and chooses which to pursue. The Stage 4 individual judges the Faith on the principles in the Writings rather than on embodiment in concrete activities or persons which are possibly fads. The characteristic of imagining many possibilities currently in practice which time will winnow implies a sophistication of process thinking which is leading towards Stage 5 development.

The Stage 4-5 transitional response is also marked by emphasis on the process of development which is open-ended and not collapsed into an either/or dichotomy and yet stands back from a critical distance to reconstruct events and goals. Stage 4 and 5 thinking is strongly principle-centered and shows concern for the larger wholes more than one's immediate circumstances.

The Stage 5 response is simplified, but its simplicity shows a respect for persons and for humanistic outcomes more than just the social system. Its simplicity is founded upon a grasp and ordering of the complexity of experience which has been organized into universal principles which operate in a variety of contexts. There is the employment of intuition in Stage 5 thinking which can, nevertheless, be accounted for by other factors and is consciously chosen.

Structuring of Contents: Faith Stage Comparisons for Form of Moral Judgment

The preceding examples establish different constructions of faith at each of the various levels of development among the adults in my study. The descriptive adequacy of the structures of faith will be tested again by examining another aspect of faith, form of moral judgment, using the question: Are there certain actions that are always right or

wrong? Again, "R" refers to respondent and "I" refers to interviewer. The numbers locate each passage within the total interview.

Stage 3: Are there certain actions that are always right or wrong?

C-5: Marion (3.3)

R-42 That's a hard one. Well, I think there are. I don't know that I can spell them out at a certain time. I think that morality has a great deal to do with justice for me. So that a situation is right or wrong, with a lot of "depends on" kinds of things.

I-43 Can you think of something you've encountered in your work with children or women in the past that was a real example of injustice or a moral issue?

R-43 Well, being in an environment like a women's centre, the abortion issue is always in the air. I think that would come under the umbrella of morality in terms of trying to figure out if it's right or wrong...at least in terms of the people around me who are struggling with it, you know, or being very angry about it on one side or the other. And just in terms of a personal experience of a close friend recently who went through one, and was very troubled by the whole thing and felt very trapped and indecisive. I feel very close to the things that 'Abdu'l-Bahá says about abortion. That makes perfect sense to me. That was something I was able to share with her. To me, that position—it's a way of acknowledging that it's a moral issue and also it's not hard and fast in the sense that you do take things into account that surround you. My understanding of what he says is that, you cannot tamper with God's will in a sense that if a child is meant to be born, don't think that you can necessarily stop it. If it's not, and the soul is meant to enter the world at a different time when the conditions are such that it'll be a healthier time for that soul, then that's when it will happen. To me that's a kind of moral statement that allows for some flexibility. I don't think I'm explaining myself at all.

She continues:

Well something that's always wrong is something that's blatantly unjust to me, and by unjust the best point of reference is the things that are written in the Hidden Words about justice. Where you're seeing with your own eyes and hearing with your own ears, listening very closely to the way God speaks to you, and being disciplined about that. I don't often find myself in moral dilemmas lately.

C-2 Ruby (3.0)

R-68 Can I rephrase it? Put it in another way? (Sure)

It's like people are OK. Some of the things they do aren't good things like when they abuse or rob or kill. But that doesn't mean that the human being has any less value or any less potential to achieve a good side of things. It's like the actions are separate from the spiritual reality of the person.

I-69 That was the nature of my question. Can certain actions be right or wrong? Always right or always wrong?

R-69 There are certain things that are always right and always wrong.

The ultimate one of taking another life. But you see, I've stopped thinking in black and white. I have a lot more compassion now. So there was a point where a law that said we shall not kill, meant therefore no one should ever be killed. But then again, I know that if I was in a condition where pulling the plug would allow me to go into the next world, I would want to go. I've told my children let me go.

That opens the door for me for euthanasia if I want it. If someone else wants it, it's their right. It's their choice. It's connected with the feeling of forgiveness. I never quite feel God could forgive me. The ocean of God's love is forgiveness, wide and vast. Forgiveness is an ocean; it's before a sin is committed, it's forgiven. You look at that and you look at a woman who's in a position where she has an abortion. I think God would forgive her. He would take the baby home and love it and forgive her. So that changes the nature of black and white, a wrong act or a right act. Some acts are necessary. It's like every case on its own merits. That's the way the Writings speak. It's become a reality for me. Because the understanding is there now.

I-70 You've almost said there aren't any real clear absolutes now.

R-70 Taking another life is always wrong. When you look at life and you realize the next life has such wonder, and such splendour, and that someone going there is not an evil thing but a good thing. That even though the death is not voluntary, what happens to that person in the next life, how they will be received, how they will still grow. It's helped answer the question when people ask me, "How could God allow the Holocaust?" All those people who died, He took them home. He loved them. He gave them life, nourishment. They went home. When people focus on the physical aspect of death, but that's not the end of it. It doesn't matter how I die or who kills me in any way whatsoever. It doesn't matter. Death

is not the final, ultimate anything. It's a part of a process. So it's like birth and life and aging, and dying, and going into the next life. It's a continuum.

Analysis of Stage 3 Responses

The above two examples were both scored Stage 3, although the first one was within an interview whose seven aspects averaged 3.6. The first response has not clearly formulated a system of moral laws and decision-making. Its tentative quality comes from looking at certain values and episodes which have not yet been integrated into a third person perspective on moral decision-making. Her reference to the authority of 'Abdu'l-Bahá implies some synthesis between events, experiences and her sources of right and wrong (the Bahá'í Writings). She acknowledges the standards as fixed, but she is still unsure about the process of application. The second example confusingly asserts both the certainty of standards and also the possibility of their abrogation by God. Ruby ameliorates the justice of God with an overwhelming emphasis on the mercy of God as she has appropriated this principle. God decides the rightness or wrongness of actions. Her focus is interpersonal rather than social system oriented, especially in relation to God. The process-orientation to life at the close of the interview was initially interpreted as a Stage 5 "prior to society" perspective which orients to individuals rather than social laws. This was, however, one of the first four training interviews which I revisited with the enhanced awareness of **how** to apply descriptive criteria to examples. When it was rescored, the process elements which first caught my attention were overstruck by a new clarity derived from discussion with my trainer. The response reflects the pluralism often found in synthetic-conventional faith styles.

Since both of the above two examples of moral decision-making deal with the issue of abortion, the next example will contrast those with a Stage 5 form of moral judgment which addresses the same issue with a different construction of its elements. The discussion which follows was preceded by Peggy's response to "what is sin?," and this issue was referred to the laws of the religion to which the individual submits.

Stage 5: Are there certain actions which are always right or wrong?

C-19 Peggy (4.8)

I: If we take that issue of taking a life and put it into the context of abortion. ...we talked about that issue before and you had referred to the laws of Bahá'u'lláh as counseling against abortion. Can you imagine any circumstances in which abortion could be recommended?

R: That I think has a lot to do with the conscience of the doctor and the conscience of the individual involved. Because the advice which we are to give our clients or patients is to consult a competent doctor and go by that doctor's guidance. If the life of the mother is at stake, or if the mother has four other children, if her life is taken by giving birth to a child she's carrying, the four other children will suffer. So, in circumstances like that, what it means to the rest of the family, how others would suffer are important to consider. There's so many circumstances to consider.

I: Would the individual be left with the problem of juggling those and trying to figure out which received priority in a given instance?

R: Well, their judgment must be considered, but under stressful circumstances we're told that they should turn to a competent doctor to help them weigh the circumstances and make a decision. It shouldn't be left to the patient themselves when they're under stress and strain.

I: I see, so a competent professional would be the resource to consult with then?

R: Yes. It's a very delicate question for Bahá'ís because we believe that the soul enters the body at the time of conception and therefore, to abort a fetus at any stage after conception is taking a life. And so you have to weigh the consequences....the mother's life against the fetus and what state the fetus is in and so forth. It's a very complex question.

I: Have you ever had to counsel somebody in a situation like that?

R: Yes. Those are the circumstances that I take into consideration. And, of course, sometimes they want abortions not for the life of the mother but because the child is handicapped. That's a very difficult one because you're taking a life and just because it might be handicapped doesn't mean the child shouldn't be given an opportunity to live. So, I've counseled in several situations like this, and, as I say,

it's very delicate and there are so many things to be considered.

I: So, those things should be considered?

R: Oh, they have to be....the family, the mother, the state of the fetus. Because if a child is born handicapped and the mother is already looking after a lot of children, what does it do to the rest of them? It's a moral judgment, but one that I don't like to get involved in.

I: Yes, but life is full of these complexities, isn't it?

R: Yes, it is and we have to face up to them and pray that the guidance we offer is going to be the best possible guidance.

Analysis of Stage 5 Response

Peggy's response to the issue, although she is probed by the interviewer, is much more complex than either of the former two examples. It also exhibits a critical distance from which the problem is addressed and that critical distance accounts for religious laws plus the circumstances of each given situation. Thought processes acknowledge the human dimension of the difficulty from many perspectives which impinge on the situation: mother, doctor, other children, state of fetus, *etc.* The person of Conjunctive Faith shows a respect for persons, for the human situation of those involved. Decision making utilizes multiple perspectives and combines those with cognizance of the law, with prayer, and with the advice of a competent professional. In short, it is balanced and holistic. A Stage 4, system perspective, would probably address primarily the standpoint of law and social order upheld as in the following.

Stage 4: Are there certain actions which are always right or wrong?

C-7 Donald (4.0)

R-63 Actions...Well, I guess you have to if you accept the concept of divine revelation. (Why?) If you don't. ...There are two ways of looking at things. One is that you have a reliable standard and when you take a measurement, it is there and it stays the same. I think when you don't have any idea that there is something that is right or wrong, your standard is a piece of rubber. You can stretch it or

squish it down to what shape you want it to be. Then there is no objectiveness to the standard any more.

I-64 So, the standard of divine revelation means that there's a center point which defines right or wrong, that doesn't waver?

R-64 It's a standard. It's a standard unto itself and not something which you can fix and adjust and attune to what you would like it to be.

I-65 Can you give an example of that?

R-65 O.K. Something that's blatantly black and white. It's hard, isn't it? I was thinking that adultery is kind of black and white, but then Christ said that adultery can occur in the mind as much as it can physically. So that takes away the black and whiteness of it. Honesty. What's honesty? You can be honest and then you can be kidding yourself. It's hard to be absolute in applying a principle... You can say I don't backbite. That's something which you can say is absolute. That can be something that you can do, I guess. It's a lot easier to see it. There are a lot more subtle principles.

Analysis of Stage 4 Response

The Stage 4 response above is a system-level perspective in that its primary concern is the maintenance of the social order and the standards which represent that order. The social system becomes an abstract entity which is related to in preference (in this case) to specific interpersonal relationships. Also, there is an awareness of obligations and duties as a member of that system, and a willingness to test the system against any specific examples which might be imagined or encountered. The "testing" of the standard when Donald is asked for examples is interesting. He realizes that no standard is easily applied. There are situational nuances which make this a difficult process. Donald's response is an example of the "justice" perspective which Carol Gilligan presents as a specific style of moral decision making.

Stage 4-5 Transition

One more example of Stage 4 moral decision making will illustrate yet another approach to the construction of moral choices.

C-4 David (4.4)

I: Do you think certain actions are always right or wrong? Are there actions which are always right or wrong?

R-52 Yes and no. I think in general, yes. Moderation and relativity with everything. I think if there is one thing that characterizes humanity's maturity, it is the difference between the way a child sees things and the way an adult will see things. To a child, a thing is either right or wrong. With a more mature perspective, you obviously realize that things are complicated and nothing can be isolated from the situation and from its effects and from its causes, all of the things that are connected with it.

I was having a conversation yesterday with someone in the community who was supposed to give a talk to 16 and 17 year-old Bahá'ís on sexuality. These young Bahá'ís had asked for this topic to be discussed...So, we got into a general discussion about what Bahá'í law means. I have just read one of the most uplifting books called Asking Questions.²⁴

I-54 Yes, I'm reading that myself.

R-54 I just loved that book. It was really enlightening for me...because of its perspectives on the law. ...I've come across a lot of confusion among Bahá'ís about homosexuality. I've seen some very strong homophobia, and some very intolerant attitudes, arising out of fear, not maliciousness...We were talking about what something that's written in the Aqdas²⁵ means, what its purpose is, and how it's different from other religious laws. And to me, this world is a world for us to grow through and to pass on to the next one. And while we're here the things that we achieve will strengthen us for the next world. So the law is to help us to perfect us and become closer to God. It is not something which is first and foremost identified with community expectations. It's not something I'm doing for the priest or mullah. It's something which God has given me. It's a gift to help me in my own progress. So none of us has the right to pass judgment on moral behavior of anyone else....to throw the first stone, in effect. This person said to me, "Do you know what the most important, the greatest moral trespass a Bahá'í can commit, next to blasphemy?Backbiting."

The point they were trying to make was, to put this in perspective, that we will often make an enormous amount of hand-wringing and confusion will go on over sexual morality, over alcohol, *etc.* Yet Bahá'u'lláh places an enormous emphasis on backbiting, much more than any of these other aspects. And yet how

often do each of us backbite? I guess a sense of perspective. What is the moral transgression in having a sexual encounter that doesn't quite fit with the Aqdas compared with the implications of backbiting? And you can see what they are. In one, you're only hurting yourself. OK? And this is not what God's plan is for you. So you've let yourself down. I'm not sure this is clear.

I-55 You're pointing to the dimension in which that moral action reverberates as being one of the considerations which this discussion of the law was really about...

R-55 Yeah, it obviously has a social aspect to it, but I also think this individual growth aspect...it's a gift. So many of the Writings, especially the Hidden Words,²⁶ strike me as this. I feel that everywhere that this is a message from God for each and everyone of us. This isn't a message for how the world will be run and we each sort of walk into it. Like it's pointed at each and every individual, you know. Bahá'u'lláh is asking each one of us to look into the depths of our hearts and ask ourselves these questions. "To ponder in your own heart how it behooveth you to be..." (laughter) Like the law and everything I see in the same light.

Analysis of Stage 4-5 Response

The responder above sees several complexities in the law which take its application beyond a system perspective to the process within which it is applied: to the whole of one's life purpose, to the individual's optimum growth, to the community's unity as a whole. A specific law is contextualized within these larger frameworks. These characteristics make this a transitional Stage 4-5 response.

Summary of Structuring of Contents

It has been demonstrated that similar faith contents (understood in this context as the laws and teachings of Bahá'u'lláh) do exist across several faith stages as illustrated above, based upon the individual's construction of meaning at each stage of faith. And that the descriptors of structuring faith at various stages do explain the responses in these aspects of faith. The basic response of life's purpose and meaningfulness is traced and understood in a variety of ways in the responses cited above. Likewise the responses to

the question, "Are there any actions which are always right or always wrong?" allows the person to approach the question from a variety of viewpoints, revealing, as they do so, their own construction of moral issues, laws, situations and the like. Stages as structural features of an individual's psycho-social operations remain supported by the empirical data.

Also intact are the viability of the interview questions. In the three aspects illustrated above: form of moral judgment, locus of authority, and form of world coherence, the relationship of questions to the contents of faith is demonstrated. Individuals understood the questions and were able to answer based upon their appropriation of Bahá'í ideas and teachings. The ways in which they constructed and understood those teachings differed and matched the descriptors given in the Manual.

The higher stages of faith are not only able to more clearly articulate the principles upon which life is based, but to integrate them in action. Actions live out principles in ways which are understood, checked for accuracy, and reinforced in the individual's pattern of meaning-making. The more differentiated and integrated patterns of higher faith stages illustrate the principle of hierarchy which Fowler's model of faith development claims.

Profile of Bahá'í Respondents in a Faith Development Perspective

Next, what correlations are there between the control variables of the Canadian sample and the stages of faith? These will be helpful in establishing similar correlations in the Indian group. The author expected a positive correlation between education level and stage score such that higher levels of education correlated with higher faith stages. The results are summarized in Table 6.²⁷

Chi squares were used to determine any relationship between age, sex, education, Bahá'í age and stage score. The chi squares established a test of association, indicating a looser relationship than correlations between stage score and the control variables because the small sample size produces a very small number of observations in each cell. Hence, care must be taken in claiming any generalizability for the results. Results of the chi square

analysis in Table 6, education level and stage score, produced a chi square value of 14.17 which was not statistically significant at 12 degrees of freedom. However, visually, the higher stage scores accompany higher levels of education. In this case, lack of statistical significance will be used to establish the comparability of both Canadian and Indian samples. For instance, there are four individuals with masters degrees who score Stage 4 and above, compared to only two who do not. Both individuals at Stage 4-5 have at least a master's degree; the one Stage 5 has a doctoral degree. Correspondingly, the high school educated persons do not attain Stage 4, and only three of those with bachelors degree reach Stage 4. As anticipated, there is a tendency for higher education levels to yield higher stage scores even if these cannot be statistically associated.

TABLE 6
FAITH STAGE SCORE IN RELATION TO EDUCATION LEVEL

Educa tion	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.5	5.0	Total
high sch +	2	1	0	0	0	3
bachel	4	1	3	0	0	8
master	1	1	3	1	0	6
doctor	0	0	1	1	1	3
Totals	7	3	7	2	1	20

$$x^2 = 14.17, (Df = 12) \text{ NS}$$

Next, it was expected that higher ages of participants would yield higher stage scores. Table 7 illustrates the distribution of stage scores related to age group.

TABLE 7
FAITH STAGE SCORE IN RELATION TO AGE

Age group	Stage 3	Stage 3.5	Stage 4	Stage 4.5	Stage 5	Totals
21-30	1	1	1	0	0	3
31-40	4	1	3	0	0	8
41-50	1	1	1	2	0	5
51+	1	0	2	0	1	4
Totals	7	3	7	2	1	20

$$x^2 = 12.58, (Df = 12) \text{ NS}$$

Once again, the results yield no significance with a chi square value of 12.58 which was not significant at 12 degrees of freedom. While participants 51 and older are found at all levels of stage scores, and those 41 to 50 are found at most levels, we have no occurrence of Stage 4-5 transitional or Stage 5 before the age group 41-50. Therefore, higher age is not associated with stage score in this group of respondents.

Previous studies had established a larger number of men than women achieving faith Stage 4 and beyond. Table 8 illustrates the numbers of men and women at each faith stage.

TABLE 8
FAITH STAGE SCORE IN RELATION TO SEX

Sex	Stage 3	Stage 3.5	Stage 4	Stage 4.5	Stage 5	Total
male	1	1	4	1	0	7
female	6	2	3	1	1	13
Totals	7	3	7	2	1	20

$$x^2 = 2.42, (Df = 4) \text{ NS}$$

There is no statistical probability that faith stage is related to sex, however there are five males at Stage 4 and beyond compared to only two at less than Stage 4. This comparison, made on such a small group of seven males offers no reliability of relationship to stage score. Correspondingly, there are also five females at or above Stage 4, albeit more widely distributed. The majority of females score below Stage 4 (8). The tendency for men to score higher in faith development than women is apparent, but not substantial.

The last control variable which was related to stage score is Bahá'í age, or the length of time respondents had been Bahá'ís. (See Table 9)

TABLE 9
FAITH STAGE SCORE IN RELATION TO BAHÁ'Í AGE

B' age group	Stage 3	Stage 3.5	Stage 4	Stage 4.5	Stage 5	Totals
1-5 yr	2	1	1	0	0	4
6-10 yr	1	0	2	0	0	3
11-20	2	1	2	1	0	6
21+ yr	2	1	2	1	1	7
Totals	7	3	7	2	1	20

$$x^2 = 5.01, (Df = 12) \text{ NS}$$

The results are not statistically significant. The chi square value is 5.01 with 12 degrees of freedom. Perhaps the clearest sign of the lack of correlation between Bahá'í age and stage score is the row of individuals who have been Bahá'ís for 21 years or more: all stage levels are represented. The next largest group, from 11 to 20 years are represented at all levels except for Stage 5. Those who have been Bahá'ís for less than five years show the lowest scores of each row, yet they are also younger in age (34 and under).

The lack of association between Bahá'í age and stage score is problematic for Bahá'ís since one who becomes Bahá'í and remains within the previous faith stage is not

growing, at least not as measured by Fowler's instrument. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, there is a strong emphasis on faith development in the Bahá'í writings which leads to an expectation that changes in faith stage would occur with and subsequent to conversion. However, this study gives no measure of stage score prior to conversion; hence any impact of conversion on faith stage is pure speculation.

Expected Levels of Development among Canadians

The empirical data did not support attainment of Stage 4 and beyond introduced in Chapter Three and summarized at the beginning of Chapter Six. Why? Given the levels of education, which were fairly high for a group this size, the author expected higher scores on the Fowler instrument. The emphasis given to growth in the Bahá'í teachings and the exercise of reason in combination with compassion as a sign of individual maturity prepared this researcher for faith development scores averaging 4.0 or more. The mean stage for all the Canadians was 3.76. Noting differences between Faith Development Theory and Bahá'í concepts of development lead the researcher to ask whether the higher stages as designated by Fowler actually represent more mature Bahá'í functioning in accordance with the directives of the Universal House of Justice.

