BAHA'I WORLD FAITH: REDEFINITION OF RELIGION

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Members of the Baha'i World Faith consistently differed from Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and non-affiliates in the structure of religious behavior and its relation to personality. By factor analysis of 35 religious behaviors of 112 Baha'is, five facets or components of their total religious life were found: Cognitive, Experiential, Self-defining, Administrative, and Meditative. Evidence suggesting possible psychosocial functions of these components was considered. Strength on all five components at once—total, balanced religious activity—was found only in the Baha'i group. This unique Baha'i pattern in the religious realm was correlated with a personal orientation composed of World-minded, Spontaneous, and Adaptive behaviors, which was found only in the Baha'i group. A deviation from total religious participation is associated with disruption of the unique personality pattern, and vice versa. These findings are also discussed in terms of a concept of community.

To investigate a new religion with mostly first-generation participants, members of the Baha'i World Faith were included in the sample in our research into the interaction between religious behaviors and personality characteristics (Keene, 1967a). The Baha'i group, as it turned out, provided the greatest contrasts in every analysis made. Baha'is consistently differed from Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and non-affiliates in the structure of their religious behavior and in the relation of that behavior to personality variables. These unexpected and hence interesting results raise the question of whether the Baha'i Faith is, in fact, a truly different religion. Do Baha'is have unique characteristics not found in the other religious groups?

Previous analysis of total sample: how did the Baha'i group differ?

Religion factors. The earlier research involved the factor analysis of 35 items assessing religious behavior and attitudes of subjects representing five groups: Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Baha'is, and non-affiliates. Four factors were discovered in the overall sample comprising the five groups.

(1) **Salient/Irrelevant**: the importance one ascribes to his religion, and the degree to which he participates in it. This large first factor (accounting for 54 per cent of the common variance) could be regarded as a general factor. (2) **Spiritual/Secular**:

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whether or not one believes in the afterlife, the soul, and God. (3) **Skeptical/Approving**: how skeptical as opposed to how approving one is of religion. (4) **Orthodox/Personal**: whether religion is perceived and experienced in the context of doctrine and ritual or in terms of such personal experiences as religious conversion and serious meditation about ultimate concerns.

On these religion factors derived from the total sample, the Baha'i sample was exceptional in two ways:

1. *Higher religious scores.* The Baha'is scored higher than Jews, Catholics, and Protestants on the religion factors: Salient, Spiritual, Approving, and Personal behaviors with regard to religion. (Keene, 1967a, Table 2)

2. *Greater religious homogeneity.* Although they were the most demographically diverse of the five samples in terms of race, nationality, and religious background, the Baha'is had the lowest variance on the Salient/Irrelevant and Spiritual/Secular factors, showing a relatively unified position compared with a great diversity of opinion and practice in the other groups. (Keene, 1967a, Table 3)

Personality-religion relations. The research also factor analyzed 78 personality items, deriving four factors:

Neurotic/Adaptive
Spontaneous/Inhibited
Worldminded/Ethnocentric
Self-accommodating/Group-accommodating behaviors[1]

The Baha'i sample showed unique patterns of relation between these personality factors and the religion factors:

1. In the general correlation between the Neurotic/Adaptive and the Orthodox/Personal factors, the Baha'is were most characterized by the combination of Adaptive (non-Neurotic) behavior and a Personal approach to religion.

2. Participation in religious activity (Salient) with a Personal and Approving outlook on religion was related to a combination of personality factors found in the Baha'i group, but not in the other groups. This personal orientation unique to the Baha'is is a combination of Worldminded, Spontaneous, and Adaptive behaviors. Since this personality pattern was associated with specifically Baha'i religious activity, it may be suggested that this relationship constitutes a new definition of religion in terms of a unique personality correlate.

Unique and Unifying Structure and Function?

This paper is concerned with the question of the structure of Baha'i religious activity and such functions of that activity as may be implied by correlation with personality variables. As mentioned above, the general religion factors accounted for a very small portion of the variance of the Baha'is. This means that the structure isolated in the religion factors in the general sample has little meaning for Baha'is. A factor analysis of only the Baha'i data on the same items would presumably identify a new set of dimensions which would express the most meaningful structure of Baha'i religious activity. If these new Baha'i religion factors are different from those found in the general sample both in their definition and in their relation to personality variables, our notion that the Baha'i Faith is a unique religion will be supported.