Faith Development Theory consistently emphasizes the cognitive construction of an individual's reality over actions which demonstrate value commitments. As a structural developmental theory, faith development is founded upon the belief that actions have meaning only in a specific context. In distinguishing between Stages 3 and 4, the criterion was the individual's ability to apply a critical perspective to the testing of any theory or expected set of circumstances. Generalizations or expectations needed testing out in order to meet the guidelines for Stage 4 construction. In distinguishing between Stages 4 and 5, it was the degree of complexity of thought in accounting for particular circumstances within a "system perspective." In order to be considered Stage 4 or 5, an interview had to move beyond the concrete to a generalized or systemic explanation for an event or response. Such a response would indicate a synthesis of phenomena within an integrated and

coherent system of thought.

The context within which Bahá'ís understand development is determined by actions. Actions which demonstrate selfless service to humanity, especially as they contribute to the expansion and consolidation of the Bahá'í Faith are the primary standard of maturity. Operative principles of maturity include kindness, trustworthiness, truthfulness, justice, *etc.* which lie at the heart of human relationships. Actions show maturity proportional to the development of selflessness, an appropriate balance between concern for self and concern for others, expressed in service. Actions should be in harmony with the laws and teachings of Bahá'u'lláh and with the institutional directives. The relational dimension of the Bahá'í Faith sees the operation of these factors within the framework of the Covenant. The Covenant establishes the form of one's relationship to transcendent centers of power, value and authority, *i.e.*, through the laws and institutions of the Faith. The Bahá'í Institutions mediate one's relationship to transcendent values embodied in the laws and teachings of Bahá'u'lláh.

A second possible reason for the disparity between stage scores and the expectations of this researcher lies in the relative youth of the Bahá'í Faith community. The slow growth of the Bahá'í Faith in Canada in the years before the 1960s has been described in Chapter Four. The emphasis on expansion in the history of this community since the 1950's has focused attention on the outreach of membership to new groups and individuals more than the cultivation of individual faith or the testing and strengthening of membership activities within the community.

Since 50 percent of the Canadian Bahá'ís fell close to the Synthetic/Conventional level of faith, my curiosity was aroused to understand what that conventionality entails. The following is the author's own synthesis of features of Bahá'í conventionality based upon applying the criteria of Stage 3 to her knowledge and experience of Bahá'í community life. A Stage 3 interview would meet expectations of the Bahá'í community as mediated through its institutions, laws and principles. In cases where an individual recently became

a Bahá'í from another faith background, the patterns of structuring meaning are not automatically changed because of professing such Bahá'í principles such as "the independent investigation of truth". It is possible that the conventionality of one system or its lack is brought into the individual's relationship to the Bahá'í Faith as well.²⁸ In addition, Bahá'í conventionality might be very different from a conventional level in another faith group in terms of professed beliefs and principles. The individual simply acquires new ideas and adapts them to previous structures of thinking, feeling and imaging.

That conventionality would entail the individual's embeddedness in the matrix of personal relationships which would be the likely avenue of adoption of the Bahá'í Faith. If such were the case, the matrix of the individual's operation in the Faith would be interpersonal. S/he would be motivated strongly by the suggestions of others relating to their life course, direction and Bahá'í service. Unity and harmony with these respected "others" would determine the stability of one's Bahá'í life. There would be little incentive in such cases to move into risks such as pioneering to a foreign country, city or taking a job which was outside the mainstream of Bahá'í community expectation. The bulk of individual struggles would be related to integrating the self with Bahá'í ideals and concepts and with the circle of others who surrounded one's daily life. "Others' expectations help us focus ourselves and assemble our commitments to values."²⁹ Likewise, highlights of an individual's life might be the meeting or friendship with individuals of recognized prestige in the Faith as these would add to or validate one's own "spiritual status" as perceived by the community. A conventional Bahá'í is likely to have the bulk of close attachments within the Bahá'í community of like-minded individuals and not risk friendships with those who are very different or who might challenge or disagree with beliefs of the Bahá'í community.

Since detachment of self from system is necessary for faith development beyond the Synthetic/Conventional stage, what would that detachment look like from a Bahá'í who was obedient to the Covenant? The following two examples were scored for locus of

authority. Both of them were post-conventional. The first one is from a lifetime Bahá'í pen-named Richard. Here is his response to the question:

I: When you have a personal moral decision to make, how do you go about making it?

Richard: Well, in the best possible case, we start by trying to quiesce yourself so that you have time for meditation. You attempt to say prayers that will hopefully further increase that quiescence, that openness, that acquiescence to guidance, and through that process you employ whatever models you have from the Writings to work with. For instance, what would 'Abdu'l-Bahá do in a situation like this? Or, what is in the best interests of the spirits or souls involved? Or what is the spiritual principle which is at the heart of the particular test or challenge that one is faced with? Assemblies, of course, use that last one quite frequently. What is the spiritual principle involved and therefore how do we resolve this particular issue? And then, once having established that state of openness, debating in the reference frame of those particular steps, spiritual principles involved and models; and then choosing appropriately. In some cases one can gain a set of guiding principles that can be used over an extended period of time. For instance at work: What is the guiding principle at this point in time? The guiding principle is one of the management team, of working together. So this becomes an overriding principle that comes to dominate a number of choices.

Richard's response as a Bahá'í trained to operate with the decision-making resources of prayer and the Writings makes him open to several possibilities while maintaining a framework of resolution, a process of considering the problem which Bahá'ís call consultation.³⁰ His response was scored Stage 5 for its more principle-centered and dialectical approach to the construction of knowledge. However, other responses in Richard's interview showed a more "collapsed" world view—that is constructing world events within an ideology which was closed to other interpretations—and these were scored Stage 4. So Richard's locus of authority was 4.5.

The second example is from a recent Bahá'í of five years pen-named Bubbet who responds to a different question:

I: What are the beliefs, values and commitments that are really important to your life right now?

Bubbet: The basic commitment to do everything I can for the Bahá'í Faith is certainly important to me. Another will be to my new marriage and my married life. And those two, as I said before, are not easily put together. Now, are there any others? No, I think I'm really pretty single-minded; rather than having a number of different commitments, I tried to pick out the biggest commitment I could find to see if I could do something about it.

Earlier, Bubbet had opened his interview with a major question he had been harboring since 1959 which he called the "super problem"--the threat posed by nuclear weapons, and his search as a nuclear scientist to make a contribution to alleviating this problem. This search had lead him to the necessity for science and religion to work together, and to encountering the Bahá'í Faith at a scientific conference in Germany in the 1960's. Subsequently he had become a Bahá'í in order to foster collaboration between science and religion to tackle the "super problem." Bubbet's locus of authority was chosen to be compatible with self-selected principles, while his references (elsewhere) to duty and responsibility describe the context in which his self stands accountable to its chosen system, the Bahá'í Faith. He was scored a straight Stage 4.

These last two interview excerpts have been offered to clarify a Bahá'í post-conventional construction of relationship to authority which was identified earlier as a potential difference between faith development theory and Bahá'í relational patterns to centres of value, power and authority.

Applicability to a Non-Western Culture: Faith Stages In Indian Bahá'ís

The larger frame of this study is the cross-cultural comparison of two populations of Bahá'ís as measured by the Fowler model of faith development. The second population is a group of twenty Bahá'ís in India ranging in age from 22 to 73. Each of the Indian participants was matched with a Canadian of nearly the same age, sex, education level and Bahá'í age (see Appendix 11). The last variable was the lowest priority match as can be seen in the seven lifetime Bahá'ís in India compared to the two in Canada. The results of the cross-cultural comparisons will be discussed in two frameworks: quantitative and

qualitative. A comparison of stage scores in the cross-cultural pairs showed only six out of twenty pairs more than .5 apart. That is, fourteen of the cross-cultural pairs were within .5 stage score. This astonishing result was amplified when the variable analyses showed no statistically significant differences between the two populations, Canadians and Indians. We have the beginnings of the model's cross-cultural validity.

Table 10 describes the Indian sample according to the control variables. They represent replicas of the Canadian group with these exceptions: eight men instead of seven in the Canadian; lower levels of education than the Canadians with one more high school graduate, three more bachelor's degrees and fewer master's (three) and doctor's degrees (two) than the Canadians. Age distributions were roughly the same with eleven in each group below 41 and nine above 41. The Bahá'í age differences were greater than chronological age differences with fewer individuals who had been Bahá'ís for ten years or less (five) and more who were Bahá'ís of long-standing among the Indian volunteers.

Other background characteristics not represented on the table but part of the information collected on the data sheet include the full-time involvement of ten of the twenty volunteers in some form of Bahá'í Institution in India. International experience was thought to be related to "Bounds of Social Awareness;" for that reason, experiences traveling or living abroad were asked on the data sheet. Four respondents had pioneered in foreign countries: the Maldives Islands, Africa (unspecified), Oman, and Muscat and Yemen. Six others had experience traveling teaching outside of India; two in only one location, and one in over fifty different countries. Yet international experience was less widespread than among the Canadian Bahá'ís. Ten Canadian volunteers had lived abroad (not always as "pioneers") and three others had experiences traveling teaching outside of Canada.

Using the results of faith development among the Canadian Bahá'ís as a benchmark (see Table 3), the stage scores of Indians are remarkably similar, as shown in Table 11.

TABLE 10
DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE INDIAN SAMPLE

Respondent Age (years)	Frequency
21-30	2
31-40	9
41-50	4
51+	5
Totals	20

Respondent Sex	Frequency
Male	8
Female	12
Totals	20

Respondent Education	Frequency
High School +	4
Bachelor's	11
Master's	3
Doctorate (M.D. or Ph.D.)	2
Totals	20

Respondent Bahá'í Age	Frequency
0-5 year	4
6-10 year	1
11-20 year	7
21+	1
Life	7
Totals	20

TABLE 11
STAGE OF FAITH IN THE INDIAN SAMPLE

Global Stage	Faith Stage	Frequency	Percent
2	2.38	1	5
3	3.0	1	5
	3.1	3	15
	3.2	1	5
	3.3	2	10
3-4 transition	3.4	1	5
	3.5	0	0
	3.6	1	5
4.0	3.7	1	5
	3.8	0	0
	3.9	0	0
	4.0	0	0
	4.1	3	15
	4.2	0	0
4-5 transition	4.3	0	0
	4.4	1	5
	4.5	1	5
	4.6	2	10
5.0	4.7	0	0
	4.8	0	0
	4.9	1	5
	5.0	1	5
Totals		20	100%

Range: 2.35—5 Median: 3.65 Mean: 3.78 SD: .75

In spite of the greater range of scores among Indian interviews, the mean score was slightly higher than the Canadian mean of 3.76. The distribution shows an equal number of scores below Stage 4 compared to above Stage 4, repeating the 50/50 ratio of the Canadian Bahá'ís. These findings provide support for Fowler's model in the range of stage scores. But the distribution of scores arranges itself differently from the Canadian sample. There are comparatively more Stage 2-3s and more 4-5s with fewer scores distributed in the mid-range of 3-4 and 4. This pattern becomes clearer in the global range of scores which follows in Table 12.

TABLE 12
GLOBAL STAGE FREQUENCY, INDIAN

Global Stage	Range	Frequency
2	1.7-2.39	1
3	3.0-3.39	7
3-4	3.4-3.69	2
4	3.7-4.39	4
4-5	4.4-4.69	4
5	4.7-5.39	2
Totals		20

Table 13 compares global stage scores of both groups. The chi square figure for correspondences between the Canadian and Indian groups is 2.82 which is not statistically significant with 4 degrees of freedom. Quantitatively, there is no significant difference between the observed number of cases and the expected number of cases in each of the cells. To be significant, the probability would have to be under .05.

TABLE 13
COMPARISON OF GLOBAL STAGE SCORES,
CANADIAN AND INDIAN

Faith Stage	Canadians	Indians	Total	Percent
2.0 & 3.0	7	8	15	37.5
3.5	3	2	5	12.5
4.0	7	4	11	27.5
4.5	2	4	6	15.0
5.0	1	2	3	7.5
Totals	20	20	40	100.0

$$x^2 = 2.82, (Df = 4) \text{ NS}$$

As has been pointed out earlier, the purpose of this study is not to establish the volunteer samples as predictors for the cultural groups within which they live, but to test out the cross-cultural applicability of Fowler's model on an untested population of Bahá'ís, both Westerners and Easterners. As anticipated in the tentative hypotheses in Chapters One and Three, there is a greater frequency of Canadian scores in the mid-range of Stages 3-4 and 4.0 (ten); and a greater frequency of Indian scores than Canadian at Stages 2 and 3 (eight) and 4-5 and 5 (six). These results confirm the hypotheses. Possible reasons for this distribution will be discussed in Chapter Seven. The support offered by this small sample is weak, and does not show up as statistically significant; yet the tendency is observable, if not generalizable.

Profile of Indian Respondents in Relation to Control Variables

Lastly, an examination of associations between the four control variables and stage scores in the Indian sample in Table 14 will demonstrate whether or not any of the variables moves in relation to stage score. Will there be similarities to the Canadian chi squares or not?

TABLE 14
STAGE OF FAITH IN RELATION
TO DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES, INDIAN

EDUCATION**STAGE OF FAITH**

	Stage 2 and 3	Stage 3-4	Stage 4	Stage 4-5	Stage 5	Total
High school	2	1	1	0	0	4
bachelor	4	1	3	3	0	11
master	1	0	0	1	1	3
doctor	1	0	0	0	1	2
Totals	8	2	4	4	2	20

$\chi^2 = 13.35$, (Df = 12) NS

AGE**STAGE OF FAITH**

	Stage 2 and 3	Stage 3-4	Stage 4	Stage 4-5	Stage 5	Totals
21-30	2	0	0	0	0	2
31-40	3	1	2	3	0	9
41-50	2	0	1	0	1	4
51+	1	1	1	1	1	5
Totals	8	2	4	4	2	20

$\chi^2 = 8.58$, (Df = 12) NS

SEX**STAGE OF FAITH**

	Stage 2 and 3	Stage 3-4	Stage 4	Stage 4-5	Stage 5	Totals
Female	5	2	2	1	2	12
Male	3	0	2	3	0	8
Totals	8	2	4	4	2	20

$\chi^2 = 4.9$, (Df = 4) NS

BAHÁ'Í AGE**STAGE OF FAITH**

	Stage 2 and 3	Stage 3-4	Stage 4	Stage 4-5	Stage 5	Totals
0-5 year	3	0	0	1	0	4
6-10 year	0	1	0	0	0	1
11-20 years	0	0	4	2	1	7
21+ years	0	1	0	0	0	1
life	5	0	0	1	1	7
Totals	8	2	4	4	2	20

$\chi^2 = 23.53$, (Df = 12) $P < .05$

Table 14, Bahá'í Age, is the only one which approaches significance with a .024 probability. The sample size, as before, limits probability. The association of faith stage and Bahá'í age exhibits a trend towards a negative association stated as higher Bahá'í age and associates with lower stage scores in the Indian sample. This is a most interesting association which will be explored in three interviews examined in the qualitative analysis. The other tables reinforce the results of the Canadian and do not show any significant trends. One can conclude that the study was successful in controlling the variables related to age, sex, education and Bahá'í age since the two cultural samples are fully comparable. There is also a non-significant Chi-Square of .25 between Canadians and Indians in respect to stage of faith.

Structuring of Contents: Faith Stage Comparisons for Form of World Coherence and Locus of Authority in Indian Bahá'ís

The quantitative findings are interesting since they differ from those of previous FD studies among Easterners, but they conceal the far more reliable qualitative characteristics which establish the definitions of faith development stages. Once again, the study will look to the more detailed and explicit test provided by examining respondents' statements about selected aspects of faith. The same faith questions and aspects which illustrated the validity of the model among the Canadians will be utilized in the Indian interviews.

Stage 3: Does human life have a purpose?

I-13, Ramun (pen-name)

R-81 To know and to worship God.

I-82 Where have I heard this before?

R-82 In the Obligatory Prayer, "I bear witness, O My God, to know Thee and to worship Thee". (laughs)

I-83 Everybody translates that perhaps a little more individually. Will you tell me how you see it for your life?

R-83 (Sigh)...The purpose of my life, was that the question? I can see this purely from a Bahá'í perspective, and do realize that our purpose and aim in life in this age in particular is to give the message of Bahá'u'lláh to as many people as we can. At one time, my aim at any cost was to go to the World Congress, at any cost. I would sell all my television sets and everything if I didn't collect enough money to go to the World Congress.

I-86 This event last November, a year ago?

R-86 Yes, I made sure I went with my daughter and my wife, three of us we went....Bahá'u'lláh always helps, you know.

So, visits and teaching trips to Russia, you know. More and more I begin to realize...although my work in ____ is more than direct teaching. It's building human resources for the Faith. It's deepening the knowledge of the Bahá'í youth in the knowledge of the Faith and an income-generating source of pioneers in the future. That these boys who go back to their communities become key believers, strong in their faith.

Yet, I understand that our whole life and purpose should be teaching the Faith. My daughter is interested in teaching activities, and I'm giving the Indian classical dance. She has been learning that since early childhood. She's a very good dancer.

When I went to Russia this time, I couldn't take her. But the friends told me there that if she is a very good Indian classical dancer, we can have programs on the television, and get more people interested in coming for this program. And then make proclamation about the Faith and our teaching can attract masses of people. So that is what I am planning for the next two years through my children....We were very, very, very happy in Russia when we taught the Faith. We were able to assist in establishment of three Local Spiritual Assemblies. Mr. A. is always telling us: "You two are responsible for the National Spiritual Assembly of Tajikistan." We went to Tajikistan and we had so many friends. My wife loves to teach and she gets along very well with all women and with all people. She's a lover of humanity. She loves to make friends. I was more of an introvert earlier. I'm basically a shy person and not very outgoing. She's just the opposite. With her I am becoming more open to friendship, wanting to know people, interact with them. So that's a major thing now, a purpose.

Is your life meaningful? If so, what gives it meaning?

I-08, Sheila (pen-name)

I-31 What gives it meaning?

R-31 Two-fold. From the spiritual side, I feel that I have to do much in the cause of God. I have to sell Bahá'u'lláh. I always pray that till my last breath, I will have faith in the Covenant and I may serve your Cause. And whenever I talk to God, I say only keep me on this earth till I'm going in this purpose. What is the meaning of life beyond that? This is about the spiritual side. About the physical side, I want to live, so that I want to see that my children are established in life. They are still growing. I feel that physically I have brought them here on earth, so it is my responsibility that I see that they are educated and they are well-established. I always say, God, give me enough life that I see that my children are settled. The rest is in His hands. So the purpose of my life is two-fold, as I said. Material aspect is there, but the spiritual aspect is attached to it. I want to be with the children so they will not be shaken and their faith is firm, and they are materially, also, established in life. Then I'm not bothered about children.

I-32 Does it...would it disappoint you if your children didn't become Bahá'ís? Or are they Bahá'ís now?

R-32 They are Bahá'ís now, and I'm very happy. But if, of course, they, or one of them would not, then I would blame myself. Then I know God would not have forgiven me. Because if I was not having the faith that I have, if I did not have the Faith in my hand, and my children were deprived of it, then it's a different thing. When I have got the treasure of the world, the real treasure of the world in my hand, and if my children are starving of it, then I'm to be blamed. So, by the grace of God, I am very happy in this respect....

I-63 Yeah, I can see why. What is the purpose of human life do you think?

R-63 Every day in our obligatory prayer we say "to know Him and to worship Him."

I-64 What does that mean to you?

R-64 To me, one part is over ...To know Him means to accept the Manifestation of God, to recognize Him. That is over because I have recognized Bahá'u'lláh as the Manifestation of God for this age, and there's no slightest doubt in any corner of my heart. So that is over. The second part is remaining, that I

have to strive to the last breath of my life, and that is to worship Him, that is to follow His commandments. To know more and more what He has said how we should live our lives. And more and more try to follow it. Of course, we are always away from the target. Target is 'Abdu'l-Bahá's life. We are away from it, but our target should always be that, trying to, trying to do more and more according to His teachings.

Analysis of Stage 3 Responses

These two interviews introduce different characteristics of Stage 3 faith than the Canadian volunteers. Sheila and Ramun are both lifetime Bahá'ís, married with three children. They have been well educated; one has a bachelors and another has a doctoral degree. One has pioneered abroad for ten years. Additionally, both are in middle age. As Synthetic/Conventional Indians these interviews depart from conventional Canadians in exhibiting strong and almost single-minded devotion to their faith. If Western, we would probably call them evangelical in the value they attach to teaching the Bahá'í Faith. Their devotion to Bahá'u'lláh is not mediated by a social system perspective nor by evidence of a critical distancing. Both interviews show an integration of conventional structures in all aspects of their life, personal and professional. The form which those structures takes is interpersonal for Sheila and more value-oriented for Ramun. In this sense, they represent an orthodox and very Eastern interpretation of faith: unquestioning obedience demonstrated in sacrificial and unselfish actions. They are clearly embedded in the relationships and system of meaning of which they are a part and show no dissent from conventional norms. Both of the interviews describe powerful experiences of pilgrimage to the Holy Land (Haifa, Israel) which were highlights of their life. The degree of affect in both of these interviews was intense and unselfconscious. They related to the power of their pilgrimage experience. However, neither one related to the transcendent in terms of symbol and ritual, the benchmarks Fowler notes as characteristic of Stage 3 faith.³¹ Since they are older adults, neither interview has the tentative and not-yet-formulated coherence of the Stage 3 Canadians we examined, nor did they speak in generalized terms which often

indicates a non-critical appropriation of conventional concepts.

Stage 4: Do you think human life has a purpose? Is life meaningful for you.

I-02, Lisa (pen-name)

R-60 Well, I would make no endeavors to be a good Bahá'í if I felt that life was without purpose. Yes. I accept what Bahá'u'lláh says. That the purpose of life is to know God, to love Him, and to worship Him. And when He says worship God, not in the idol way. IDOL, not idle, because coming from a Muslim background that concept is different. It is love for humanity. And that is so important. That is why we work towards the betterment of society, towards the betterment of our surroundings, our environment and so on.....

I-26 I guess that clarifies basically how you see yourself as an individual and what your real interests are. If we could focus on some bigger issues, do you think that life has meaning for you?

R-26 Well, life is definitely not a bed of roses. You see a lot of ups and downs. And even if there are not too many ups and downs in one's own personal life, one cannot shut one's eyes to the problems occurring all around you. And yes, sometimes you feel, "What is the aim of life? Why does one suffer? Why do these things happen?" But then, ultimately one also realizes that perhaps it is these sort of things which give you a better understanding of life. It's only when you see suffering and when you suffer a little yourself that you really grow closer to God. The concept of the value of self sacrifice; the value of detachment, to a certain extent, you begin to understand when you experience what is happening around you.

I-27 Can you illustrate? Does your life have meaning at present? What is the meaning? How do you see that?

R-27 In the context of my Bahá'í work, I feel that my life does have a lot of meaning. I may not have a personal family life as such, because I am away from my family. Most of the time I am living alone...and I do miss that. Because I like to be with my family. I miss them. But because of the work that I am doing at the Bahá'í ____, I feel that, it's worth sacrificing. The concept of detachment. I know detachment in a very minor way perhaps. You know people have been willing to sacrifice their lives for the Bahá'í Faith. From that point of view, my sacrifice is

nothing—just to be away from my family. But, I do think it is a little bit of sacrifice to be away from my family life.

Lisa continues by describing the particular forms of serving which she is involved in. Both Lisa and K.K., the next example of Stage 4, had been Bahá'ís close to twenty years and from the dominant faith backgrounds of India, respectively, Muslim and Hindu.

I:03, K.K. (pen-name)

I-31 That's very interesting. Now, let me ask you some questions about meaning, if you don't mind. Does your life have meaning?

R-31 Yes. Life is very vital, very important. Because as it is said in the scripture of the past, human existence is the sum total of all creation and is a super being. When we say we have that standard and that quality, naturally it has to have a meaning. That meaning is to unravel the mystery.

I-32 To unravel the mystery of life? Give me some unravelings.

R-32 Unravelings? That is difficult. That's why God has gifted to mankind the power of thought, the power of intellect. So we can delve into the mysteries. The mystery is there hidden in different forms and shapes. He has given us the tool...

I-34 Can you give me some illustrations of those beliefs or values that are important to you?

R-34 Yes, as I have studied a bit about science and about logic because in the same context that you asked about the meaning of life. To understand you have to read books. Therefore is education.... You see the study of logic has taught me two things. That is, logic has joined science and nature. The logic of nature has a standard and a pattern. And science has a method and system. So we apply this method and system to unravel the mystery of nature which has standard and pattern.

I-37 Ahh, they're partners.

I-71 I want to ask some questions about religion here, OK? Can you tell me what you think our purpose in life is?

R-71 Purpose in life. I could put it rightly today after becoming a Bahá'í. I found this right. Because I could not come to this conclusion in the past. The purpose of life. I asked many other people also and they could not give a right

answer to it and everybody contradicted each other. According to the Bahá'í writings I studied, it is to know Him and to worship Him. It has a very deep meaning in only two sentences, if we can understand that meaning.

I-72 I see. How do you go about knowing and worshipping God?

R-72 It means whatever in existence is new to us, accept the things which are known to us from childhood with which we are acquainted. The future which is unknown and what the future will be is important for the present. Because the present is the one we are laying for the future. The past is just a reference for it. So to know about the future is that we should know God. And God is not that which we had been knowing in the past.

I-74 How? How is it different?

R-74 It is much different than what was known in the past. It was known in a certain form. Certain figures, certain virtues, which differ from one day to the other. But God is All-Powerful. One Being. I cannot term it as an entity. One Being, whatever it may be.

I-75 So, you don't want to define it past Oneness?

R-75 It is undefinable. It is a power. So that is in me. So all religion has taught to know yourself. Even Hindu religion. The Bahá'í religion explains and that's what I'm satisfying.

Analysis of Stage 4 Responses

Both Lisa's and K.K.'s faith structures are conceptually mediated. This becomes apparent in the language they use. It measures and weighs possibilities as we listen to them think aloud. Lisa is careful to define her terms and concepts. She assumes very little. Both use personal will to achieve detachment and to examine and test the matter at hand rather than refer to conventional "others" for answers. They were assigned a 4.0 and 4.1 Locus of Authority and 4.0 and 4.25 Form of World Coherence.

Given the similarities of a conceptually-mediated and system perspective, they show different styles of faith in other respects. K.K. takes obvious delight not in the answers to questions, but in the process of figuring them out. His striving for comprehensiveness in response to these two questions is a clear indication of being

disembedded from the faith orientation of the Bahá'í Faith. He is not, in faith development terms, conventional. Lisa displays a similar strength of focus and devotion to service and sacrifice that Ramun and Sheila evidenced, yet her appropriation of these values entertains doubts and uncertainties, identifies with concepts and institutional values, not with persons. Elsewhere in their interviews, Lisa presents her institutional affiliation in the forefront of her life. She polarizes the service she renders the institutions with her preference for a safe and secure life within her family, and she chooses the former.

Another feature of K.K.'s interview which deviates from Stage 4 descriptors is his reliance on the unconscious. The latter is brought out in two major incidents of his life (not reported here). In Stages of Faith, we read that "Stage 5 must come to terms with its own unconscious...with the fact that the conscious ego is not master in its own house....and with the task of integrating... conscious and unconscious."³² "The person of Stage 5 makes her or his own experience of truth the principle by which other claims to truth are tested."³³ Its presence here was coded as "discrepant data," that which doesn't fit with the stage characteristics. Other interviews in the Indian sample also evidenced the strength of intuition or the unconscious in decision-making and constructing meaning. Sometimes this was disclosed in the images of a dream which give guidance (I-8). Elsewhere the practice of attributing outcomes and experiences to Destiny or God's Will was observed in the newest Indian Bahá'í in this group, I-18.

K.K.'s interview also differs from Stage 4 Canadians in a content issue. His concept of God bears more similarities to the Hindu Brahman than to the transcendent God of Christians and Jews. This feature does not disrupt the stage structures.

Stage 5: Do you think human life has a purpose? Is life meaningful for you?

I:9, Radha (pen-name)

R-23 Oh yes, of course! My life is very meaningful ever since I am a Bahá'í.

I-24 What makes it meaningful?

R-24 Meaningful, number one is because now the purpose of life is very clear to me.

I-25 What is that purpose for you?

R-25 Purpose is to recognize God and worship Him. And worship means serving Him. And serving His people. When I am serving the people in this Institute, I feel I am serving God because Bahá'u'lláh says "work is worship." So apart from prayers, worship here is work. And I'm working for them. It means everything to me.

I-26 Before you arrived at the Institute, did you have that same satisfaction, that feeling of service?

R-26 No, no, no. That is the reason I came here. I was working in a research organization. I was very well placed. When it comes to facilities, and it comes to material gains, I had to step down ten times. There is no job security, no facilities, there is no provident fund, no security of job here. But it's a spiritual security. It's a spiritual satisfaction.

I-27 If you got very specific about what it is that makes it worthwhile to have taken those sacrifices, how would you describe that to somebody? What is there about it that's so meaningful?

R-27 Yes. Because earlier I was working for myself or for my brothers and sisters. I had four brothers and sisters. I used to earn money and look after them or give them gifts. My world at that time was my own brother-sisters which are my physical brother-sisters for this life. What I am doing here is, I am not letting myself to know my single family from which I am born and raised. Now my family is the world at large. The earth is one country. I feel that I am working with the people now. I work with tribal women in tribal communities. I feel that everybody's mine now. So when I feel everybody's mine, I feel myself enlarged. Since the self is being enlarged, the spirit is being enlarged. And the spirit is enlarged means it's come out of that narrow self. I don't feel absolutely self-less. But still I feel that certainly I'm not so attached to my family now as I would have been. I don't think I could have been ever so satisfied before, because I am working with the deprived people...the disadvantaged families, women who are very poor, illiterate. When I see their life being changed, when they become literate, when they learn something to earn their livelihood, when they learn to live

better, and they acquire better values of life, when they understand the purpose of life, I feel I am an agent of transformation for my own life and the people that I'm working with. So I feel it's more meaningful.

Analysis of Stage 5 Response

"The centers of power and authority that appeared at the other stages," according to the Manual, "can also be present at Stage 5 yet they will be mediated by Stage 5's characteristic multiple perspective taking and tensional or mediated thought."³⁴ The mediated form of thinking here is principle-centered rather than social system oriented and collapsed. Conjunctive Faith provides a clarity and simplicity in both thinking and feeling which is lacking in the competing claims of Stage 4 thought. Stage 5 orients to the principles upon which a just society can be built and judges authority from this perspective. Stage 4 strives for closure and defense of one particular point of view. Also present in this interview is the joining of experience, situation and principle in evaluating the relationship to authority. The construction of self which she discloses in #27 stands outside the social order. The boundaries of the self are open, not closed, as she identifies with the whole world as her family, displaying Stage 5 openness to differences. Radha's decision to forego previous values (family-oriented) and lifestyle in favor of her commitment to certain principles is a clear instance of Stage 5 construction of Locus of Authority. Her interview in #25 also shows the interplay of action and belief without dichotomizing choices as Lisa had done.

In summary, the characteristics of structural stages seem to be intact in the previous interview examples with the exception of the role of the unconscious in K.K.'s Stage 4 and of Sheila's Stage 3. Locating the authority of the unconscious in these two interviews prompted a search for this feature in others as well. The author discovered three additional interviews, representing various stages of faith (I-17 [3]; I-1 [3-4]; and I-16 [5]) which showed ignorance of motive for doing something important. "I just did... I don't know why." The researcher wondered, is this a highly suggestible stage among females? Does it

occur in men also? And in three of the male interviews (I-3, I-12, and I-18), representing Stages 4 and 4-5, there was a reference to destiny, fate, or some other unknown cause for important events in life. This feature suggests an area for future inquiry.

The Stage 3 responses in the Indian interviews displayed different norms of conventionality than did those of the Canadians. Those norms intensified devotion to Bahá'í beliefs and purposes in terms of a system of loyalty, obedience and sacrificial action. For Stage 3, authority is located in a relationship of personal devotion to Bahá'u'lláh. The real will be seen in concrete persons and events. Stage 4 will locate authority in the social system; in this case, Bahá'í institutions. The real is a social order which embodies the meaning-system. Stage 5 will locate authority within the individual without trying to close off or absolutize a sole source. For Stage 5, the real is in transcendent principles applied with wisdom to concrete situations. Since the foregoing analysis has provided only a general approach to the adequacy of the descriptors of faith stages and aspects, a more exacting measure will be to examine a few interviews in a more comprehensive fashion; to look at the holistic character of faith stages as they illumine an individual's pattern of meaning-making.

Discrepant Faith Stage Scores in Cross-Cultural Pairs

An examination of one of the six pairs which showed divergence in stage scores will sharpen the grasp of qualitative structures. (Refer to Appendix 11 for a comparison of each of the twenty cross-cultural pairs.) Five of the pairs were one stage apart while the remaining one was .6 in the final faith stage score. Since pair five was the farthest apart, 1.2 stages, the author will use this example to probe for cultural differences. It affords an interesting comparison of two young women in their early twenties, both with bachelors' degrees. The one-year Canadian Bahá'í had a faith stage of 3.6 while her Indian counterpart, a lifetime Bahá'í, had a 2.38. The latter was the only Stage 2 score among the 40 volunteers.

Marion (pen names are used to discuss participants), the Canadian, was recently

married and working as a children's teacher while completing her master's degree work. She was reared in the Anglican church by a father who was a research engineer and a housewife mother. She has one sibling. A unique feature of Marion's life from a young age was her experiences abroad: living in Paris as a child, visiting Finland, Spain, and Brazil as a teen, and a recent six months in India where she had become a Bahá'í. The Indian woman, Gita, was trained in medicine but had not yet started practicing. She was the youngest of four children whose professional parents both worked outside the home. She left home for her four years of college and internship, but had returned and was living at home at the time of our interview. Her experiences at college were the only years outside of her home community. She had been reared in what she termed "a very spiritual atmosphere."

Responses of these two individuals will be compared in four of the aspects of faith noted in Chapter Two which suggest cultural differences based upon the psychological studies of Indians: social perspective taking; moral judgment, locus of authority; and symbolic function. One of the first opportunities to become disembedded from Stage 3 conventionality is the experience of leaving home. "For a genuine move to Stage 4 to occur there must be an interruption of reliance on external sources of authority...to a relocation of authority within the self....I sometimes call this the emergence of an executive ego."³⁵ In the following excerpts, two young women describe this experience and the effects it had on them.

Social Perspective Taking:

Marion explains that during her experience in Brazil she felt attracted to a group of people very different from herself, one, in particular, who taught her yoga; and that the new friends caused her to doubt her relationship with David, her boyfriend back home. Marion was confused about her relationship with David in light of these new friends she had who were so different from him.

R-18 Well, I guess the most confusing thing was where I stood with

David which was really where I stood with myself...in terms of what kinds of firm commitments I was willing to make and what kinds of values did I want to identify in myself.

I-19 What commitments were you willing to make, what values did you identify?

R-19 I started to write a lot. I wrote in my journal. It was mostly superficial things. The way that you go about acting in the world. How much your image has to do with that...I find it harder to think back to it now.

I-20 You're almost a little queasy about it, you know, looking at your body language..."Was I really like that?"

R-20 Yes, it's true. It was a really difficult time. I knew how important my relationship with David was, but I couldn't reconcile any of these things. There were so many parts of me that I felt branching out... It's only very recently that I've been able to explain some of these things to myself in light of how I felt about myself and the confidence that I placed in myself... So I was gaining a lot of approval and affection from the people I met in Brazil. To me that said that I was more like them than like David. It was less of a confusion about what I wanted; I think I was just afraid to stand firm....

I-21 Sounds like you really didn't know who you were . You were trying all the aspects of yourself and it seemed to be different than what you'd had, and it was confusing.

R-21 Yes, that's right. That's exactly what I was doing. Because I experienced things on that program that I never had. I allowed myself to go out on a limb and do things I never would have done. I told myself before "this isn't you" and "you shouldn't do this." It was all.....just being so physically removed from what I knew was familiar. Being in Brazil, working in a situation where it was the first time I experienced poverty and very sharp cultural differences. And value differences, too, in the family that I was staying with. All of these things put together leave you sort of groping. Unless you enter into that situation with a firm foundation to begin with, you risk just losing yourself.

I was really disappointed in myself in a lot of ways. I didn't get as much out of it as I could have. Four years later now, I realize what an impact that cross-cultural experience had on me. It's my career path. It's my passion. I know in hindsight that I did get a lot out of it, but I was really down on myself at the time.

Gita describes her transition to life in college away from her home community.

I-5 I see. What did that do to your sense of identity to be thrust into an environment where you weren't the norm? You were the kind of abnormal one in that sense?

R-5 I tried to prove my point to everybody. I became outspoken. I became an extrovert. I tried to gain attention. I used to be the one talking maximum in class and asking people to listen to me because I wanted my word heard. I thought I knew the right thing for this age which these people haven't been offered...like the Bahá'í religion. I used to try to be the center of attraction all the time so that people could listen to me. And it used to happen like that. I used to be talking and I used to do all the fun jobs so that people could become friendly with me. In an atmosphere like that it was difficult for them to accept me.

I-6 I see. So you did a lot of contributions, a service kinds of things in a social way? I don't quite understand what you mean.

R-6 It wasn't a service actually. It was my growing up. If I look back at it now, I feel part of it was a mistake. I shouldn't have forced my views on anybody. Part of it, I feel maybe I have given what I had within myself.

I-7 Do you think that self you became in those college years has continued? How has it changed? Do you see any change from that time?

R-7 Yes, now I am slightly independent and I know how to express myself. Initially, when I was at home, I wasn't being asked for views. I was the youngest in the family. I was the kid of the family, you know. Even now my mommy and my sisters don't ask me for my view. "What do you think about this, Gita?" They still consider me a kid and they don't ask for my opinion. But over there, I was considered an adult person, as a person who has her own opinions. That made me develop my opinions, my preferences, and that has continued. Now I speak what I want. I like to express myself.

Analysis of Perspective Taking

Marion's Perspective Taking is scored 3.5 in light of her ability at this point to look at herself critically in an almost detached fashion which indicates a third person position in reflecting on herself and her relation to others at that time. She sees different parts of herself emerging, being tested, expanded and reformed. She illustrates the "procedural

knowing" of transitional Stage 3-4 persons discussed in Chapter Two. She can see how the experience which disappointed her at the time has become the basis of her career preparation. In other words, she has reconstructed the contents of that experience in different terms now without losing the pain and discomfort it caused her then. Marion's perspective taking is particularly revealing in her relationship to her parents which affords some intimate contrasts with relationships in Indian families. She has moved towards reforming her relationship with her parents as an adult but has not yet fully tested her grasp of the differences.

Marion:

I: I'm interested in your relationship with your parents. What's that like now, and are there any changes you could cite now?

R-23 Well, it's always been very good, really positive....But in terms of changes, just in the process of my coming to know where I stand and what my purpose is, what my values are, the whole process of spiritual development that I've been going through over the last three or four years has really changed the way that I see them both in the things that they gave me and in the things that I had difficulty grasping because of who they are. My Mom has very low self-esteem. I've gone through a lot of painful experiences too. But because of that and because I've been able to think of those things in that way over the last few years, I see her very differently, in terms of ways that we can help each other out and that we can be better friends...as opposed to Mother/daughter and have the roles reversed in a couple of years. So that would be the main change that I feel in my relationship to my parents.

Gita:

I-8 Tell me about your parents. What you remember about them as a child? And then how do you think of them now?

R-8 As a child, I have best memories of my father, especially. Because I happen to be....well, people used to say I happen to be his favorite because I was the youngest kid. My mother had already three daughters. She was fed-up with the fourth, you know like daughters, daughters, daughters. But when I came, I was somehow special to my father. He used to love talking to me. He used to

devote a lot of his time to me....That's how he has inculcated.... Maybe I don't know what qualities they are, but I feel nice as a person. So I attribute whatever good things I have in me to my father. He has really tried to bring me up in a very decent and spiritual atmosphere.

8-b My mother has been an anchor in my life also. She has been a real friend, a very strong support. Like she never refused anything we wanted to do. We were not restricted from doing things which other children might have been restricted....like, don't go out, don't do this. She's given us quite a lot of freedom....To the extent that my friends used to wonder that she trusts you so much. She doesn't mind you going alone anywhere. She trusts you. It will be difficult for you to imagine that, but in an Indian community and in an Indian atmosphere, parents having so much trust in their children is slightly difficult. Parents don't usually have in India.