The nature of the Baha'i Faith

The history, principles, administration, and present status of the Baha'i Faith [2] suggest ways in which the struc-

[1] The Baha'is were most Worldminded, and the Catholics and Protestants were most Ethnocentric; non-affiliates were more Self-accommodating, while the Baha'is were more Group-accommodating.

[2] Throughout this paper, those facts and figures about the Baha'i Faith which were

ture of Baha'i religious behavior should differ from the general religion factors found for the other groups.

Baha'is view history as the story of mankind's social and spiritual evolution, a process in which the founders of the major religions of the world have performed two functions. First, they have created the vision and inspiration of great civilizations by reaffirming necessary spiritual values such as love, justice, and unity. Second, their social teachings and laws have guided the growth of societies, being geared to particular cultures, problems, and levels of understanding. Thus, Baha'is accept all the major world religions as valid and authentic and as steps in the evolution of civilization. Baha'is believe that the current chapter of this developmental story is the approaching unification of the entire human race and the eventual unfoldment of a world commonwealth based on Baha'i concepts. Baha'is see the unifying efficacy of these concepts demonstrated in the history of the Baha'i Faith, which has maintained its unity without schism since its founding in 1863.

The principles enunciated by Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Baha'i Faith, revolve around the concept of the oneness of mankind and are intended to remove barriers to world unity. Some of the major teachings may be summarized briefly as follows: truth must be investigated independently, in spite of custom, prejudice, and tradition; religion must be the cause of unity; religious truth is not absolute but relative; religion must be in accord with science and reason; prejudices which divide people must be systematically eliminated; all should be educated to their maximum capacity; men and women are equal; an international auxiliary language, world government, and world peace are primary aims.

The purpose of the Baha'i administrative order is to implement these principles. Unlike the institutions and laws of other religious organizations which evolved after the lifetime of their founder, those of the Baha'i Faith were laid down specifically and explicitly by the founder himself, who appointed a successor to direct Baha'i efforts toward the eventual establishment of the highest Baha'i administrative unit, the Universal House of Justice (elected in Haifa, Israel in 1963). The Baha'i Faith has developed in the past 100 years through a series of plans in which the cooperation among Baha'is to meet specific goals has been coordinated on a world level. The Baha'i Faith now has members in 311 independent countries, territories, and islands, in which over 6,000 local Baha'i institutions have been formed. Its literature has been translated into 397 languages for Baha'is in some 28,000 localities throughout the world. These indices of Baha'i growth roughly tripled in size from 1953 to 1963, and Baha'is expect the number of their local and national institutions and of localities in which their members reside to triple again by 1973.

If, as indicated above, unity is so important in Baha'i thought and activity, then it would be expected that a study of the structure of Baha'i religious behavior might increase our understanding of how the various kinds of religious activity can function together to create unity on the psychological and social levels. Thus, our initial question of whether the Baha'i Faith is a truly different religion has resolved itself into two expectations about the structure of religious behavior for Baha'is. First, the Baha'i religion factors should differ from the religion factors found in the general sample in both structure and function as inferred from their relations with personality variables. Second, the

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not derived directly from our data were gleaned from the sources listed in the references and from interviews with Baha'is.