Analysis of Perspective Taking

Gita's perspective taking was scored a 2.1. "The person at Stage 2 is able to construct the perspective of another, but still in a relatively concrete way....The new...ability gives the person at Stage 2 the ability to evaluate and respond to authorities in more complex ways than at Stage 1. Consistency, orthodoxy and the perceived fit between the values and attitudes of significant others become criteria by which the claims of authority are evaluated."³⁶ Her role relationships are solidly in place in that she sees others mostly in terms of their relationship to herself and does not grasp the interiority of others. She has not yet moved to the mutual and interpersonal perspective taking of Stage 3 which can see things from another's viewpoint. She sees independence as self expression and has not developed a position outside of her relationships from which to evaluate the role or authority claims of others. Therefore, "there is a tendency to see the other as having the same needs and wants as oneself and this provides a basis for instrumental reciprocity."³⁷ In assessing her interview, it was located provisionally at Stage 3, only to find too many examples which didn't fit Stage 3 descriptors. The content of her interview talks about asserting herself in college and having a great deal of freedom in her movements and trust

from her mother. However, in returning to the stage criteria which describe structures not contents, the researcher discovered that the Stage 2 descriptions were more appropriate for her. In retrospect, it now appears that Gita is quite conventional in her mirroring of Indian social expectations for young women. Is it possible that Indian conventionality includes the faith structures of Stage 2 Western constructions of Mythic-Literal Faith?

Locus of Authority and Bounds of Social Awareness

Gita:

I-18 Is your life meaningful for you?

R-18 I think it is. I think every Bahá'í's life is meaningful for him in the sense that we have been given the most wonderful treasure in the world which we should share with the others who have not, as yet, heard of the Faith. Even Bahá'u'lláh says: "I want each one of you to marry and to reproduce so that each one of your children shall bear my name." So, I feel every individual is very meaningful as far as creation is concerned, every Bahá'í.

I-19 What about others?

R-19 Everybody has been created for a specific purpose in the world.

I-20 So you think, because you are a Bahá'í your life is meaningful, because you have this treasure to share? (Yes, definitely.) Is there something else which makes life meaningful for you now?

R-20 Mmm..not particularly.

I-21 OK. We'll go on. I'm interested in what beliefs and values are the kind of guides for your life.

R-21 I feel that it is very important for every person to be guided right when they are very young, you know, at the age when they barely start to speak. At that age I feel it is very important that they are guided in the right way and the virtues are inculcated in them. Personally I have been through this. I don't know how far people find me good or bad. But there are certain virtues where I was told stories about in my childhood... I was told stories about 'Abdu'l-Bahá and stories about Bahá'u'lláh and how you are supposed to be, and how a Bahá'í is supposed to be. If you are not like that, then it is a sin because Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá expect something from you. Being a Bahá'í, you are supposed to have certain

virtues.

Marion:

R-35 Well, I have a very strong sense of purpose and why I'm here.

I-36 Tell me about that.

R-36 Well, first of all, I have a strong sense of what my gifts are at this point. Not so strong that I'm leaving nothing open to exploration or anything. This is all relative. ...My life has meaning because of the things that I feel are my gifts and the way that I'm able to put them into motion. One of those things would be my work in international development education and global education. I'm trying to raise my own awareness and that of people around me—their experience and perception of the world as a global community and all the implications of that—from environmental issues, to spirituality, to racial issues, gender and all that sort of thing.

Marion then discusses her work as a teacher of children during the past three years and why she finds that so meaningful related to the values above.

"The other thing, well, there's many things. My life has meaning especially this last year or two, in terms of my own spiritual journey which takes different turns and tangents daily depending on what I read or encounter.

I-37 What sort of path is that spiritual journey on right now?

R-37 I'd say it's on a path that has a lot to do with being a woman and exploring feminine spirituality... There's also a parallel path, I guess to that one; trying to find ways to explain to myself and to other people the unity that has to come between, not just women and men, but people with different views around gender in general. Just a concrete example I can give would be: I really wanted this year to try to forge some links between the feminist community at the University and the Association for Bahá'í Studies. I'm finding it very difficult to do that: because the feminist community is fairly unreceptive to anything that has to do with religion at all... The other obstacle that concerns me more is the feeling that I get from members of the Bahá'í community about the Faith and the women's centre, or their affiliation with the gay/lesbian center at the university. That's something that I'm sort of searching for "where" the Writings stand on homosexuality, and in light of that, where I stand."

Marion discusses at some length her dissatisfaction with the response of the Bahá'í

community to issues of homosexuality in light of the principles of justice. She is critical of that response and is seeking some resolution.

" There's also growing spiritually in the context of marriage which is very important,...sort of at the forefront of my day-to-day. And more and more thinking about what it means to be spiritually prepared to be a mother and part of a parenting team. That's close in the future."

Analysis of Locus of Authority and Bounds of Social Awareness

These two excerpts, although long, were quoted in order to demonstrate a number of cultural differences. Marion's sense of herself in terms of gifts, challenges, loves, potential conflicts and relationships reveals the broadened experience of one who has had many opportunities to try out her talents as an individual in a variety of ways. Consequently, she has clear ideas of her goals, values and her action agenda at this point in her life. Her identification with the Bahá'í social system is strong, but it doesn't ignore potential areas of difference. She makes distinctions between the Writings, members of the community and her own sense of justice in the ways she constructs her authorities. She has carved out areas of commitment which are self ratified and fairly detailed. And she sees the relationship of specific issues to larger themes and values.

Gita projects her own views onto others and sees other Bahá'ís as much the same as herself. She has yet to develop a personal application of that Bahá'í identity in some form of constructive action. Her identity construction is still family-derived. Gita was asked about that elsewhere in the interview in terms of her life commitments at the present, and she didn't know what to do. She had job training but didn't feel ready to enter the work place in her chosen profession. So, she was in a "wait and see" period. Her lack of an internal voice of her own was further compounded by the fact that she was living at home again and under the protection and influence of her mother and an older sister who made most of her decisions for her. When asked what beliefs she guided her life by, she referred to the education of children in Bahá'í virtues and the necessity for the teacher to

exemplify those virtues. The authority of the Bahá'í teachings was mediated by her parents and this was the authority to which she referred. She hasn't moved beyond what is proper or approved of by authorities. It seems clear that her faith development is still in a childhood state given the values of the Fowler model. And yet, in an Indian social context, Gita is an admirable young woman for her goodness, her propriety, and obedience to faith and family. Her family is very proud of her (personal conversations with family members).

The analysis of Locus of Authority shows a pronounced difference in these two women, with the Canadian registering almost Stage 4 and the Indian at Stage 2.3. Why? Relationship to authority figures is handled differently in each culture. The hierarchical Indian culture which places parents, elders and community leaders in a higher position than oneself makes it unlikely that one would develop an internalized trust in oneself early in life. That internalized self confidence was found in Indian women in their thirties, but not in all cases. The other young-twenties Indian woman described such trust in one area of her life, her relationship with a young man of whom the parents did not approve. In other areas of her life she deferred to authority figures or had no preferences. Young Indian women have very little independence before they are married. They are sheltered within the family structure until given over to male protection in marriage and, even then, orbit within the circumscribed world of the family and their roles in it. Western society, which encourages independence in the teen years, fosters an earlier internalized authority which we see in Marion. It is this internalized authority which critiques her behavior in Brazil.

Symbolic Function

In questions about symbols of their faith, both women again diverged—Marion had multiple symbols of her faith that intersected various areas of her life. Gita referred to prayer and images of 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Marion:

R-55 Um hum. This is interesting because we were asked to do this in

our class on Culture and Symbol. People found it very difficult to distinguish between sign and symbol. Well, symbols in general are really important to me but in terms of some concrete ones that speak to me. A lot of symbols of nature and imagery in nature is significant to me in a spiritual way... the star, the nine-pointed star is really significant not just because it's a Bahá'í symbol, but because a lot of people who have been spiritually influential in my life have taken to this symbol as well....maybe not a nine-pointed star, but a star as a symbol of light and hope and things like that. Without sounding too flaky. (laughter) Because I'm thinking of who these people are.

I just find things in my working with children day-to-day, there are certain symbols that speak volumes to me like big yellow suns. It's very important that children retain. You know.

Gita:

I-16 Think back to your earliest thoughts or feelings about God and your relationship with Him, Do you recall how you thought of that relationship or how you responded to these prayers that your father chanted?

R-16 Initially, I just knew prayers were...well, I knew a quotation on prayer that prayer is communion with God. I used to just feel God is some supreme Power that has created us. We are supposed to thank Him, and know what he wants from us. Well, if he has created us, there must be some purpose, some reason for our creation. We are not just animals that eat, sleep, reproduce and die. We are not animals. We have been given a free will. So initially, I used to take Him to be a supreme Power and I used to be very scared of Him. I must not do anything wrong, I'll be punished, and things like that. But as I have grown up, I have a friendly relation with God. When I am troubled, when I'm very sad, I still don't have the habit of talking to somebody. I cannot. I just go and lock myself in a room and just close my eyes, and cry and speak to God. So, now He is more like a friend to me. I understand what relationship I share with Him.

I-17 Do you image God in any way? Do you think of anything..?

R-17 Yeah, actually, I know it is not right, but I look at 'Abdu'l-Bahá's picture, and talk. So when I'm talking, I'm talking to him. So the image of God, I try to see Him through 'Abdu'l-Bahá.

Analysis of Symbolic Function

Without losing the impact of the power of symbols to influence her feelings and to call forth ideas, Marion chooses ones which are important to her, not just Bahá'í conventions. "Symbols are more open and multi-leveled at Stage 3 than at Stage 2."³⁸ She has not yet integrated them as part of her world view system as concepts. "Stage 3 is content with a rather global and undifferentiated use of symbols."³⁹ Gita's symbols are those of harmony and unity and, to a large extent, anthropomorphize God as a protective and loving figure in the person of 'Abdu'l-Bahá. She reflects on the meaning of her images and the feelings of God as Friend, but acts mostly out of obedience to them. "Stage 2 tends to be embedded in its stories and myths and does not have a reflective distance on them."⁴⁰

Summary of Cross-Cultural Comparison

From the comparison of Marion's and Gita's responses to key areas of the faith development interview, cultural differences have been highlighted. What appear to be somewhat similar constructions of Stages 3, 4, and 5 faith in the excerpts from interviews at the start of this section can now be viewed as an overview of only one aspect of faith. The excerpts appear more similar due to the viewpoint determined by the questions: What is the purpose of life? Does your life have meaning for you? The structuring power of concepts and questions is very strong. It has helped construct an overall picture of faith development which looks very similar between cultures at the macro-level. Using other aspects of faith and questions to probe further the constructions of meaning yields more and more differences in cultural contexts, values and expectations.⁴¹ The reader can observe in Gita and Marion the coercive power of cultural and social expectations on the development of faith and the direction of that development.

In the interests of time and space this process will not be repeated, but it appears that the more one peers below the surface of questions and responses into the complexity of each facet of the interview, the more cultural differences emerge, and along with them the

uniqueness of each person's faith. It is this "molecular" viewpoint which produces the clearest understanding of how faith structures construct the meaning-making activities of our lives.

The researcher has demonstrated that the construction of maturity measures around values of independent individual identity and a conceptual grasp of relationships of self/others/world is found more clearly in Western than Eastern cultural experience at this age (approximately 22-24 years) with these individuals. Reasons for the differences are suggested by the much broader cultural experience, including work experience, marriage and impending motherhood, of the Canadian than the Indian. There was another cross-cultural pair of women in their twenties who were both Stage 3. They had both synthesized and internalized the cultural values and ideas of their respective communities and were engaged in applying them to various dimensions of their lives and actions.

The question arises then, at what point does an independent identity and conceptualizing of relationships occur in Indian women, if at all? Jose Plackal's dissertation⁴² on Indian stages of faith expressed strong doubts that it did. The quantitative results in this study indicate otherwise. The youngest transitional interview from Stage 3 to Stage 4 was a 31 year old. Another woman, at 33 years of age was a full Stage 4; the other Stage 4 Indian female was 39. All three of these women were single and educated to the level of a bachelor's degree. All three were employed in Bahá'í institutions where the conventional constructs of Indian society were challenged. Thirty-one year old Cathryn explains the choices opened to her:

Now I think sometimes about my marriage. But before becoming Bahá'í, I understood that especially for a woman, no matter how much education you had, your life was marriage and taking care of family. But after becoming Bahá'í, my concept is very different. I find marriage is very important, but life doesn't end there with marriage and family responsibility. Every individual is having a special role in human society. So I haven't yet found a particular direction that I would like to be and contribute to human society, but this is my prayer to Bahá'u'lláh. That whatever way he wants me to serve his people to make the door open for me.

The author began this segment by looking at the discrepant pairs of Canadian/Indian volunteers. Only one was chosen to examine in detail. Are there identifiable factors accounting for the remaining discrepancies? Are these factors related to culture as well? In thinking about these comparisons, two of the pairs' responses are possibly due to cultural differences. The other three are not in this researcher's judgment. A summary of the two responses differing due to possible cultural differences follows.

They are pairs 17 and 18 (see Appendix 11). In pair 17, the Canadian scores one stage higher (4) than the Indian. This difference appears to be related specifically to cultural expectations. The Canadian is both a graduate student and a professional who has lived for a couple years in a foreign country as a pioneer and returned there to travel teach. She is married and has three children still in the home. Her Stage 4 faith construction is expected by this author of a woman with her education, professional experience outside the home and experience abroad. The disembedding from her conventional context is further aided by the experience of a cross-cultural marriage of many years which has offered its share of clashes in values and expectations.

The Indian woman is also married (to an Indian) and has three grown children. She and her husband have lived most of their lives in India, though they pioneered in Nepal for several years, and she has traveled extensively in many Asian and Western countries. She serves in a professional capacity in a Bahá'í institution rather than in a secular professional field related to her graduate degree. Indeed, one could expect that she, too, would exhibit a Stage 4 faith construction since she has almost identical experiential characteristics as her Canadian counterpart. The cultural factor possibly related to her lower stage score is her background and training as a lifetime Bahá'í. Recall the correspondences between Bahá'í age and lower faith scores in many of the Indian volunteers (five) noted in the quantitative discussion of findings. The following characteristics of faith development collectively summarize the pattern of faith construction held by individuals who represent lifetime Bahá'ís descended from the early Middle Easterners who settled in India: tacit value

orientations, deference to conventional authorities, trust in socially approved figures, conventional Bahá'í concepts not critically appropriated, and obedience-oriented rather than the interpersonal focus of most Stage 3's.

However, lest the characteristic of lifetime Bahá'ís be considered solely a liability in Fowler's faith development model, the remaining pair includes a lifetime Bahá'í who scores a full stage higher than her Canadian counterpart. Her higher level of education and the conceptual abilities acquired in the process of becoming a physician may possibly account for her being one of only two Indian Stage 5s, but there are other options. She has pioneered in Africa for several years, but her breadth of cultural experience comes largely from two things: she has a cross-cultural marriage of many years producing three grown children, and she works in a development institute. These two factors (cross-cultural marriage and working in a development institute) are characteristic of both the Stage 5 interviews in this population. In fact, this last feature, working in an institution for social and economic development, is the one constant in all Stage 5 interviews, Canadian and Indian.

Her Canadian counterpart is educated, but not to that level and has lead a relatively more circumscribed life until recently. He also is married with three grown children and has been active in Bahá'í service for many years although not in an institution for social and economic development.

NOTES: CHAPTER 6

¹ J.A. McLean, "Prolegomena to a Bahá'í's Theology." The Journal of Bahá'í Studies, Vol.5, #1, March-June, 1992. The Association for Bahá'í Studies. McLean uses the term "theology" as "the science that treats of the divine" (Penguin Dictionary of Religions, 328); a systematic reflection upon certain key questions of the faith-state or the given belief system.

² What Bahá'ís refer to as **consultation** is a spiritual process whereby the unity of relationships, families and communities is kept intact while all aspects of a problem are investigated, considered and acted upon. Consultation is not group discussion nor an abdication of authority to others. It first involves love and unity among the participants, next a spirit of prayerful receptivity to the opportunities inherent in any difficulty or situation. When Bahá'ís comment upon their decision-making process and refer to consultation, it is not a simplistic asking of what others think and choosing persons based upon how you think they are likely to respond. It is an organic process which involves the most rigorous personal detachment from self interest, while at the same time remaining open to the contributions of others. It presumes the relativity of truth to person and circumstance and requires that individuals "let go" of all attachment to their own ideas or suggestions. ("Consultation: A Compilation. Extracts from the Writings and Utterances of Bahá'u'lláh, 'Abdu'l-Bahá, Shoghi Effendi, and The Universal House of Justice." Compiled by the Research Department of the Universal House of Justice. Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í's Publishing Trust, 1980.) This is not to imply a lack of firm standards. These are explicitly stated in the Bahá'í Writings. But it does imply the ability to understand those standards within the context of a given situation and encourages a fact-finding process to see that situation from a variety of perspectives. Once again, the process departs from the strongly individualistic perspective of Stage 4 faith development. "Stage 4 employment of reason is linear, deductive and tends to be one-dimensional; it actively seeks closure through a selected system or set of concepts or meanings. Hints at openness, the lack of striving for closure, or a multi-dimensional approach to logic and thinking should be checked against Stage 5 criteria" (Manual 54).

³ Manual, 1989, p.140.

⁴ William S. Hatcher, "The Concept of Spirituality." Bahá'í Studies. Association for Bahá'í Studies, 1982.

⁵ Manual for Faith Development Research. 1993, p. 59.

⁶ Ibid., 63.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Bahá'u'lláh. The Hidden Words of Bahá'u'lláh, p. 3.

⁹ "The Dynamic Force of Example." p. 56 part of The Bahá'í's Comprehensive Deepening Program. Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1973.

¹⁰ Manual for Faith Development Research, 1993, 51, 58 and 67.

¹¹ Bahá'u'lláh's volume, The Kitab-i-Iqán, is the most notable example of this since the essay explains many metaphorical uses of terminology in prior religions. See also

John Hatcher's deconstruction of this metaphorical process in The Purpose of Physical Reality: The Kingdom of Names, Wilmette, Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1987.

¹² John S. Hatcher. The Purpose of Physical Reality: The Kingdom of Names. Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1987, 91.

¹³ Randall Yukio Furushima, Faith Development Theory: A Cross-Cultural Research Project in Hawaii. Unpublished dissertation, Columbia Teachers College, Columbia University, 1983, 163. This application of Fowler's theory was described in Chapter Two.

¹⁴ See also Sharon Parks' critique of Fowler in "The North American Critique of James Fowler's Theory of Faith Development", Fowler, Nipkow and Schweitzer, 1991, 107-109.

¹⁵ Furushima, 146.

¹⁶ Throughout the discussion of results I am using my scores, not those of the secondary rater. Comparisons of those scores are in the Appendix labeled Inter-Rater Reliability.

¹⁷ This issue is discussed in chapter 23, Form and Content, in Stages of Faith. Further in a phone conversation with James W. Fowler in November, 1995, I questioned whether or not the aspects had to cluster within .5 stage range. He explained that ideally they should form a bell-shaped curve, but that there are unusual circumstances which can cause one or two aspects to be skewed from the majority. Stage transitions which involve movement from one structure of faith to the next are one instance. Additionally, particular experiences can conceivably alter an individual's structuring of faith in one or two aspects and not in others. He did not apply a fixed measure which stage aspects had to adhere to.

¹⁸ Manual for Faith Development Research, 1993, 20.

¹⁹ Ibid., 22.

²⁰ The reader is referred to the Appendixes 1 and 2 to check the Manual's descriptions of faith stages and aspects against my application of them in the following examples from the interviews. The descriptions are by stage and aspect and are summaries I used for the coding and interpretation process.

²¹ James W. Fowler, Stages of Faith, 289-90.

²² "Signing a card" refers to the process of enrolling in the Bahá'í community and, consequently, of calling oneself a Bahá'í.

²³ Mary Field Belenky, B. M. Clinchy, N. R. Goldberger and J. M. Tarule, Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind, New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1986.

²⁴ Bahiyyih Nakjavani, Asking Questions. no bibliographic information.

²⁵ The Kitab-i-Aqdas is Bahá'u'lláh's Book of Laws.

²⁶ The Hidden Words of Bahá'u'lláh is a small volume of pithy meditations and exhortations on the spiritual characteristics of faith.

²⁷ The statistical analyses of the data were run on SPSS by a research analyst. The figures of probability, degrees of freedom and value are from the print-outs she gave me. Since I have no experience with statistical analysis, I chose to have a professional do these.

²⁸ James Fowler offers several possibilities of relationships between faith contents and faith stages in chapter 23 of Stages of Faith. Among them, he notes that changes in religion have to do with changes in the contents of faith. He uses the term, "conversion", to refer to a significant sudden transformation of a person's loyalties, patterns of life, and focus of energy."(281) Such a process doesn't necessarily entail the restructuring of faith contents. What we normally term "conversion" from one faith to another is what Romney Moseley calls "lateral conversion" or "intensification experiences" which, though significant in recentring our faith, does not lead to a structural stage change.

²⁹ Stages, 296.

³⁰ See end note #2 in this chapter.

³¹ Stages, 164.

³² Ibid., 186.

³³ Ibid., 187.

³⁴ Manual for Faith Development Research, 1993, 65.

³⁵ Stages, 179.

³⁶ Manual, 37.

³⁷ Ibid., 39.

³⁸ Ibid., 51.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 42.

⁴¹ Harry Triandis, "Cross-Cultural Contributions to Theory in Social Psychology," in The Cross-Cultural Challenge to Social Psychology. Ed. M. H. Bond. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1988, 127. Triandis notes, "Culture again modifies the specifics."

⁴² Jose Cletus Plackal, "Indian Culture and Developmental Stages of Faith: A Dialogical Inquiry into the Theory of James W. Fowler from the Cultural Context of India." Unpublished dissertation, Colgate University, 1990.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

The summary of findings presented here will first address the major conclusions of the research which demonstrate the cross-cultural applicability of the model. Then, it will move to refinements of those measures which might be considered in future applications of FD theory to cross-cultural research. Finally, it will attend to some of the underlying questions regarding development: Why more Indian Stage 3 and 5 interviews? Why more Canadian Stage 4? Why did higher faith stage correlate negatively with lifetime Bahá'ís in India? What is characteristic of the Stage 5 interviews which yields understanding of growth in faith? What is the impact of faith contents on structural stages? And to what extent do the contents of the Bahá'í world view and its reinforcement in community life modify the expected cultural values and norms of Indian participants? Lastly, what directions are suggested for future research in faith development?

Major Findings: Expected

The study was designed to cross-validate Fowler's model of faith development in an Eastern culture. The research design moved in two phases: first the model was validated among a Western population of 20 Bahá'ís in Canada. Since Fowler's model had been previously tested and applied primarily to Western individuals of Judeo-Christian backgrounds, it was necessary to establish that it would measure faith development among the Western population of Bahá'ís first. To measure that correspondence, three means were devised: the ranging of faith stage scores from Stage 3 through Stage 5 (the usual range for adults); the clustering of faith stage aspects (the seven facets of measuring faith development) within a .75 standard deviation; and the matching of stage descriptors with the data of experience recorded in the participant interviews. These measures produced the following results:

- 1) There was a range of Stage scores from 3 to 5.

2) All but three of the interviews showed a clustering of aspects. One of the three was examined for reasons. A variety of possibilities was presented. The author favors the idea that the individual's faith structures simply did not cluster to within .75 range of stage score because there were unique features in his style of faith, based upon experiences in his life, which gave him increased competence in some areas assessed by the interview instrument and less in others. The other two non-clustered interviews were transitional interviews and could be expected to vary in their aspects as much as one whole faith stage. Fowler's model proved partially successful in this test. However, the author is dissatisfied with the lack of precision in the clustering concept. There is no clearly-stated range of expectable stage aspect scores for the new interpreter to use as a guide. According to the Manual, the acceptable range for agreement between scorers is .5 stage. Consequently, this figure was used initially, but subsequently modified based upon conversations with James Fowler and the trainer. Using the .5 range, only two Stage 4 interviews out of seven in the Canadian sample are within that figure, suggesting possible problems in the stage descriptors for Stage 4.

3) The matching of descriptors of the aspects at each faith stage was successful. The researcher expected the Canadian participants to provide strong support for descriptions of faith development at each stage because of close correspondences between the values implicit in faith development theory and those of the Bahá'í teachings: 1) the value and emphasis given to development; 2) the importance of faith to development; 3) the teleology of growth; 4) the stage-like nature of growth; and 5) the epistemological framework of growth discussed in Chapter Three. The qualitative analysis of faith stage descriptors provided results comparable to other North American studies in faith development.

The second phase of the research was to apply Fowler's model of faith development to the 20 Indian Bahá'ís who had been matched with each Canadian participant in chronological age, sex, education level, and Bahá'í age. The resulting pairs,

similar in most respects except culture, would highlight cultural differences if any. A number of differences were expected based upon other cross-cultural studies in Eastern cultures. On the basis of the available cross-cultural data, the following differences were identified:

Western	Eastern
A. Individualism	A. Collectivism
B. Cultural complexity low context	B. Cultural simplicity; high context
C. Valuing modernity	C. Valuing tradition
D. Rationalism	D. Emotionalism
E. Unitary self concept	E. Several self concept
F. Individual control loose social norms	F. Honoring group expectations tight social norms
G. Independence as a value group	G. Interdependence as a value group

On the quantitative level, there were very few differences in the stage scores of Canadians and Indians. No statistically significant differences were found in the four control variables used for the pairing process. And no significant differences were found overall in the stage scores; each population had a mean score of 3.78 faith stage.

Differences were apparent in the distributions of stage scores which confirmed the hypotheses: more Stage 4 Canadians; more Stage 3 and Stage 5 Indians. There were seven Canadian Stage 4 to the four Indians. If one includes the transitions to Stage 4 in that figure, there are ten Canadian Stage 3-4 and 4. This contrasts with six Indian Stage 3-4 and 4. What does this mean?

Since Stage 4 favors several of the characteristics noted above under Western: individualism seen as the separation of ego from the group, a social context of cultural complexity which presumes a variety of individual choices, rationalism and independence, the researcher expected the cultural context to exert a coercive power on its members to develop the qualities which it values. Closeness to Stage 4 could almost be considered a

norm in Western culture and establish a modal level of faith at Stage 4. Conversely, Eastern culture includes more values of collectivism, tradition, emotionalism, interdependence, identifying with the group, and tight group norms which operate in a simpler cultural system of fewer individual choices. Many of these are characteristics of Stage 3. The author reasoned that a society which emphasized tight group norms and provided high context situations would reinforce conventional expectations more strongly than would a loosely-structured society which encouraged individual development. Since cultural norms would encourage development of its social values, there would be more Indians remaining in the synthetic/conventional stage of development. There would be few incentives to go beyond these. If one did, it was unlikely they would remain very long in a construction of faith which was foreign to Indian cultural values. The likelihood of remaining in Stage 4 was also diminished because Stage 4 maintains a social system identification which could be seen as depersonalizing the context of relationships. Therefore, there would be more Indians moving beyond Stage 4 to Stage 5, which was more humanistic. Fowler explains the process of growth in faith becoming increasingly individuated until Stage 4 and then becoming more unified with others in Stages 5 and 6.¹ The Indian group had four individuals in Stage 4-5 transitional and two in Stage 5 for a total of six in the combined measures. In contrast, the Canadians had only three in this category.

Given the coercive power of faith contents on faith stage, what was the evidence of Bahá'í faith contents on individuals in an Eastern culture? The cultural issues expected to show up in faith structures were not observed: caste *dharma* and the contextualizing of social situations, purity standards, reliance on astrology. The results of interviews show that the contents of the Bahá'í Faith sufficiently altered the values of Indian culture to reconstruct those values along Bahá'í norms. This was a major question of the researcher beginning the project. Would the faith contents of Bahá'í override Indian patterns of values? The answer to that was yes, in most respects the Bahá'í community de-Indianizes

its members by focusing on different values: the unity of humankind, equality of the sexes, independent investigation of truth, elimination of prejudice of all kinds, a global society upheld by a world government, social and spiritual transformation rather than ritual as ways of relating to the divine. Since only five individuals had been Bahá'ís fewer than ten years, the impact of Bahá'í acculturation was more evident than among a more recently enrolled Bahá'í population. There was data to support social hierarchies, however, in nearly every interview. Particularly obvious was the process of mentoring which Alan Roland found among his Indian clients in psychotherapy.² The mentoring process continues the close attachment to parents into the broader social context, often of workplace or community service relationships. Reliance on mentoring was found in seven of the interviews. The faith development instrument administered in a two and one-half hour interview did not provide data on the psychological structures of the "we-self," "ego-ideal" and contextualized behavior which were identified by Alan Roland as unique constructions of Indians. Neither is this researcher trained in psychoanalytic theory or process.

Minor Findings: Expected

Discrepant data from the Indian interviews which did not accord with faith stage descriptions in the Manual for Faith Development Research included inadequate descriptors for Stage 3 faith among Indians and the occasional presence of reliance on intuition or unconscious factors in decision-making at all faith stages. The general construction of Stage 3 characteristics to mirror conventional cultural structures was the most problematic. The construction of Stage 3 faith appeared to have different characteristics in Indians than in Canadians: Indians had more integrated and explicit faith structures, more affective values, more value-based than interpersonally oriented perspective taking and world coherence and a deepening of faith as demonstrated in actions which upheld faith values. This researcher found the characteristics of Stage 3 to obscure the many varieties of faith structures in this stage. It included young individuals who were not yet aware of their construction of faith values as well as mature individuals who had very explicit and

integrated faith values. The collapsing of such variety within one general construction of faith did not do justice to the differences in these individuals and suggests that Stage 3 faith descriptors need revisiting in a variety of non-Western cultures to refine them for differences in conventionality.

This research supports Fowler's model in its cross-cultural application, but questions the emergence of characteristics of Stage 3 based upon the two women examined in Chapter 6. It seems likely that Indian culture does not encourage growth beyond Stage 3 for women. Thus the study anticipated lower stages of faith development among women, particularly Eastern women. Faith stages by sex in Chapter Six showed the largest group of females in the Indian sample at Stages 2 and 3 (five), but women were present at all other faith stages as well. In fact there were seven at Stages 3-4 and beyond, with two at Stage 5. The expectation of women scoring lower than men is not matched by results, perhaps because the Bahá'í Faith teachings promote women's development at all levels of society. In fact, women are to be given preference in development. The impact of women's faith maturity on the Fowler instrument is apparent in both samples but is, perhaps, more striking in the Indian group.

Reliance on non-cognitive, unconscious or intuitive knowing in decision-making as a characteristic of Stage 5 faith was found at all faith stages in the Indian sample. It was unclear whether or not the reading of these examples would be discrepant data due to this researcher's lack of experience in identifying and classifying examples of such processes.

Unexpected Findings and Questions for future inquiry

Unexpected was the preponderance of Canadians scoring below Stage 4. Although the number of stage scores beyond synthetic conventional did not accord with the expectations of the researcher, perhaps the quantity and differences in the interviews reflecting Stage 3 offer an opportunity to examine the present descriptions of faith stage aspects as they are presently constructed.

The first point I would like to raise is the differences in construction of Stage 3

between the Canadian and Indian samples. In the West, religious faith directed towards a single center of transcendent value, power and authority and the power it exerts on establishing the construction of meaning-making activities is no longer to be assumed. W. C. Smith addresses this issue in Faith and Belief³ as one of the problems of the modern world in its attempt to understand faith and belief and the differences between them. He refers to the shallowing of faith and its confusion with belief. In the more secular framework of Western values, faith is often diffused. It is directed towards multiple centers of value, power and authority. In a Western context, therefore, the integrative functions of mature faith, to draw together the meaning-making activities of knowing, valuing, committing and acting take different forms than in a culture which assumes a transcendent focus of values—India. To move toward mature faith from a diffused set of values shapes faith in different forms than moving toward mature faith from a more focused set of values.⁴

This issue is raised in connection with the differences noted in Stage 3 faith in Canada and in India. Indian interviews, I-8 and I-13, glimpsed earlier are different constructions of synthetic conventional faith than Canadian interviews C-1 and C-2. The latter have not constructed an explicit system of meanings which they have used, tested and adopted in action as a basis for mature faith. The construction of meaning for these Stage 3 interviews is not well integrated in terms of the bases mentioned above. It shows lack of clarity and a diffuse quality. In this case, there is neither an explicit awareness of a systemic framework nor an integration of that in understanding and action. The construction of faith is tentative. The tentative quality is particularly apparent in C-17, another recent Bahá'í who emerged from a meaning system which was unreflective and ununified into a meaning system seen as offering clarity, focus and unity of values and attitudes.

Contrast the Canadian Stage 3 examples with I-8 and I-13 both of whom show strong degrees of integration in terms of clarity of values, and their incorporation into

actions on many levels—family, community, and world-consciousness. The researcher wondered at the differences. Where did these individuals whose faith structures are so intensely and narrowly focused come from? They came from Bahá'í family backgrounds. Neither was a convert to Bahá'í from some other religion. They came also from a culture which is intensely monotheistic. So their faith is a more mature, *i.e.*, more integrated, synthetic conventional faith than is that of the Stage 3 Canadians. One could say that the conventions of strong and ardent monotheism which they have been reared in are different from the loose, more conceptualized and individualized traditions of the Canadian Stage 3 interviews. There were no comparable Canadian interviews to the Indian ones in terms of the qualities above. However, there were other Indian interviews. There were I-5 and I-14. These were all interviews with a strong, explicit, integrative, certainty which Bahá'ís would call "devotion to the Cause." This form of faith has been noted in the early Bahá'í community in Canada as a response to the visit of 'Abdu'l-Bah'á to North America. It involves a strong personal devotion to the center of religious value which looks and operates quite differently from the tacit, diffused and uncertain characteristics of the Canadian Stage 3 interviews.

It is interesting for this study that the Indian form of faith thus identified is among the lifetime Bahá'ís. A negative correlation was noted between Indian faith stage score and Bahá'í age. Those participants with the highest Bahá'í ages were more often those with the lowest scores on the Fowler model. Within the Bahá'í community, these integrated and devotional characteristics are considered more mature because they are more sacrificial and less selfish. What is consistent across the Stage 3s is the identification of the individual with the system of which they are a part. In this sense, they are both embedded.

Another discrepancy in this cross-cultural testing is observed in the descriptors of Stage 4 faith structures. These structures involve the "break with the individual's reliance on external forms of authority," the internalizing of meaning-making activities, an "autonomy" in functioning and "distancing of the individual from the matrix of social

relations," "a critical and rational examination of norms and values." Group norms become the objects of our knowing, not the tools with which we think. Moseley, *et. al.*, claim that "the individual as a distinct and conscious entity emerges for the first time."⁵ Additionally, this new-found sense of identity defends itself from the challenge of differences. It constructs firm boundaries between one's own system of meanings and values and those of others. This description seems a particularly Western construction of mature functioning. The emphasis on individualism and autonomy is based upon Western norms. The lack of fit with which these descriptors function can be seen in the clustering of faith stage aspects in the Canadian interviews. Out of seven Stage 4 interviews, only two have closely clustered aspects, C-13 and C-20. The others range from .6 (two), .7 (two) to 1.7 (one). Among the Indian Stage 4 interviews, all but one falls within the range of .5 for the aspects of faith. Is this a characteristic of the interviews themselves and of the "meaning-making" structures they expose? Or is it a characteristic of the tool used to unearth these meaning structures? Or of the interpreter of the structures? All four possibilities present themselves as directions for future research.

The East-West comparisons afforded by this research allow the researcher to observe the difficulties in polarizing both individualist and collectivist cultures. Since collectivism is favored by Stage 3 and individualism is favored by Stage 4, perhaps a balance can be found in both stages. That balance might occur by attention to the context within which faith is exercised. Fowler acknowledges that emergence of individuative/reflective faith as a widespread structural style would occur only in cultural settings marked by ideational pluralism and some degree of individualism, and by the spirit of critical methods of empirical inquiry.⁶ The Western pattern of a faith which gives primacy to individual decision-making and internalized authority structures ignores the group values of Eastern cultures and creates dysfunctional norms. Likewise, Westerners consider the Eastern "enslavement" to group norms and tight social controls as dysfunctional. The Bahá'í community provides a balance of individualism and collectivism

in which individual rights and freedoms are provided by laws but are limited by group concerns exercised through Bahá'í institutions. The nature of that balance and the impact it would have on faith structures at Stages 3 and 4 remains to be studied.

Measuring development from the perspective of the Bahá'í Faith, I found there is no congruence between thought and action in the Fowler scheme. This is a serious omission. As presently established, faith development shares many similarities with other developmental theorists working in cognitive, psycho-social, moral and ego-development. Thus, faith development has a community with which to converse which sees development within established disciplines of psycho-sociology. However, how can it propose to address development and pay no attention to actions which demonstrate the faith constructs? One avenue of approach using the Fowler scheme is to focus on the theme of crises/peak experiences for what they disclose of action responses based upon faith structures. The likelihood of disclosing and measuring various actions in response to crises and peak experiences seems higher than in other aspects of faith.

Two questions remain to be answered: why did so many Canadians score below Stage 4? and, were there any general features of those persons in Stage 5 which give understanding of how faith develops? If we may parallel the stages of faith of individuals within a community to the relative maturity of that community from a world-wide perspective, it seems likely that the requirements and opportunities for growth in a faith system are strongly related to its socio-cultural agenda at given points in its history. There is a relatively incomplete socialization of Bahá'ís midway into its second century of existence. While a worldwide Bahá'í community is established, "spread like a thin skin all around the world,"⁷ this community is in its infancy or childhood. There is no established Bahá'í culture, as yet. Consequently, the responses of many Bahá'ís to ultimate values and moral judgments may very well reflect values of their parent cultures. Using a maturationist framework, early years of growth in faith within a community require an uncritical appropriation of and action on conventional faith values such as the reader

observed in Sheila and Ramun. For an infant faith, barely visible on the world stage, to encourage reflective/individuating faith would be counter to its needs for growth, unity and strength in the formative periods. As the faith community gains maturity as an entity and acquires a history, then it becomes necessary to reflect critically on its past and present and to encourage the diversity within it in consonance with Stage 4 characteristics of emerging maturity. The mid-life stage of Conjunctive Faith, would, correspondingly, be fostered during the maturity of a religious community as a whole since it constitutes an openness to multiple viewpoints and a flexibility of faith boundaries characteristic of well-established and secure faith traditions. Finally, the openness and universality of Stage 6 suggests an integral construction which cannot yet be clearly discerned because the external circumstances which would permit and encourage its growth are not yet established in the world. We are far from H. Richard Niebuhr's vision of "Faith on Earth."

Lastly, what are characteristics of Stage 5 individuals which offer understanding of growth in faith? All Stage 5s are involved in social and economic development projects for the Bahá'í community on a full-time basis. What impact could this fact have on achieving a level of Stage 5 faith? First of all, such activity integrates belief and action. When your daily activities are putting central faith values into practice, there are many opportunities for integrating them as structures of faith, not merely as ideas or static beliefs. As ideas and values in action, they are being continually tested, verified and refined in practical ways.

Fowler indicates in the final section of Stages of Faith, "Faith on Earth;" Faith is not belief. Belief is static, faith is dynamic.⁸ When a community expects only beliefs, it consigns itself to a prison of static ideas. When it provides models and opportunities for continuing faith development in adulthood (Fowler's objective in faith development) it is nurturing patterns that will be more open-ended and not stop at the modal level. Peter Berger points to a dialectical process of religious ideation and activity in Sacred Canopy⁹ which seems to capture the essence of the "ideas into action" concept. Berger continues with the idea that religion has mostly maintained the reality of the socially-constructed

world within which people exist in their day-to-day lives. Few religions have been interested in the development of **religious ideas**; most only in religious legitimation. If that be the case, then faith communities committed to the ongoing development in faith of their members must offer opportunities to challenge this faith in action and demand exposure to and incorporation of marginal situations in which the reality systems of everyday life are placed into question. An example would be for a Bahá'í who believes in the fundamental unity of humankind to test this principle by traveling to a very different country and culture to do research among members of his/her faith. The testing of principle brings to the fore one of the major conclusions of this research: the time lag between the intellectual acknowledgment of principles and concepts and its actualizing in faith structures or behavior. Such a lag was illustrated in the length of time it took the researcher to incorporate reading for structure rather than content into the process of interpreting interviews. Would not the author's initial failure in scoring the first four interviews be viewed as a test which served to increase her ability to translate ideas of structural stages into actions which discerned them correctly? The levels of development sketched by Fowler's model of faith development are intact, but could be enriched by some revising and updating based upon dialogue with other faith communities and other cultures. As the trainer observed after scoring the first four Indian interviews, two of which were Stage 4: "No one harboured concepts of religion which closed the religion in, that sequestered it and considered it the only truth."¹⁰ So, that truth stands open to be examined, challenged, and explored by others in this research effort.

NOTES: CHAPTER 7

¹ James W. Fowler, Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1981, 274.

² Alan Roland, In Search of Self in India and Japan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

³ W. C. Smith, Faith and Belief. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979 as discussed in James W. Fowler, Stages of Faith, 9-11.

⁴ Karen DeNicola makes a similar point in her examination of stage transitions, 2-3 and 3-4. Karen Boyd DeNicola, "Formal Operational Thinking, Stage Four, and Practical Knowing." Unpublished paper, 1992.

⁵ Moseley, Jarvis and Fowler, Manual for Faith Development Research, 1993, 52-53.

⁶ Stages, 298.

⁷ Curtis Russell quoting David Ruhe, former member of the Universal House of Justice.

⁸ Stages, 295.

⁹ Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969.

¹⁰ Phone conversation with Karen DeNicola, February, 1995.