TABLE 1

COMPONENTS OF BAHA'I RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

Variables	Factors and Loadings[a]					
	1	2	3	4	5	h^2
Factor 1: Cognitive[b]						
I believe in the soul (an intangible, "spiritual" entity in each person).	*.83*	.13	-.01	-.10	.02	.68
I believe in the existence of God (for example, a creating power in the universe greater than man's conscious will, or, the unknowable essence of the universe).	*.82*	.01	-.06	.08	-.03	.74
Ceremonies and rituals are the most important part of religion.	*-.49*	*.36*	-.14	-.19	.08	.34
Questioning the validity of your own religion	*-.39*	.27	-.26	.18	-.20	.27
Feeling respect for your priest, minister, rabbi, or religious governing body	*.34*	.16	-.12	.00	-.04	.18
Before marriage, people should be chaste (not have sexual intercourse).	.30	.05	-.03	.20	.17	.24
Factor 2: Experiential						
Overcoming bad habits through religious experience and insight	.08	*.55*	.00	-.01	*.32*	.53
Seeing the wisdom of renunciation or sacrifice (giving up something you seem to want badly now in order to gain some long run benefits)	.28	*.50*	.31	-.05	-.21	.43
Meditating seriously about the ultimate concerns in your life	-.02	*.48*	.00	-.17	*.42*	.45
Finding relief from physical pains or ailments through the support of religious faith, conviction, or experience	.30	*.46*	.00	-.06	.12	.38
Having "mystical experiences" (such as a feeling of the presence of the divine, or a sudden feeling of divine guidance, etc.)	-.13	*.45*	.12	.05	.26	.36
Obeying the laws of the divine revelation in your religion	.04	*.34*	-.12	.22	-.02	.19
Affecting your overall appearance because of religious feelings (wearing habits as nuns do, or skull caps as some Jews do, etc.)	-.19	*.34*	.05	-.02	-.15	.14
Having a strong sense of meaning and purpose in life	.28	.30	.13	.25	-.07	.32
Doing "good works" is just as important and necessary as being "faithful."	.15	.27	-.07	-.17	.13	.12
Level of formal religious education (low/high)	-.05	-.18	.09	-.06	.03	.07
Respecting nonbelievers in your religion as much as believers	.13	.15	.13	-.11	-.09	.05

Factor 3: Self-defining						
S is not a member of the same religion as one or both of his parents.	-.03	.03	*.70*	.01	.00	.50
Have you ever changed to or converted to a religion as a result of some emotional and/or attitude-changing experience? Yes x No _	.08	.01	*.59*	-.03	.06	.37
Parents teaching you by living the religious teachings themselves Yes _ No x	-.05	-.08	*.45*	.06	.03	.21
Motivating your daily activities with religious feelings and ideas	.15	*.33*	*.36*	.19	.18	.53
Wearing or carrying religious symbols (such as holy books, crosses, rings, pendants, etc.)	-.25	.30	*-.35*	.26	.06	.29
Faith and reason are ultimately conflicting.	-.19	.21	-.27	-.18	.08	.12
The primary force in religion is acceptance of doctrine and creed; inner, personal experience is not most important.	.02	.16	-.26	-.06	-.23	.14
Factor 4: Administrative						
Attending religious services and meetings	.00	-.09	-.14	*.79*	.20	.78
Contributing to funds (such as those supporting religious institutions)	.04	-.01	.09	*.72*	-.16	.48
Studying and meditating on sacred scripture—the holy books in your faith	-.06	*.35*	.07	*.59*	.10	.59
Having regular periods of religious fasting	-.01	-.01	.18	*.58*	-.20	.29
Living in such a way that you would be relatively prepared for death if you were to be faced with it unexpectedly	.03	.24	.05	.26	.12	.22
Factor 5: Meditative						
Seeking help or guidance from God (that is, the creating power in the universe greater than man's conscious will)	-.03	.15	.08	.01	*.71*	.61
Praying alone	-.08	.05	-.03	.10	*.63*	.43
I believe the soul continues to exist in some way after the physical body dies.	*.36*	.02	-.22	.00	*.49*	.56
Attacking verbally an evil person	.20	-.01	-.29	.08	*-.43*	.30
Feeling committed to your religion	.24	.15	.10	.11	*.34*	.38
Questioning the validity and usefulness of other religions	-.13	.01	.19	.04	-.29	.13
Factor Variance [c]	2.70	2.40	1.97	2.40	2.29	12.41
Per cent Common Variance	22.9	20.4	16.8	20.4	19.4	100.0
Per Cent Estimated Common Variance	15.0	13.3	10.9	13.3	12.7	65.3

[a] Italicized loadings represent ten or more per cent of the variance of the variable.