APPENDIX 1

FAITH ASPECT DESCRIPTIONS

(SUMMARIES FROM THE MANUAL FOR FAITH DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH, 1993)

No. 1

Aspect A: Form of Logic

These are the patterns of mental operations a person uses in thinking about the object world. They are based upon Piaget's analysis of the development of formal operational thought, and Stages 1 through 4 resemble his closely. Stage 5 employs a dialectical form of reasoning. (Manual 51-52) Fowler notes that for a new stage to emerge fully, the corresponding Piagetian form of logic must have emerged. (Fowler, "Structuring of Meaning," 61-62) This doesn't mean that a Stage 4 form of logic, for example, necessitates a Stage 4 in all other aspects. What it does is to insist upon the "logic of rational certainty" a rationally-guided process of knowing in faith.

Aspect B: Social Perspective Taking

The aspect refers to how an individual constructs the self-others relationship. It would reflect whether an individual is able to construct the interiority of another faithfully (his thoughts and feelings) or tends to stereotype or project one's own views onto another. How defined and clear is an individual's apprehension of another's point of view? And, from what point of view does the individual look at others?

Aspect C: Form of Moral Judgment

Kohlberg's stages of moral judgment are relied upon to define the progression of moral reasoning. Fowler departs from Kohlberg in allowing individuals to construct their own moral events and experiences rather than relying upon their response to a standard moral dilemma. An individual's thinking is probed both in terms of what constitutes a moral issue and how one constructs the moral elements of it. "What is the nature of the claims that others have on me, and how are these claims to be weighed?" (Manual 52) Patterns of reasoning, grounds of moral justification, boundaries of social inclusion/exclusion and social perspective taking are all relevant operations here.

Aspect D: Bounds of Social Awareness

Social awareness includes who is "we"? With whom, individuals or groups, does one identify? Is the identification narrow (family, friends) or does it extend to a more inclusive social world? Most especially, does it include those very different from oneself

and how are those persons constructed? "This aspect will show the differences in how persons and groups are treated within a given individual's structure of meaning making." (Manual 53)

Aspect E: Locus of Authority

This aspect organizes how authorities are selected, and how they are held in relation to the individual, whether internally or externally. To whom would the individual look for guidance and/or approval? To what extent one holds him/herself personally accountable for actions, beliefs. (Manual 54)

Aspect F: Form of World Coherence

An individual's world view is the primary focus here: the conceptual environment in which one thinks and acts. Also included would be Fowler's "ultimate environment," the construction of primary centers of value and the structuring power they exert upon one's daily thoughts and actions. This aspect includes the cohesion of the world view, the principles upon which it is constructed, and the extent to which it is explicitly described or tacit (unaware functioning).

Aspect G: Symbolic Function

Symbolic function is the way in which symbols of the transcendent are appropriated and understood. The aspect brings in the "logic of conviction" which emphasizes the imaginal world of meaning we use to talk about, represent and connect us to the symbols of power, value and authority. How does a person interpret those things which are of ultimate value?

APPENDIX 2

STAGE SUMMARIES FOR THREE TO FIVE

Stage 3: Synthetic Conventional

The stage is called synthetic because the individual is able to synthesize meanings based upon the attitudes and opinions of others. At Stage 3 a person is intensely concerned with building and maintaining interpersonal relationships and sees others and one's harmony with them as sources of value. Conventional authorities, consistent with these interpersonal relationships, are one's images of power. Granted that we are all, to a degree, concerned with interpersonal relationships, but the Stage 3 individual finds these central. The "conventional" designation is relative to culture and means that a person has internalized the social context within which s(he) operates. To ascertain this synthesis, it is important to understand the social context of the individual. It may be quite different in unique cultures and faith communities. The individual synthesizes the social context by constructing a sense of the collective as an abstract entity and envisions him/herself in relation to that collective. At Stage 3 there is not an executive ego or even a reflective ego. A large number of adults find a permanent equilibrium at Stage 3. The conventional focus is my friends, my family, my group. Others outside the circle may be seen in a generalized way as alien or, via projection, as similar to oneself. They are rarely appropriated in terms other than one's own synthesis of conventional meanings.

Stage 4: Individuative-Reflective

Meaning-making structures of thought change at this stage to distance the individual from her/his social matrix. "Me" is not the same as "us." Thus, a Stage 4 person is more individuated. This change is marked by the attainment of formal operational thought and the widening of social horizons. Movements to Stage 4 are often precipitated by encounters with groups or persons very different from one's inner circle at Stage 3, but the transition is not dependent on such encounters. A markedly different world view or ideology may mark an individual's break with the conventional. The Stage 4 self is autonomous and concerned with defining the boundaries of this self. Perspective taking is third person such that one moves to a position outside "you" or "me" in order to understand the self's relationship to others and to the world. There will be some attempt to generalize or universalize the patterns of those relationships. Stage 4 faith is characteristically ideological and prefers systems of thought encompassing the whole of the reality. Distinctions between subject and object, knower and known are held fairly rigidly.

Stage 5: Conjunctive Faith

Here, the tight ideological distinctions which enable an individual to separate from one's cultural matrix in Stage 4 disappear in an ongoing dialogue or dialectic with experience characterized by openness and mutuality. A greater fluidity of conceptual operations doesn't mean fuzzy thinking, but an openness to more intuitive understandings. The preference is for understanding, not explanation or defense of one's own views. Stage 5 individuals are capable of the same definition and clarity as those at Stage 4. But a Stage 5 person is willing to allow for conceptions of "truth" outside his/her own framework and, in fact, welcomes multiple perspectives. The capacity for self-criticism and self-doubt is present, as is a tolerance for ambiguity and paradox. A Stage 5 person is able to hold conflicting views in tension without collapsing an issue to conform to one's own point of view. General contours of Stage 5 thought are found in the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl and Heidegger, while the philosophical hermeneutics are expressed by Hans Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur. (Manual 154) An emphasis on human subjectivity and the diversity of possible approaches and understandings replaces Stage 4's identification with a system perspective. Stage 5 thought is principle-centered and aware of multiple approaches to understanding phenomena.

APPENDIX 3

FAITH DEVELOPMENT INTERVIEW

(MANUAL FOR FAITH DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH, REV. 1993)

Note: Words printed in bold are used as prompts on the scoring sheet.

LIFE TAPESTRY/LIFE REVIEW

1. Review: Reflecting on your life, identify its major **chapters**. What **marker events** stand out as especially important?
2. Which **past "key relationships"** seem most important in understanding your development as a person?
3. How has your **image of God** and relation to God changed across your life's chapters? Who or what is God to you now?

RELATIONSHIPS

4. What **present relationships** seem most important in your life? (Persons, groups, institutions or causes, family, friends, associates, other?)
5. Focus for a moment on your **parents**: Characterize each of them. What qualities stand out as you remember their roles and influences in your life?

PRESENT VALUES AND COMMITMENTS

6. Do you feel that your life has **meaning**? What makes it so?
7. Are there **beliefs**, values, or commitments that have been or are important in shaping how you live your life?
8. If you have a **difficult issue** (involving ethics, values, or faith) on which you must make a decision, how do you make that **decision**?
9. **Right/wrong Action**: Do you think that actions can be right or wrong? [If so, what makes an action right; what makes one wrong? Are there certain actions which are always and everywhere wrong or right? Are there moral positions that everyone should agree to?]

RELIGION

10. **Human Purpose**: Does human life have a **purpose**? [Is there a plan for our lives? Are we affected by, or responsible to, any forces beyond human control?]

11. What does **death** mean to you? What happens to us when we die?
12. Do you consider yourself a **religious person**? What does this mean to you?
13. Are there religious **symbols**, rituals, or beliefs that are important to you? What are they and why are they important?
14. **Group membership**: Are you (or were you) related to a religious community or group? Why are they (or were they) important to you?
15. Do you **pray, meditate**, or perform any spiritual discipline? If so, how are these important and how central are they to you?
16. What is **sin**, to your understanding? How do you understand **evil** in our world?

CRISES/PEAK EXPERIENCES

17. Have you ever had moments of intense joy or **breakthrough** experiences that have affirmed or changed your sense of life's meaning? Have you had a "conversion experience? What impact have such experiences had on your way of seeing, believing, and acting?
18. Have you experienced times of **crisis**, suffering, or **loss** in your life? Have you had times when you felt profound disillusionment, or that life has no meaning? How have these experiences affected your way of looking at and feeling about life and God?
19. Do you feel that currently you are growing or changing in any areas of your life? If so, where do you feel most in need or most open to change? What is your "**growing edge**" at this point?
20. When or where do you find yourself most in communion or **harmony** with God or the universe? What is your image or model (an idea or a person) of **mature faith**?

APPENDIX 4

MODIFIED FAITH DEVELOPMENT INTERVIEW

Canada

A. Life Tapestry and Life Review: 15 minutes

Which past key persons, events or experiences seem most important in shaping your development as a person?

B. Relationships: 1/2 hour

1. How do you think of your parents at present?

What stands out now about your father or mother?

Can you describe them for me?

Have there been any changes in your perceptions of your parents over the years?

Changes, interiority of, still authority figures?

2. Are there currently any relationships which seem important to you either with persons or groups?

Why are they important?

How think about relationships? In what ways important?

How locate identity with respect to persons and groups?

3. Do you recall changes in relationships which have had a significant impact on your life, or your way of thinking about things?

How do they think about relationships? How view change?

C. Present Values and Commitments: 1/2 hour

1. Does your life have meaning at present?

What makes it meaningful?

2. Are there beliefs, values or commitments that seem important to your life right now?

Who or what supports beliefs or values?

How have they been derived?....changed?

3. When you think of the future, how does it make you feel?

Vision of world? scope of concern?

How one assigns responsibility for future?

4. When you have an important decision to make, how do you go about making it?

Can you give me an examples?

Where is weight given? internal, external?

Whose points of view are considered?

Who else is involved in decision and how much weight is given to each involved?

5. What about moral decisions? Are they the same?

What makes a decision a moral one?

6. Do you think that actions can be right or wrong?

If so, what makes an action right in your opinion?

Are there certain actions that are right under any circumstances?

Are there certain moral opinions everybody should agree on?

D. Religion: 45 min.

1. What attracted you to the Bahá'í Faith?

Or, why have you remained with this faith?

2. Would you describe any changes in your relationship to your faith over the years (months) since becoming a Bahá'í?

3. What has been most helpful in developing that relationship?

4. What has been most difficult?

5. What "paths of faith" are you currently following or striving towards, if any?

Do you feel a desire to change in any particular way or direction?

6. Do you consider yourself a religious person?

7. What does this mean to you?

8. Do you think that human life has a purpose?

What do you think it is?

Is there a plan for our lives?

9. What does death mean to you?

What happens to us when we die?

10. Are there any religious symbols or images that are important to you?

If so, what?

Why important?

How does person interpret symbols?

11. Do you pray, meditate or perform any religious rituals or disciplines?

What does spiritual "exercise" mean?

What is happening?

12. Do you think there is such a thing as evil?

If so, what is its cause or source?

What is its nature?

E. Crises and Peak Experiences: 15 minutes

1. Have you ever had moments of intense joy that have affirmed or changed your sense of life's meaning?

What was going on?

How did it affect your life and thought?

2. Have you had times of crisis or suffering?

Profound disillusionment?

What happened at those times?

How have those experiences affected you?

* Changes in the interview schedule for Indians were made to conform to changes in the scoring sheet for faith development interviews which emerged in the 1993 revision of the Manual for Faith Development Research.

APPENDIX 5
MODIFIED FAITH DEVELOPMENT INTERVIEW
India

A. Life Tapestry and Life Review: 20 minutes

1. Which **past key relationships, events and experiences** seem most important to shaping your development as a person?
2. How has your **image of God** or relation to God changed across your life's chapters?

Who or what is God to you now?

B. Relationships: 20 min.

3. What **present relationships** seem most important to your life?
either with persons or groups?

Why are they important?

How think about relationships?

In what ways important?

How locate identity with respect to persons and groups?

4. How do you think of your **parents** at present?

How would you characterize your father or mother?

What qualities stand out as you remember their roles and influences in your life?

5. Have there been any changes in your perceptions of your parents over the years?

How do they think about relationships?

How view change?

C. Present Values and Commitments: 20 min.

6. Do you feel that your life has **meaning**?

What makes it meaningful?

locus of meaning-making activities: interpersonal, set of principles, some individual purpose?

7. Are there **beliefs**, values or commitments that seem important to your life right now?

Or that have shaped **how you live** your life?

Who or what supports beliefs or values?

How have they been derived?....changed?

8. When you have an **important decision** to make, how do you go about making it?

Can you give me an example?

Where is weight given? internal, external?

Whose points of view are considered?

Who else is involved in decision and how much weight is given to each involved?

9. **Right/wrong action:** What about moral decisions?

Are they the same?

Do you think actions can be right or wrong?

If so, what makes an action right or wrong?

Are there actions that are right under any circumstances?

Are there moral opinions everybody should agree on?

D. Religion: 30 min.

10. What attracted you to the Bahá'í Faith?

Or, why have you remained with this faith?

11. Would you describe any changes in your relationship to your faith over the years (months) since becoming a Bahá'í?

12. What has been most helpful in developing that relationship?

13. What has been most difficult?

14. What "paths of faith" are you currently following?

Do you feel that you are growing or changing in any area of life now?

If so, where do you feel most in need of or most open to change?

(growing edge E-19)

15. Does human life have a **purpose**?
Is there a plan for our lives?
Or are we responsible to any forces beyond human control?
16. What does **death** mean to you?
What happens to us when we die?
17. Do you consider yourself a **religious person**?
What does this mean?
18. Are there any **religious symbols** or images that are important to you?
What are they and why are they important?
How does person interpret symbols?
19. Do you **pray, meditate** or perform any spiritual disciplines?
What are they and why important?
What does spiritual "exercise" mean?
What is happening?
20. Do you think there is such a thing as **evil**?
How do you understand evil, its nature, its source?

E. Crises and Peak Experiences: 15 minutes

21. Have you ever had moments of **intense joy** that have affirmed or changed your sense of life's meaning?
What was going on?
How did it affect your life and thought?
22. Have you had times of **crisis, suffering or loss**?
How have these experiences affected your way of looking at and feeling about life and God?
23. When or where do you find yourself most in communion or **harmony** with God or the universe?
What is your model/image of a person of **mature faith**?

APPENDIX 6

REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS-CANADA

Part I of project: "Faith Development Among Bahá'ís in Canada and India," conducted by Paula A. Drewek for the Ph.D. in Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa.

How do individuals grow in a Bahá'í context? How aware are Bahá'ís of transformational processes in their lives? Does this awareness stimulate spiritual growth? Are there different patterns in spiritual growth among Eastern and Western peoples who are members of the same faith? These are a few of the questions I'm seeking to answer in my research project. I'll be collecting interviews with Bahá'ís in Canada and, later, India to compare styles and patterns of choice reflected in personal life experiences such as relationships, tests, and peak experiences.

I'm inviting those of you who are interested in participating in a semi-structured, two-hour interview to contact me by filling out and sending the form below or simply by giving me a call (address and phone below). The interviews will be based on your life experiences, your personal stories, beliefs and values. For phase 1, I'm looking for about 20 Canadian Bahá'í men and women of varied ages (20+), educational, social and ethnic backgrounds in both Ontario and Quebec.

The interviews will be scheduled at our mutual convenience sometime within the next year, but not before October, 1991. I would like to make contact with interested people while I'm living in Ottawa (until August 1). I can be reached at ph. 613-231-6254, 266 First Ave. #2, Ottawa, K1S 2G6, Ontario and will be happy to answer any questions you may have on the project. After August, write to me c/o Department of Religious Studies, University of Ottawa, 177 Waller, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 or at 29503 Dover, Warren, Michigan 48093, U.S.A.

.....

Name: _____ Age: _____ Sex: _____

Address: _____

City, State and Code: _____

Phone(s): _____

Ethnic Background and Languages: _____

Job or Profession: _____

Years Bahá'í: _____ Years in Canada: _____

Others whom I should contact: _____

APPENDIX 7

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

To: _____

From: Paula A. Drewek
29503 Dover
Warren, Michigan 48093 U.S.A.
Phone: 810-558-7545

RE: Consent for Interview for project,
"Faith Development Among Bahá'ís in Canada and India"
for Ph.D. in Religious Studies.

Research Supervisor:
Professor Roger LaPointe
Dept. of Religious Studies
University of Ottawa
177 Waller
Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5 Canada
Ph. 613-564-2300

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me
on _____ at _____.

The enclosed will tell you more about the project I'm doing, help you to prepare for our interview, and inform you of your rights and obligations as a participant.

The Interview:

I will be asking you questions to get a sense of the important values, beliefs, persons and experiences in your life. You will also have opportunities to ask me questions and to express your opinions about the interview process. We will begin with a life review following the main features of the enclosed "Life Tapestry Chart." I would like you to give it some thought before we meet and fill in the main points which seem useful to your life review. The interview will include five major topic areas: 1) Life Review; 2) Relationships; 3) Present Values and Commitments; 4) Religion; and 5) Crises and Peak Experiences.

It will be approximately two hours in length and tape recorded to enable me to make a transcript of our conversation. The tape will be erased after transcription. The transcript of our interview will be used to analyze and interpret the interview and will be subject to your review.

My Consent to the Interview:

I give my consent to participate in the India portion of the study of "Faith Development Among Bahá'ís in Canada and India" conducted by Paula Drewek in fulfillment of her research for the Doctorate in Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa. Paula will be comparing the responses of 20 Bahá'ís in Canada, and 20 in India in her cross-cultural study of faith development. I understand that my participation is totally voluntary and that projects using human participants at the University of Ottawa require such consent to protect both the researcher and participant and to lay out the terms of the agreement. In consenting, I agree to answer questions of the faith development interview constructed by James Fowler and associates at the Center for Faith and Moral Development at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. The personal risk to me in this research is small since I control what and how much is said in response to the questions. I will have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and to withdraw my participation at any time before the tabulation of results for Paula's dissertation. I understand that I will be given the transcript to review and have a chance to edit any material which I do not want used by the researcher. The potential benefits to me are the satisfaction related to reviewing what gives meaning and value to my life.

Confidentiality:

My anonymity will be protected in the following ways:

- 1) A code number and "pen" name which I select will be assigned to my interview and be used in all files, transcripts, and quoted portions of the interview.
- 2) The transcript will be read by the researcher and myself. Portions will be shared with the research advisor, but not in connection with my name or local residence.
- 3) Personal data given to the researcher will not be used in connection with my name or local community. Such personal data will include: date and place of birth, age, sex, number and ages of siblings, occupation of parents, level of education, job or profession, number of years as a Bahá'í, and religious background or affiliation prior to becoming Bahá'í.
- 4) Participants will be drawn from a variety of communities in India.

Terms:

Please respond "yes" or "no" to the following:

1. I agree to be identified as an interview participant in the manner described above:_____
2. I agree to be quoted in the researcher's dissertation and any subsequent publications using the code described above:_____
3. I agree to being contacted by the researcher after the interview for the purpose of clarifying items or issues from the interview or for answering questions omitted from the interview._____
4. I agree to have a transcript of my interview donated to the files of the Center for Faith and Moral Development at Emory University in Atlanta, GA.

Participant

Date

If you have any questions about this form or the enclosed materials, you are welcome to contact me. One copy of this form is yours to keep if you wish.

APPENDIX 8

LIFE TAPESTRY

Using the Life Tapestry Exercise: Instructions for the Respondent

Take a moment to look over the work sheets that you have in front of you. After you have looked at the chart for a few minutes, turn back to this page for some explanation of the categories at the top of the work sheet.

1. **Calendar Years from Birth.** starting at the left column of the work sheet, number down the column from the year of your birth to the present year. If there is a substantial number of years in your life, you may wish to number the columns in two, three, or five-year intervals.
2. **Age by Year.** This column simply gives you another chronological point of reference. Fill it in with the same intervals you used for calendar years on the left-hand side of the chart.
3. **Place—Geographic and Socioeconomic.** Here you may record your sense of place in several ways. It could be the physical place you lived in at different times in your life, including the geographic area where you lived, or it could be your sense of your position in society or in the community. Record your sense of place in whatever way it seems most appropriate to you.
4. **Key Relationships.** These can be any types of relationships that you feel had a significant impact on your life at the time. The persons mentioned need not be living presently, and you need not have known them personally. (That is, they could be persons who influenced you through your reading or hearing about them, *etc.*)
5. **Uses and Directions of the Self.** Here you can record not only how you spent your time but also what you thought you were doing at that time.
6. **Marker Events.** Here you may record the events that you remember which marked turning points in your life—moves, marriages, divorces, *etc.* Major events occur and things are never the same again.
7. **Events or Conditions in Society.** In this column we ask you to record what you remember of what was going on in the world at various times in your life. Record this as an image or phrase, or a series of images or phrases, that best sums up the period for you.
8. **Images of God.** This is an invitation for you to record briefly, in a phrase or two, what your thoughts or images of God—positive and negative—were at different times of your life. If you had no image of God or cannot remember one, answer appropriately.
9. **Centers of Value.** What were the persons, objects, institutions, or goals that formed a center for your life at this time? What attracted you, what repelled you, what did you commit your time and energy to, and what did you choose to avoid? Record only the one or two most important ones.
10. **Authorities.** This column asks to whom or what did you look for guidance, or to ratify your decisions and choices at various points in your life.

As you work on the chart, make brief notes to yourself indicating the insights or thoughts you have under each of the columns. It is not necessary to fill out the columns in great detail. You are doing the exercise for yourself, so use shorthand or brief notes. Later, you can use the second work sheet to make a copy of your tapestry to bring to the interview.

After you have finished your work with the chart, spend some time thinking about your life as a whole. Try to feel its movement and its flow, its continuities and discontinuities. As you look at the tapestry of your life, let yourself imagine it as a drama or a play. Where would the divisions of it naturally fall? If you were to divide it into chapters or episodes, how would these be titled? When you have a sense of how your life might be divided, draw lines through these areas on the chart and job down the titles on the reverse side of the work sheet.

This is the unfolding tapestry of your life at this particular time. In the coming days or months you may want to return to it for further reflection, or to add to it things that may come to you later. Some people find that the Unfolding Tapestry exercise is the good beginning for keeping a regular journal or diary. You may find too, that if you come back to this exercise after some time has passed, the chapters and titles in your life will be different as you look at them in light of new experiences. We hope you have enjoyed doing this exercise.

[illegible][illegible]

APPENDIX 9

REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS - INDIA

Greetings Friends!

My name is Paula Drewek and I am from Michigan, U.S.A. where I am a teacher of the Humanities and Comparative Religion in a college in the Detroit area. I come from a Bahá'í family and have two grown sons. During my four months travel teaching in India this Fall I will be conducting interviews for my research project: "Faith Development Among Bahá'ís in Canada and India."

I want to learn from you what it is like to be a Bahá'í in India. These are some of the questions: What changes have you been through and has your faith changed? Are there different patterns of spiritual growth among Eastern and Western Bahá'ís? Do we have different understandings of ideas like death, goals in life, evil, prayer, and meditation?

If you are interested, I would like you to participate in a semi-structured, two-hour interview based on your life experiences, your personal stories, beliefs and values. The interviews will be scheduled at a good time for both of us sometime in the next few weeks.

Would you fill out the form below if you would like to participate? Or, simply give me a call (address and phone below). I am looking for about 20 Indian Bahá'í men and women of varied ages (20+), educational, social and ethnic backgrounds. Feel free to ask me any questions you may have about the project. I can be reached at:

.....

Name: _____ Age: _____ Sex: _____

Address: _____

City, State and Code: _____

Phone(s): _____

Ethnic Background and Languages: _____

Job or Profession: _____

Years Bahá'í: _____ Years in India: _____

Others whom I should contact: _____

APPENDIX 10

SCORING ANALYSIS SHEET

Interview ID: _____

Scorer: _____

Interview Question DescriptionPassage# /StageScoring CriteriaAvg.

(Carry average to nearest one-hundredth)

A. LOGIC

Decisions

/

Breakthroughs

/

Crises

/

Growing Edge

/

/

Average Logic Score: _____

B. PERSPECTIVE TAKING

Past Relationships

/

Present Relationships

/

Parents

/

/

/

Average Perspective Taking Score: _____

C. MORAL JUDGMENT

Right/Wrong Action

/

Sin/Evil

/

/

Average Moral Judgment Score: _____

D. BOUNDS OF SOCIAL AWARENESS

Chapters/Market Events

/

Group Membership

/

/

/

Average Bounds of Social Awareness Score: _____

E. LOCUS OF AUTHORITY

Your Life Meaning

/

Beliefs

/

/

/

Average Locus of Authority Score: _____

F. FORM OF WORLD COHERENCE

Purpose of Human Life

/

Death

/

Religious Person

/

Mature Faith

/

/

Average Form of World Coherence Score: _____

G. SYMBOLIC FUNCTION

Image of God

/

Symbols, Rituals

/

Prayer/Meditation

/

Harmony

/

/

Average Symbolic Function Score: _____

OTHER: DISCREPANT DATA

Average Discrepant Score: _____

Total Average Score: _____

APPENDIX 11
PARTICIPANT COMPARISONS BY STAGE SCORE
AND CONTROLLED VARIABLES

	CANADA	INDIA	COMPARISON
AGE:	31(C-1)	31 (I-1)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	C	I C	
EDUC:	B.S.	B.Sc.	
BAGE	life	10	
SCORE:	3.2	3.44	WITHIN .5 (3,3-4)
AGE:	46 (C-2)	49 (I-8)	
SEX:	FE	FE	
ETHNIC:	C	I P	
EDUC:	B.A.	Ph D.economics	
BAGE:	18	life	
SCORE	3.3	3.1	SAME (3)
AGE:	40(C-3)	40 (I-6)	
SEX:	M	M	
ETHNIC:	FC	I H	
EDUC:	12+	12 +	
BAGE	16	5	
SCORE:	3.2	3.3	SAME (3)
AGE:	25(C-4)	35 (I-18)	
SEX:	M	M	
ETHNIC:	C	IH	
EDUC:	B.A. honors	BA Commerce; diploma advertising	
BAGE	1	5 mo.	
SCORE:	4.2	4.4	WITHIN .5 (4,4-5)
AGE:	24(C-5)	22 (I-10)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	C	I	
EDUC:	B.A. honors	B.D.S. (bachelor's dental surgery)	
BAGE	1	life	
SCORE:	3.6	2.38	1.2 APART (3-4,2)
AGE:	39(C-6)	39 (I-2)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	C	I M	
EDUC:	B.J.	B.A +	
BAGE	21	19	
SCORE:	4.3	4.1	SAME (4)

	CANADA	INDIA	COMPARISON
AGE:	46(C-7)	51 (I-3)	
SEX:	M	M	
ETHNIC:	C	IH	
EDUC:	12+	12+	
BAGE	25	17	
SCORE:	3.5	4.12	+6 (3-4,4)
AGE:	72(C-8)	56 (I-19)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	C (Czech)	I Z	
EDUC:	M.A.	12 + training	
BAGE	44	29	
SCORE:	3.2	3.6	WITHIN .5 (3,3-4)
AGE:	40(C-9)	42 (I-4)	
SEX:	M	M	
ETHNIC:	African M	IH	
EDUC:	B.S.+	B.A. Econ.. (prof. degree)	
BAGE	18	17	
SCORE:	3.9	3.7	SAME (4)
AGE:	43(C-15)	36 (I-7)	
SEX:	M	M	
ETHNIC:	C	I M	
EDUC:	M.S. +	M. Phil.. +2	
BAGE	life	18	
SCORE:	4.4	4.55	SAME (4-5)
AGE:	38(C-10)	39 (I-12)	
SEX:	fe	M	
ETHNIC:	C	I	
EDUC:	M.A.	M.B./B.S. Bach. medicine and of surgery	
BAGE	16	19	
SCORE	3.6	4.67	1 STAGE APART
AGE:	38(C-11)	40 (I-13)	
SEX:	fe	M	
ETHNIC:	FC	I	
EDUC:	B.A.	B.S. Mech. Eng.	
BAGE	9	life	
SCORE:	3.1	3.23	SAME (3)
AGE:	47(C-12)	45 (I-9)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	Polish	I H	
EDUC:	Ph. D.	M. Phil.	
BAGE	16	13	
SCORE:	4.5	4.96	WITHIN .5 (4-5,5)

	CANADA	INDIA	COMPARISON
AGE:	70 (C-13)	73 (I-14)	
SEX:	M	M	
ETHNIC:	C	I (P)	
EDUC:	Ph.D.	B.A. Ed.	
BAGE	6	life	
SCORE:	4.2	3.1	1 STAGE APART
AGE:	34(C-14)	31 (I-17)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	C	I H	
EDUC:	B.A.+	12th + 3	
BAGE	3 1/2	4	
SCORE:	3.1	3.3	SAME (3)
AGE:	27(C-16)	24(I-20)	
SEX:	fe	FE	
ETHNIC:	Jamaican	I H	
EDUC:	2 yr. college	B.Eng. computer science	
BAGE	2 1/2	1	
SCORE:	3.2	3.07	SAME (3)
AGE:	43(C-17)	49 (I-5)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	C	IPersian	
EDUC:	M.S.	M.A. previous	
BAGE	19	since childhood	
SCORE:	4.0	3.0	1 STAGE APART
AGE:	58(C-18)	52(I-16)	
SEX:	M	Fe	
ETHNIC:	C	I	
EDUC:	C.M.A. +	M.D./ M.S. gen. surgery	
BAGE	32	life	
SCORE:	3.9	5.05	1 STAGE APART
AGE:	77(C-19)	58 (I-21)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	C	I	
EDUC:	Ph.D.	B.S. no diploma	
BAGE	40	life	
SCORE:	5	4.6	WITHIN .5 (5,4-5)
AGE:	32(C-20)	33(I-15)	
SEX:	fe	fe	
ETHNIC:	C	I M	
EDUC:	M.S.	B.Ed.	
BAGE	6	14	
SCORE:	3.7	4.1	WITHIN .5 (4)

	CANADA	INDIA	COMPARISON
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TOTALS:

6 out of 20 pairs are more than .5 apart

AGE:

21-30	3	2
31-40	8	9
41-50	5	4
51up	4	5

SEX:

M	F	M	F
7	13	8	12

EDUCATION:

	C	I
h.s.+	3	4
Bach. deg.	8	11
master's	6	3
doctor's	3	2
(Ph.D. or MD)		

BAHÁ'Í AGE:

	C	I
1-5	4	4
6-10	3	1
11-20	6	7
21 UP	5	1
life	2	7

APPENDIX 12**DATA SHEET, INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS**

NAME:

CODE:

PROVINCE:

DATE AND PLACE/BIRTH:

AGE:

SEX:

PERSONAL STATUS:

FAMILY BACKGROUND:

SIBLINGS:

PARENTS' OCCUPATION:

EDUCATION:

**HIGHEST COMPLETED:
IN PROGRESS?**

EMPLOYMENT/PROFESSION:

RELIGION:

YEARS BAHÁ'Í:

PRIOR RELIGION:

TRAVEL/LIVING ABROAD:

INTERVIEW DATE:

STAGE SCORE:

APPENDIX 13
INTER-RATER RELIABILITY
PAULA DREWEK AND TRAINER, KAREN DENICOLA

	P.	K.	Stage
C-1 training interview	3.2 (re-score)	3	3
C-2 training interview	3.3 (re-score)	2.83	3
C-3 training interview	3.2 (re-score)	2.83	3
C-4	4.2	4.41	4
C-5	3.6	4.05	3-4
C-6	4.3	3.44 *	4
C-7	3.5	3.5	3-4
C-8	3.15	3.14	3
C-9	3.86	3.81	4
C-10	3.6	3.3	3-4
C-11	3.1	2.99	3
C-12	4.5 (re-do with added info from 4.8)	4.5 (re-do, added info from 3.68)	4-5
C-13	4.2	4.17	4
C-14	3.1	3.24	3
C-15 training interview	4.4 (re-score)	4	4-5
C-16	3.2	3.02	3
C-17	4.04	3.57	4
C-18	3.94	3.80	4
C-19	5 (re-do with added info)	4.57 (re-do with added info)	5
C-20	3.7	3.62	3-4

* Score not in agreement within .5.

Scores falling between N.70 and N.29 are considered stage N

A score falling between N.3 and N.69 is considered transitional

I used the range for N as N.7 to N.39 with N.4 to N.69 being transitional

Inter-rater reliability for the above scores is determined based on agreement to within .5. In this case 19 out of 20 interviews are in agreement, yielding an inter-rater reliability score of 95%.

To confirm researcher competence with the Indian interviews, the first four were correlated with the trainer, yielding the following 100% correspondence:

	<u>P.</u>	<u>K.</u>	<u>Stage</u>
I-1	3.44	3.70	3-4
I-2	4.1	3.93	4
I-3	4.12	3.86	4
I-4	3.7	3.21	3-4

APPENDIX 14

BAHA'I INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE
from The Babi and Baha'i Religions: From Messianic
Shi'ism to a World Religion

Peter Smith, p. 135

Institutionalization in the Formative Age

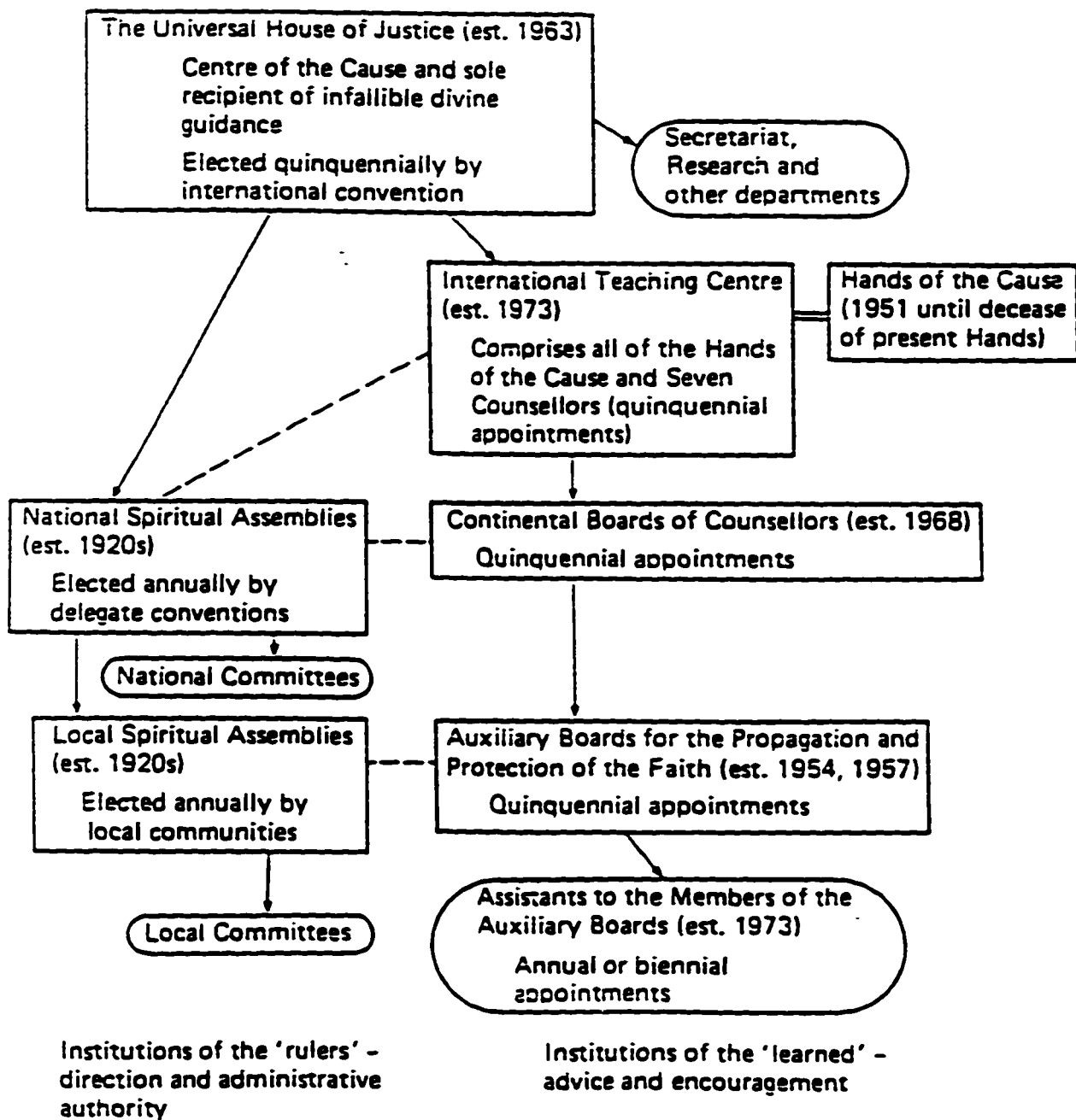


Figure 1. The present-day structure of Baha'i administration

APPENDIX 15

SUMMARIES OF 'ABDU'L-BAHÁ'S TALKS IN MONTREAL, 1912

September 1, Unitarian Church

He reaffirmed the unity of all the religions of the world in One Divine Reality and explained the differences in religions and the sources of dissension and hostility among them. Next he turned to the purpose of human life, how in ignorance humanity turns away from the "life-giving teachings" and the consequences of their ignorance. He reiterated religion's role in defining standards of good and bad and the necessity of all to turn thereto for guidance. The next segment of his address reflected the social teachings of Bahá'u'lláh mentioned earlier in the brief overview of the Faith. Before challenging his audience with the destiny of the Western nations to establish international peace and eradicate barriers to peace, he explained the healing power of religious teaching and of Bahá'u'lláh's letters to the kings and rulers of the world calling them to heed the warnings and promises of the "Prisoner of Akka." He called upon all to be educated, and focused on the lack of education as the largest barrier to peace and unity. He closed with prayers for success in unifying humanity.

September 5, Methodist Church

Again, human failings in apprehending the purposes of religion were called to account. 'Abdu'l-Bahá explained that clinging to blind imitations and forms of the past divides humanity and separates them from God's purpose for man which is unity. 'Abdu'l-Bahá called all those present to love all of humanity and described the cycle of love which provides remedies to the ailing, educates the ignorant and trains the defective. Religion, he said, must be the source of love. The latter part of his talk, as before, was devoted to the social principles of the Bahá'í Faith. He enumerated and explained eleven of them and called on the two great American nations to take the lead in universal peace and establish the reality of unity. The administrative machinery of world peace was also addressed in relation to war, international disputes and the necessity of an international tribunal. Of special note for this project is his call to unite East and West as one flock under the care of the divine shepherd.

APPENDIX 16

STAGES OF FAITH IN OTHER FD STUDIES

I. FOWLER, STAGES OF FAITH, (1981)

Sample Characteristics:

Religion:

Protestant:	45.0%
Catholic:	36.5%
Jew:	11.2%
Orthodox:	3.6%
Other:	3.6%

Sex:

Male:	50.1%
Female:	49.9%

Race:

White:	97.8%
Black:	2.2%

Score by Age Category:

<u>Stages 2,2-3</u>	<u>Stage 3</u>	<u>Stage 3-4</u>	<u>Stage 4</u>	<u>Stage 4-5</u>	<u>Stage 5</u>
Age 21-30: (90)					
5.5%	17.8%	33.3%	40.0%	3.3%	0%
Age 31-40: (48)					
0%	37.5%	8.3%	20.8%	18.8%	14.6%
Age 41-50: (32)					
0%	9.4%	0%	56.2%	21.9%	12.5%
Age 51-60: (17)					
5.9%	35.3%	0%	29.4%	5.6%	23.5%

II. KAREN DENICOLA'S STUDY (1992)

<u>Researcher</u>	<u>Number & Sex</u>	<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Average Score</u>	<u>Score Range</u>
Grossman, '91	10 female	36-49	3.26	2.6-4.66
Carroll, '93	17 m & f	30's-50's	3.98	3.2-5
Chychula, '93	40 male	40-55	2.8	2-4.2
Hoffman, '93	12 m & f	18-19	3.3	2.95-3.95
Morgan	6 m & f	40-62	3.47	3-3.79

III. RANDY SIMMONDS' STUDY (1986)

Sample Characteristics:

10 members each in Community A and B:

Active in church affairs (teachers, administrators, council member, deacons), long-standing church members
5 males and 5 females in each community.

Results, Community A:

<u>Stage 3</u>	<u>Stage 3-4</u>	<u>Stage 4</u>	<u>Stage 4-5</u>	<u>Stage 5</u>
1	0	3	2	4

Average Stage of Faith: 4.4

Results, Community B:

<u>Stage 3</u>	<u>Stage 3-4</u>	<u>Stage 4</u>	<u>Stage 4-5</u>	<u>Stage 5</u>
7	2	1		

Average Stage of Faith: 3.2

IV. RANDALL FURUSHIMA'S STUDY (1983)**Sample Characteristics:**

12 Neisi and Sansei Buddhists in Hawaii

Ages 28-59

Sex: 9 female, 3 male

Results:

<u>Stage 3</u>	<u>Stage 3-4</u>	<u>Stage 4</u>	<u>Stage 4-5</u>	<u>Stage 5</u>
4	2	3	1	2

Average Stage of Faith: 3.79

GLOSSARY

‘Abdu’l-Bahá (1844-1921), a spiritual title meaning servant of Bahá’u’lláh. He was appointed leader, or Centre of the Covenant, in 1892. As the sole, authorized interpreter of his father’s writings, ‘Abdu’l-Bahá continued spiritual writing and speaking about the teachings of Bahá’u’lláh during his entire life.

accommodation is the organism's tendency to change in response to environmental demands.

adaptation is the interaction of an individual with his environment in terms of the twin processes of assimilation and accommodation. Piaget's Theory of Intellectual Development, Ginsburg and Oppen.

affect/affective: Descriptions of feeling responses from shallow to deep or passionate. Positive or negative feelings. Combination of an arousal state and positive feelings.