[b] The factor names are adjectives describing components or modes of religious behavior among Baha'is.

[c] Due to the oblique rotation, the sum of the factor variances only approximates the sum of the communalities.

Baha'i religion factors may illustrate how a religion can function to create unity.

Components of Religious Behavior for Baha'is

In the sample of 112 Baha'is, the mean age was 36 years old (s.d. = 13 years); the sexes were about equally represented; and about one third attended their last year of school in high school, one third in undergraduate college, and one fourth in graduate school. Using just this Baha'i sample, correlation matrices were computed for the same 78 personality items (including age, sex, education, and socio-economic status) and 35 religion items used in the previous analysis of the total sample. The religion correlation matrix was factor analyzed after communalities were inserted in the diagonals by the squared multiple correlation method (Harman, 1960). The five largest principal axis factors were extracted, accounting for 65 per cent of the estimated communality of the religion variables. The sixth factor was not extracted because its variance was considerably smaller than the variance of the fifth factor. The five factors were rotated to Kaiser and Dickman's binormamin criterion of oblique simple structure (Harman, 1960).

Factor 1 seems to deal with the *Cognitive* component of Baha'i life, involving religious ideas and concepts commonly held in religious groups, including the Baha'is. It is defined primarily by belief in the soul and in God. Only in the Baha'i group is this factor significantly correlated ($r = .37$, $p < .02$) with Adaptive behavior in the personality factors mentioned above. In addition, many of the Baha'i social teachings not included in this factor analysis might have a heavy Cognitive element in them.

Factor 2 is concerned not with beliefs, but with experiences. For a Baha'i, this *Experiential* mode seems to represent his religion dealing with problems and solutions which are primarily daily and personal. This factor reflects the Baha'i belief that the Baha'i Faith is not only a religion and society, but also a way of life. Baha'is think that it is easy to express good ideas but not to put them into action. Hence, Baha'is prize an "abundance of deeds" and "fewness of words", and they feel that a happy and productive private life and personal conduct in line with Baha'i teachings are strong evidence for the veracity of Baha'i principles.

Our label for factor 3 is based on the inference that religious conversion may be regarded here as an instance of formation of identity, or at least of religious identity. The *Self-defining* person tends to be a member of a different religion than either of his parents, usually as a result of changing to a new religion. Unwilling to have his parents' religious life define his own, and unwilling to wear religious symbols identifying him with others, such a person may be seen as one who acts more than he is acted upon—a pattern associated with motivating one's daily activities with religious feelings and ideas. This factor is no doubt related to the large first-generation membership in the Baha'i Faith.

Factor 4, *Administrative*, reflects the organizational activity of the Baha'i community. This is not to be confused with a purely leadership or clerical function. There is no professional clergy in the Baha'i Faith. Participating in certain regular Baha'i meetings and contributing to the Baha'i fund are part of the duty of the individual Baha'i. Other such activities include voting and serving on elected or appointed administrative bodies. In addition, the informal aspect of Baha'i community life is expressed in factor 4 because gatherings of Baha'is are viewed also as spiritual and social in character. Fasting is related to this community life in that Baha'is in all parts of the world fast during daylight hours for one Baha'i month (19 days) each year. Studying

scripture is likely to be associated with all the above activities.

The *Meditative* part of religious activity in factor 5 is defined by seeking help or guidance from God and by praying alone. Baha'u'llah encouraged daily prayer, which involves the self-reflection and self-evaluation necessary to concentrate energy on the achievement of the individual and collective goals of Baha'is. Worldminded attitudes in the personality factors mentioned above are associated with the Meditative ($r = .29$, $p < .05$) and Administrative ($r = .36$, $p < .02$) aspects of religious activity only in the Baha'i group.

Group scores on Baha'i-derived factors

Ratings of individuals or groups on these dimensions would reflect the relative strength or weakness of these facets of religious activity. We have samples of 50 subjects each from five religious groups: Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Baha'is, and non-affiliates. Each of these samples was matched subject by subject with the other samples on age, sex, education, and socio-economic status. Standard factor scores were computed for each group. In evaluating these scores in Table 2 we might keep in mind that each group may perceive the test items differently, and that these factors were derived from the Baha'i sample.

TABLE 2

STANDARD FACTOR SCORES OF FIVE RELIGIOUS GROUPS ON THE BAHA'I RELIGION FACTORS

	Jews	Cath.	Prot.	Baha'i	Non's
Cognitive	-.39	.46	.26	1.03	-1.36
Experiential	-.25	.44	-.33	.74	-.60
Self-defining	-.32	-.73	-.26	.61	.71
Administrative	-.24	.64	-.09	1.29	-1.59
Meditative	-.72	.21	.24	1.28	-1.01

In comparison with the Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant matched samples, the Baha'i matched sample scored highest and positively on all five components. According to the Scheffé method for post-hoc comparisons, the Baha'i scores are significantly greater than the next highest scores on the Meditative ($p < .001$), Self-defining ($p < .001$), and Administrative ($p. < .05$) factors, than the second highest score on the Cognitive factor ($p. < .01$), and than the third highest score on the Experiential factor ($p < .001$). In other words, it is typical for a Baha'i to believe in the soul and God (Cognitive), to participate in Baha'i community life (Administrative), to Meditate, to see the personal and daily relevance of his religion (Experiential), and to have converted to his present faith (Self-defining). On each of these factors, as on three of the four factors derived from the total sample, the Baha'is scored highest, followed by Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and non-affiliates—in that order on most factors.

Comparison of Baha'i and general factors

To compare these Baha'i religion factors with the factors derived from the total sample, Tucker's coefficients of congruence (Harman, 1960) were computed between the two sets. According to Tucker's criterion for congruence, no factor in the Baha'i set was sufficiently similar to a factor in the general set to be considered congruent with, or a repetition of, that factor. Hence, the Baha'i structure of religious behavior is different from the structure found in the other groups.

PSYCHOSOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE COMPONENTS OF BAHA'I RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

Among the many possible psychological and social functions which religious behaviors may perform, our main interest here is the way religion, especially each component of Baha'i religious be-

TABLE 3a

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE BAHA'I RELIGION FACTORS AND PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Religion Factors					Personality Variables	
Self-defining	Experiential	Administrative	Cognitive	Meditative		
.34					It would (not) be a mistake for us to encourage certain racial groups to become well educated because they might use their knowledge against us.	.41
.30					not Feeling that people do not tell you what they really think of you	.38
.26			.21	.23	Night-time dreams often show things that may soon happen to you or to some one close to you.	
.25	.20	.24			Relating your individual life to the whole of human history	.41
.23					It would be a good idea if all the races were to intermarry.	
.22					Thinking of unusual angles and aspects of a question	
.22					Night-time dreams have a special significance and meaning.	
.21					not Living up to your expectations of yourself	
.19			-.19		Changing your viewpoints because you trust your feelings more than logical reasoning	
	.39				Feeling full of energy	.32
	.31				Expressing your feelings easily	.39
	.30				Working too hard	
	.28				Remembering most of the details in a night dream	
	.27				Going on quite serenely in your own mind if people think poorly of you	
	.26				Having experiences in which you are filled with wonder, awe, or fascination	.34
	.26			.25	Any healthy individual regardless of race or religion should be allowed to live wherever he wants to in the world.	
	.25	.22			Letting people see what you are really like	.35
	.24				Remembering having dreamed the night before	
	.23				Finding enough energy to face your difficulties	.39
	.22				Controlling your feelings	