Arya Samaj: A major nineteenth-century Hindu reform movement started in the Punjab by Swami Dayanānda. Among its many reforms, it emphasized women's education.

assimilation is the complementary process to accommodation by which the individual deals with an environmental event in terms of his current structures.
(Note: Piaget)

attributional theory: describing and explaining the cognitive processes in the layperson's causal explanations for human behavior. Fritz Heider is its developer. The two loci of interest in attributional research have been attributions for achievement (or lack of) and internal/external locus of control. It's the latter that shows up in Fowler as the sole measurement of attributional assessment. Other options include: predictable-unpredictable world; difficult-easy world; and ratings of specific causes such as ability or effort, self-serving vs. group serving models. Not much at deeper levels of cognitive structure.

avatara: Hindu concept of the incarnations of Vishnu (God as Preserver) which visit humankind periodically to destroy the wicked and establish righteousness. Previous avatars have included Rama, Krishnu, Buddha, Christ.

Báb: A title meaning “The Gate,” of the Prophet who preceded and foretold the coming of Bahá’u’lláh. The claim of the Báb (in 1844) to be a new Messenger of God, coupled with the modern social teachings of the Bábi Faith (which attracted thousands), were seen as a threat by the prevailing orthodox Shi’ite clergy. In their attempts to wipe out the new Faith, nearly 20,000 Followers of the Báb were barbarically put to death in a series of pogroms during the mid-half of 19th Century Persia. The Báb himself was executed by firing squad in 1850. The Báb described his mission as preparing the way for “Him Whom God will make Manifest.” With the coming of Bahá’u’lláh, most of the Bábís, from the 1870’s onward, recognized him and became known as Bahá’ís.

Bahá’í: A member of the Bahá’í Faith, meaning a follower of Bahá’u’lláh.

Bahá’í age: a measure devised by the researcher to designate how many years

participants had been Bahá'ís.

Bahá'u'lláh: (1817–1892), a spiritual title meaning *Glory of God*, referring to the founder of the Bahá'í Faith. During a 40-year ministry, much of it spent as a prisoner and in exile, he wrote extensively laying out the principles and teachings upon which a united world community could flourish, explained the meaning of many passages in the scriptures of other religions, wrote prayers and meditations, and set forth channels for the governing of the Bahá'í community after his death.

Brahmo Samaj: A Hindu reformer, Rammohum Roy, established this social reform movement in 1828. Its modernist principles were opposed to widow-burning and in favor of Western education. By 1843 the leadership of Debendranath Tagore proclaimed a new religious dispensation. (Geoffrey Parrinder, World Religions. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1971.)

codeable data: participant responses leading to an assignment of stage score based upon stage profiles and descriptors.

cognitive: Descriptions of thinking operations

concrete operational thought: a Piagetian term which describes a structural stage concerned with the "logic of objects and not yet a logic of propositions about objects." The future is an extension of what is.

contents of faith: our centers of value, our images of power and our master stories. Stages of Faith, p. 277-279.

contextualized behavior: William Garlington refers to this as compartmentalized behavior. It means the bracketing off of certain patterns of behavior into specific frames of reference. Thus, anti-caste patterns of behavior might be demonstrated in one setting, but not in another. It seems to be one way in which the community accommodates change. (Garlington, 1984, 184) Contextualization makes sense in a culture governed by internalized patterns of dharma, social and caste duty, which are so structured to maintain a given social order; that is, to prevent change.

correlation analysis: Two groups are compared for differences. Are these related to the group or to some other factors such as age, education? (Miller, 1970)

correlational studies: (observational) do not generally enable the researcher to demonstrate causal relationships among variables. Any conclusions regarding causality must be inferred from the underlying theory.

cross-validation: Establishing the success of a theory by measuring results of a new population against those of an already-tested one.

descriptive studies: research projects which have as their purpose the accurate portrayal of the characteristics of a person, situation, or group, or the determination of the frequency with which some phenomenon occurs. Research Methods in Social Relations.

development is the transformation of **structures of the whole** in the direction of greater differentiation, complexity, flexibility and stability. Developmental refers to

increasing **differentiation** and hierarchic **integration** (Heinz Werner, The Concept of Development, ed. D. Harris U. of Minn. Press, 1957, p. 125) **Faith Development** adds to the above by seeing transformations in terms of the integrative, motivational and structuring power of transcendent values. The structures which are transformed are holistic and descriptive of the ways humans construct meaning at each stage. In other words, the transformations include the cognitive, affective, valuational and imaginal ways we construct meaning.

development institute: Patterns of Bahá'í community service and social upliftment spurred by the 1983 letter to the Bahá'í communities around the world from the Universal House of Justice. Institutes are generally governed by grass-roots collectivities which establish their goals, staff their endeavours and administer their practical functions and resources.

dialectical: the logic of post formal operations which orients to relationships between systems rather than the form of a closed system. The relationships among systems are taken as prior to and constitutive of the systems themselves. Motion, process, and change are primary features of reality. Schemata are descriptors of process thinking in this context. (Souvaine, Lahey and Kegan, "Life After Formal Operations: Implications for a Psychology of the Self." p. 236, from Basseches 1984.)

ego-ideal: The image of the self to which individuals aspire both consciously and unconsciously, and against which they measure themselves, based upon childhood and adolescent identifications with parents and other figures and parental expectations of the child. (Alan Roland, In Search of Self in India and Japan, 338)

emic: culture specific constructs from a perspective of surveying the group or culture from the inside. Examines only one culture. Structure discovered by the analyst and criteria are relative to internal characteristics. Both etic and emic from Culture and Cognition, Berry and Dasen, p. 15.

empirical: knowledge through sense experience as distinct from rationalism which uses purely thought and reason. Most 20th C. research is based upon logical positivism which maintains that all knowledge is derived from direct observation and logical inferences based upon direct observation.

epigenesis: unfoldment or emergence of new organ modes (a la Freud's psychosexual modes—oral, anal, genital) with an additional dimension: innovative or adaptive responses an organism makes to the challenges and opportunities its environment provides. The environmental characteristics are seen in the institutional and cultural symbols of the larger society. Therefore, Erikson's psychosocial stages are marked by bodily changes and accompanied by emotional and cognitive growth which then give rise to new relational modes and roles in the social sphere. Each new stage is initiated by crisis and requires the reworking of previous solutions in the integration of body, ego and social orders. (Erik Erikson, The Life Cycle Completed.)

etic: culture-common constructs from a perspective of surveying the group or culture from the outside. Useful for examining many cultures and comparing them. Structure created by the analyst. Criteria are considered universal.

equilibration: the process of organic and intellectual self-regulation, which may be either retroactive or proactive. Piaget believes that cognitive development is

primarily the work of equilibration (1970, p. 725). The stages of equilibrium are the cognitive structures that characterize the Piagetian stages. Theories of Human Development: A Comparative Approach. Michael Green. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

faith is a triadic and dynamic relationship between self, others and the centers of value, power and authority in our lives. (Fowler) Or, faith is a relationship to transcendent centers of power, value and authority.

fireside: A home meeting offering hospitality and explanation/discussion of the Bahá'í teachings on an individual or group basis. The term came to be used in the 1930's and was the preferred way of spreading the Bahá'í Faith. (Will C. van den Hoonaard, "The Transplantation of non-Western religious movements to Western societies: The Making of the Bahá'í Community of Canada.")

formal operational thinking is thinking about thinking; a logic of propositions. It transcends empirical experience. Reality is a subset of possibility. It transcends embeddedness in the concrete world of objects. This transcendence is manifest for Kohlberg in 3 aspects of social perspective taking: interpersonal perspective taking becomes mutual and a third-person perspective becomes natural.

functions: Functions are the transformational activities, for example, assimilation and accommodation, through which structures emerge. Manual for Faith Development Research, p. 3. Fowler adds to this the function of faith in human becoming. p. 5.

generalized other: A term referring to taking the role of an hypothetical observer, or society at large. Characteristic of Perspective taking at Stage Three and beyond.

genetic epistemology: the natural emergence of each stage of cognition. (Piaget)

global stage: A general reference which refers to an approximate stage score, not focusing on any one part—for stage score or faith stage. Thus, Stage Three is a global score which encompasses 2.7 through 3.399.

Guardian: Shoghi Effendi Rabbani, appointed as Guardian of the Bahá'í community by his grandfather's ('Abdu'l-Bahá) Will and Testament. He served in this role from 1921–1957 when he died.

Hands of the Cause: "Chief Stewards" of the Bahá'í Faith appointed by the Guardian, Shoghi Effendi to stimulate the teaching of the religion and to safeguard its unity from division. Dr. Muhajir, a Hand of the Cause, is mentioned in Chapter Five as helping to inaugurate the series of events which resulted in mass teaching in India.

hermeneutics: the science of the interpretation of texts

hierarchical: the characteristic of developmental stages in which later stages show more differentiation, more integration, more complexity than earlier ones. They remap knowing structures in ways that are qualitatively different but perform similar functions as previously.

hierarchical progression: More advanced states replace previous operations by reintegrating thought structures in a new whole. There is a hierarchical preference within the individual to prefer solutions at the highest level available to him. (Lawrence Kohlberg, "Continuities in Childhood and Adult Development," in Life-

Span Developmental Psychology, ed. Baites and Schaie. Canada: Academic Press, Inc. 1973.)

individuation: A term used in different ways by different psychoanalysts. Mahler *et al* (1975) use it as the development of ego skills from six months to three years of age to effect inner separation of the self from the love object, thus hyphenating this process as separation-individuation. Menaker (1980, 1982) sees individuation as the progressive development, differentiation, and new integrations of the self accomplished through the will in constant interaction with one's social and cultural environment throughout life. (Alan Roland, 340)

invariant sequence: Stages are not skipped or rearranged in the course of development. Movement is unidirectional

interviewer bias: Systematic differences from interviewer to interviewer or systematic error on the part of interviewer may occur at many stages of the research: selection of the sample, asking of questions, eliciting and recording of responses. The dangers of bias cannot be overcome by choosing impartial interviewers. And much of what is called interviewer bias can simply be interviewer differences which are inherent in the human being. The researcher needs to apply a systematic and conscious approach to consistency in the conduct of the interview by trying not to influence the respondents deliberately or carelessly in distorting the answers they receive. (Sellitz et al, Research Methods in Social Relations, 570-573)

loose cultural pattern: behavior can deviate a great deal from group norms.

Kali-yuga: a Hindu reference to the last of the four ages that successively deteriorate in quality of life during a cycle of the world's existence.

"knowing" styles used by Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule include (from Women's Ways of Knowing), *Received knowers* - reliance on authority (whom-ever they be) for a single view of the truth, including self-knowledge. (p. 43). *Subjective knowers:* placement from silence and reliance upon external authorities eventuates in a new conception of truth as personal, private and subjectively known or intuited (p. 54). *Procedural knowers:* judge truth based upon objective criteria which may involve several sources and interpretations based upon structural analysis. Form predominates over content (93 and 95). *Procedural knowers* are practical, pragmatic problem solvers (99). *Constructed knowers* take responsibility for their own knowing and balance the voices of experts with for their own judgment in constructing and reconstructing frames of reference. They strive to translate commitments into action. (138-9, 150).

Manifestation of God: The Founders of the world's great religions, such as Krishna, Buddha, Zoroaster, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, the Báb, and Bahá'u'lláh, (and others from prerecorded history), through whom God reveals His qualities, communicates His guidance, and provides the spiritual impulse for humanity's continuing evolution. Bahá'í Canada, May/June 1989.

Mashriqu'l-Adhkar: An Arabic term signifying the "dawning place of the mention of God" designating Bahá'í Houses of Worship and their dependencies. The central structure is a worship hall surrounded by social institutions designed to serve the surrounding community. Such Houses of Worship exist presently in the following places: Wilmette, Illinois; Frankfurt, Germany; Panama City, Panama; New Delhi,

India: Kampala, Uganda; Sydney, Australia; and Apia, Western Samoa.

maturity is defined as increasing differentiation and integration of the reciprocal processes of assimilation and accommodation.

National Spiritual Assembly: Paramount, nine-member administrative bodies of the Bahá'í Faith on the national level. Elected yearly by delegates from their respective territories.

Nineteen-Day Feast: The first day of every Bahá'í month is celebrated by a gathering to share the Bahá'í Sacred Writings, consultation on community affairs and socializing. The Bahá'í service of community worship. The Bahá'í calendar consists of nineteen months of nineteen days each.

participant observer: Research conducted from within the community being studied.

perspective-taking: The way in which an individual constructs relationships between self and others. If **mutual interpersonal**, we can speak of "I see you seeing me; I see you seeing me seeing you." This form creates a kind of objectivity regarding self and others. The next stage in the construction of relationships is **third-person perspective taking**. The individual constructs an object from which both self and others are viewed. In this act of self-transcendence, the subject begins to construct the perspective of the other on the self. "I see you seeing me; I construct the me I think you see." Such a perspective is dispassionate and inclusive of both the perspectives of self and others. (Fowler, *Stages of Faith*, 72-73)

phenomenological research: Interest in what is present in the awareness of persons, not in the objects they are describing. It refocuses inquiry on the descriptions of experience people share with an eye to describing the structuring activities of that experience. Therefore, it often uses open-ended interviews since it is looking for "meaning units" in long transcriptions of those interviews. Such research is both descriptive and qualitative. (Polkinghorne, 1989)

pioneer/pioneering: A Bahá'í pioneer is one who settles in another city, state or country in order to teach the Bahá'í Faith in that community and to establish or firm up a Bahá'í community in the adopted locale.

qualitative research: A perspective on the human realm rather than a category of research design. From this perspective, richness is related to structures of meaning using natural language descriptions in investigation and in results. **Descriptive** and **qualitative** are overlapping categories, with most descriptive studies done from a qualitative perspective—one which does not use nominal variables in developing statistical data. Phenomenological research is descriptive and qualitative. (Polkinghorne, 1989.)

qualitative stages: differences in thinking which do similar operations at each of the different stages

quasi-experimental design: One which makes inferences about relationships among variables, though with less certainty than in true experimental designs. These require manipulation of the independent variable, provide safeguards against alternative influences that might account for the results obtained. (Miller, 1970)

quasi-experimental research method: experimenter does not apply experimental manipulation nor random assignment of subjects to conditions because events have already occurred or they are inherently not manipulable. Causal statements become correlational statements. Crucial to have a theoretical model as a foundation for an empirical study. The model will help inform you in meaningfully interpreting the results of the study. Because randomization is not always possible, it becomes crucial to argue for the "equivalence" of the two groups even if they do not derive from the identical populations of subjects. Match the groups on key variables that are critical to the understanding of the study. Think carefully about potential sources of error and alternative explanations to account for findings.

random sampling: Subjects are drawn from the potential pool so that each member of the population has an equal chance of being selected.

replication: Reproduces the original study as closely as possible with a new group. Replications of the original study which produce results consistent with those of the original study can be called successful but need not extend the generality of the underlying relationship investigated in the original. Most replications are more or less imprecise in terms of when, how and by whom the study is conducted. Replication is thus relative. (Rosenthal, "Replication in Behavioral Research" in Replication Research in the Social Sciences, ed. James W. Neuliep, Sage Publications, 1991)

Ridvan: Bahá'í festival of twelve days in length celebrating Bahá'u'lláh's announcement of his fulfillment of the teachings of the Báb. That announcement was delivered to those who came to pay their respects and bid him good-bye in a garden outside of Baghdad from April 21 through May 2, 1863. The event is recorded in Bahá'í scriptures and becomes the major Bahá'í Holy Day period in the calendar year and the time of election of the local and national governing councils.

sampling: Nonprobability sampling or practical sampling (used in this research) does not provide any basis for estimating how far the sample results are likely to deviate from the true population figures. In such cases, the purpose of the study is not to generalize to the population as a whole. You can sample for ideas rather than to estimate population values. In such cases reliance upon internal consistency of the data and its coherence with other tests is more important than its consistency with the general population of, for instance, Bahá'ís. Its importance is in studying relationships among variables. (Research Methods in Social Relations, 1976)

scheduled castes: Those placed on the government schedule for receiving special social benefits. In common usage the term has become synonymous with 'untouchable' or harijan. (Garlinton, 1975, 79)

skewness: Are data symmetrically distributed around a central point?

Spiritual Assembly: A council of nine persons elected annually from among the registered adult membership of the Bahá'í community on both local and national levels which form the organizational units of Bahá'í community life.

stages are equilibrated positions in the relational structures of an individual subject and his environment. A stage change has occurred when enough accommodation has been undertaken to require a transformation in the operational pattern of intellectual operations. (Piaget)

statistics is the theory and method of analyzing quantitative data obtained from samples of observations in order to study and compare sources of variance of phenomena, to help make decisions to accept or reject hypothesized relations between the phenomena and to aid in making reliable inferences from empirical observations.

structure: The patterns of mental operations by which content is addressed, appropriated, understood and transformed. (*Manual*, 43)

structural stage according to Piaget is "an integrated set of operational structures that constitute the thought processes of a person at a given time." (*Stages*, 49) Also, a system of transformations.

structures of faith: Structures are those patterns of cognitive/affective operation by which content is understood, appropriated, manipulated, expressed and transformed. They are the lenses through which we "see" and understand ourselves and the world. For Fowler, structures give coherence and order to the ways people organize their lives around transcendent values. (*Manual*, p. 4.) Structures are integrated, but for purposes of discussion and clarification, Fowler has designated the aspects of faith as a way of accessing the data of the interview and translating it into structural forms. The aspects make it possible to talk about faith structures in specific ways via their functions.

tacit: Knowledge acquired informally as opposed to learned in school. Experiential knowledge learned from situations. Also called practical knowledge. (Horgan and Simeon, 1991) The way Fowler uses the term, "tacit" is unexamined. From Michael Polanyi, an individual cannot give an account for how he knows something, yet it plays a part in guiding and shaping choices. (*Stages* 161)

text: any phenomenon of experience treated as symbol which requires interpretation.; third person perspective. Paden, Chapter 8.

teleology: All developmental theories are based on the assumption that not only does development happen but that it should happen.

tight cultural pattern: behavior must conform exactly to group norms

Universal House of Justice: The supreme legislative body of the Bahá'í Faith whose headquarters are located in Haifa, Israel. Established in the writings of Bahá'u'lláh, but first elected in 1963.

"ultimate environment" for Fowler. The largest theater of action in which we act out our lives—the way we arrange the scenery and grasp the plot in our lives' plays. Changes as we move through life. Ultimate environment engages the imagination in constructing ideas, values and images of the centers of our lives. (*Stages*, 29) Fowler emphasizes that such images engage our feelings as well; this "affective" power adds to their centering power. Examples of such images of the ultimate environment would be "the Kingdom of God" or, for Bahá'ís the World Order of Bahá'u'lláh. Such images need not be religious and they need not be conscious. Even to imagine a random arrangement of the values and powers operating to shape our lives on this planet is an "ultimate environment." Ultimate environment also refers to the covenantal relationship one has with one's faith. Fowler bases his term on Paul Tillich's use of **ultimate concern**, as the centering point of our real worship, our true devotion.

validity: Capacity of a measuring instrument to predict what it was designed to predict.
(Sellitz, et al, 1976)

world view: Source of values and principles transmitted from generation to generation
which operate to organize daily life.

WORKS CONSULTED

The following list of books, journals, articles, monographs is organized by five broad subject categories: Faith Development, Psycho-Social Development, Sociology, Cross-Cultural Studies, Bahá'í works.

A. Faith Development includes both Fowler's own writings as well as those of others reviewing his work, adding to his work and dissertations applying his work. Fowler's theological roots are also included in this section. A few additional works in religious development which were useful are added.

B. Psycho-Social Development includes fields related to faith development, cognitive development, general works of psychology and human development.

C. Sociological works are foundational for the theory and practice of the discipline within which this research is conducted. Few of these are used directly in the dissertation except for those dealing with methodology.

D. Cross-Cultural works are both theoretical and empirical, but mostly the latter. They favor Eastern/Western research projects and theory related to these. The foundational works for my study in India, both sociological and psycho-social, are included here.

E. Bahá'í works are divided into three sub-groups:

1. The first are general works written by Bahá'ís which combine primary and secondary sources. They cover historical, thematic and developmental issues.
2. The next relate specifically to the Bahá'í community in Canada—its history and sociology.
3. The third subdivision concerns works which explain the Bahá'í community in India.

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