TABLE 3b

LOADINGS OF PERSONALITY ITEMS ON FIRST PERSONALITY-RELIGION INTERACTION

	.21				not Showing anger in an argument	
	.20				Getting along well with the opposite sex	.35
	.20				Having vivid dreams which disturb your sleep	
	.19				Admitting your faults and mistakes to yourself	
	.19				Changing your opinion on small matters unexpectedly	
		.29			It would be better to be a citizen of the world than of any particular country.	
		.27			Living as you please rather than as someone else pleases	
		.26		.19	Feeling friendly toward most people	
		.26	.20	.23	not Getting upset easily	
		.25			not Avoiding helping people who don't like you	
		.22			Putting others at ease	.56
		.20			Proceeding on the assumption that things usually tend to turn out all right	
		.19			not Thinking of the question, "Who am I?" when you act differently in different situations	
	.22	.21	.37	.19	not Damaging your sense of self-respect	
		.20	.29		not Feeling lonely even when you are with people	.36
			.29	.26	not Drinking alcoholic beverages	
			.28		not Having spells of the blues	.32
			.27		not Feeling restless	
			.25		Making decisions easily	
		.20	.25		Getting enough praise	
			.24		not Having your moods alternate from happy to sad without your control	.33
			.22		Understanding the meaning or message behind fairy tales, folk tales, and myths	.33
	.20	.19	.21	.20	not Feeling that you don't care about anything even though everything is going fine for you	
			.21		not Regretting afterwards things you have done	
			.19		Getting to sleep easily at bed time	
			.19		not Wasting time	
			.23	.32	not Feeling left out of things	.38
.21				.30	not Having your feelings hurt when someone deliberately insults you	
.23				.24	Standing up for what you think is right	.43
				.23	not Having unimportant thoughts run through your mind and bother you	.34
				.22	not Feeling like a failure when you hear of the success of someone you know well	.36
				.21	It would (not) be a dangerous procedure if every person in the world had equal rights which were guaranteed by an international charter.	
				.19	Sleeping soundly at night	

havior, functions to create psychological and social unity.

We first correlated, in each of the five groups studied, the five Baha'i religion factors with the 74 personality items. The five groups differed considerably on the selection of personality items correlated with any given religion component. This supports the notion that the same general kind of religious behavior can function differently in different groups.

Let us now turn to the psychosocial functions that the five religion components perform in the Baha'i group. Table 3a reports every correlation significant at least at the .05 level between the Baha'i religion factors and the 74 personality variables in the Baha'i group.

Social vs. personal functions

Chiefly characterized by the process of adopting a new religion, the Self-defining component functions on the simplest level to increase the membership of the Baha'i Faith and to bring new members into contact with the functioning of the other four components. Only in the Baha'i group is the Self-defining component correlated with the belief that the education and intermarriage of all races is a good idea.

In comparing the Experiential and and Administrative components of Baha'i religious participation, we find the personality items correlated only with the Experiential factor are a collection of behaviors describing aspects of personal life on a day by day level, such as feeling full of energy, working too hard, remembering dreams, and admitting one's faults. These relations suggest that the Experiential component deals with the daily, personal relevance of religion. In contrast, the Administrative component correlates with items which are more social in nature, such as identity as a citizen of the world, feeling friendly, putting others at ease, and getting enough praise. It appears that the religious behaviors defining the Experiential component (see Table 1) function mainly in the personal lives of Baha'is, while Administrative religious behaviors primarily affect social relationships.

The personal and social emphases also appear in the Cognitive and Meditative components respectively. Behaviors such as not damaging one's sense of self-respect, making decisions easily, and getting to sleep easily, to mention only three, suggest that the belief in the soul and God in the Cognitive component is most related to personal functioning. On the other hand, a social emphasis in the Meditative component is reflected in items such as the following: not feeling left out of things, not feeling hurt by deliberate insults, standing up for what one thinks is right, not being bothered by unimportant thoughts, not feeling like a failure when a friend is successful, and sleeping soundly at night. There is a sense of strength, independence, or confidence in this pattern of primarily social behaviors, which can be described simply—to abstain momentarily from psychological jargon—as "peace of mind". This kind of personal demeanor in social relationships seems to be largely related to the Meditative component of religious activity.

Thus, the Administrative and Meditative components are most related to the social sphere while the Cognitive and Experiential components are most concerned with personal functioning.

Emotional vs. structural functions

The question of why two components are needed in each of these areas (social and personal) can be answered by comparing the two social components with each other (Administrative and Meditative), and the two personal components with each other (Cognitive and Experiential). On the basis of the correlated personality variables in Table 3, it appears that the Meditative and Experien-

tial components are most concerned with the emotional aspect of social and personal life, while the Administrative and Cognitive components function to provide structure or organization in the social and personal spheres (see Figure 1).

The personality items correlated with the Experiential component clearly deal with the flow of emotional energy. We mentioned above that the Meditative component is related to emotional strength in social relationships, and that the Administrative component is related to the organization of the Baha'i community. In the list of items most related to the Cognitive component, the predominance of behaviors *not* done suggests that the organization fostered by the Cognitive component acts to control or discipline behavior. The reader may find, however, that the items correlated with this component do not unmistakably suggest its proposed controlling or organizing function. More research is necessary to clarify and expand this analysis.

FIGURE I

	Organizational	Emotional
Personal	COGNITIVE	EXPERIENTIAL
Social	ADMINISTRATIVE	MEDITATIVE

Four-fold integration

The four components of religious behavior discussed above seem to function together. We might speculate that the energy generated by the emotional components would lack context and goal orientation without the direction provided by the organizational components. For example, the Administrative component provides an organized social setting in which emotional strength derived from the Meditative component can operate. Similarly, the emotion and behavior expressed in the Experiential component are organized and controlled by the Cognitive component. On the other hand, without the emotional components, Baha'is might not see meaning in the organization and might not be strongly motivated to achieve their goals.

The personal and social components are also important. If the personal religion components operate to improve the personal organization and functioning of an individual, the absence of these components would probably lower the effectiveness of the individual in Baha'i group life. Without the social components, the Baha'i group could probably have little effect on any phase of society.

Thus the absence of any one of the Baha'i religion components may be regarded as a deficit in psychosocial functioning. This leads to the conclusion that activity in *all* of the Baha'i religion components is necessary for the individual and the group to function together harmoniously in the Baha'i community. In particular, we would expect that a Baha'i who is active in all five religion components would be characterized by a different pattern of personality items than one participating in less than all five components. We now turn to some evidence in which this is the case, thus supporting the above conclusion.

BAHA'I PERSONALITY-RELIGION INTERACTION

In order to see how *combinations* of the Baha'i religion components were related to the personality items, a more complex correlational method was employed. Using the personality questionnaire items and the Baha'i religion factors as input variables, canonical variate patterns were generated by a canonical analytic method described elsewhere (Keene, 1967a). Canonical analysis isolates sets of personality and religion variates, which, like factors, are linear combinations of the personality and religion input variables respectively, and

which are maximally correlated between the personality and religion sets. In other terms, the canonical analysis identified in the Baha'i sample the *combinations of Baha'i religion components* which are most strongly related to *patterns of the personality items.*

Representing personality-religion interaction for Baha'is were four independent canonical variate patterns which were statistically significant (for 1 and 2, $p < .0001$; for 3, $p < .0005$; for 4, $p. < 05$.) according to the Wilks Lambda test (Cooley & Lohnes, 1962). We will report here only the *first* personality-religion interaction representing the pattern of personality questionnaire items and Baha'i religion components selected and grouped by the canonical analysis as most strongly related to each other.

First personality-religion interaction

The religion pattern describes activity in all five of the Baha'i religion components, which form a pattern of total religious activity in which each component loads positively as follows:

Self-defining (.65)
Experiential (.60)
Meditative (.53)
Administrative (.48)
Cognitive (.43).

The opposite of this would be lack of participation in all five components. The issue in this religion pattern, then, is religious acivity composed of balanced participation in all five of the Baha'i religion components versus total lack of such activity. Wherever an individual or group rates on this dimension, we can be sure that the measurement refers to religious life as a whole, insofar as this is expressed in this religion pattern. This pattern of total religious activity is most typically found in the Baha'i group (see Table 2).

Table 3b shows the personality pattern, which was correlated ($r = .61$) with this religion pattern. It is similar to the combination of personality factors which was found only in the Baha'i group, and which was described as a composition of Worldminded, Spontaneous, and Adaptive behaviors.

Thus, in the first personality-religion interaction, a balanced pattern of religious behavior unique to the Baha'is is most correlated with a personality pattern which is also unique to the Baha'i group. Our procedure of defining religious behavior in terms of personality correlates yields the conclusion that the phenomenon expressed in this personality-religion interaction, unique to the Baha'i group, is a new definition, a *redefinition,* of religion.

Lack of activity related with deviation from personality pattern

Baha'i personality-religion interactions two through four [3] differ from the one just described in that none of them involves the unique personality pattern (Worldminded, Spontaneous, and Adaptive) found for Baha'is, or activity in all five religion components at once.

For example, in the fourth personality-religion interaction, participation in Baha'i community life (Administrative) is coupled with weak belief in the soul and God (i.e., a *negative* loading for the Cognitive factor). Although this religion pattern is related to Worldminded attitudes, it is also related to a collection of maladaptive behaviors.

In the third personality-religion interaction, just the Administrative, Cognitive, and Self-defining components are important. A high rating on this combination of components correlates with a collection of personality items which

[3] The complete set of the four canonical variate patterns is available from the American Documentation Institute. Order Document 9474 from the Chief, Photoduplication Service, ADI Auxiliary Publications Project, Library of Congress, Washington D. C., 20540, remitting $1.25 for microfilm (35 mm) or $1.25 for photocopies.

seem to describe a person who has "satisfactory" social relationships, but in whom non-rational experiences are inhibited. The inhibited feature of this personality pattern is emphasized by the fact that the strength of the emotionally-oriented Experiential and Meditative components is of little consequence, inferable from their insignificant loadings. Thus, we see again that lack of activity on any of the five religion components is related to some deviation from the unique Baha'i personality pattern, which in this case involves increased Inhibition.

The two deviations mentioned above each involve behavior or attitudes which are not in agreement with Baha'i teachings. These deviations are the weak belief in the soul and God in the first example, and thinking that it would not be a good idea for all races to intermarry in the second example. Thus, the subjects scoring high on these personality-religion interactions are deviants from the Baha'i teachings as well as from the first unique personality-religion interaction. Perhaps these individuals have enrolled into this Faith, but are not as yet functioning at the level of totality indicated in the first interaction.

From our consideration of the psychosocial functions of the religion components for individuals, we can arrive at a concept of community as a group in which organization and emotion are integrated on both the social and personal levels (see Figure 1), so that the individual and group function together harmoniously. This concept of community helps explain the functional significance of the religion components. Why have certain behaviors, such as prayer (Meditative) and belief in the soul and God (Cognitive), always been a part of religion? It appears that the religion components each somehow provide some functional prerequisite for a community. The lack of any religion component, and hence of its corresponding function, results in a psychosocial deficit in the community. Participation in all of the religion components is maintained or strengthened by the reward of participation in the resulting community.

In sum, community and the unique personal orientation (Worldminded, Spontaneous, and Adaptive) each behave similarly with regard to the religion components. Both community and the personality pattern are associated with activity in all five religion components, and both are incomplete without this total, balanced religious participation.

In the interacting system of religion components, community, and personality, it is difficult to identify which elements should be given prominence as "causes" or "essentials" for the formation of the system in the first place. Our hypothesis is that total, balanced religious participation is the basis for community in the Baha'i Faith. This implies that deficits in community life could be traced to inadequate religious behavior. Community pathology might be defined as a lack of integration of emotion and organization on either or both of the personal and social levels (see Figure 1). A particular kind of pathology could theoretically be traced to some quantitative or qualitative deficit in one or more of the religion components. This knowledge might be applied to the therapy of sick communities and the development of new communities.

The notion that the genesis of a Baha'i community is full, balanced religious activity suggests further investigation in several directions. First, how are people motivated to engage in total, balanced religious behavior? We have already suggested that the resulting community reinforces these behaviors. Other factors worth consideration may be the founders of religion themselves (charisma?) and the timeliness of their teachings. Second, what are the mechanisms by which the religion components perform their functions in the formation and maintenance of a com-

munity? For example, how does belief in the soul and God (Cognitive) foster personal organization? Why does Meditative behavior lead to emotional strength in social situations? A third question is the extent to which our treatment of community dynamics above applies to other religious and secular populations.

Summary and Discussion

Combining the results of this and the earlier report (Keene, 1967a), it can be seen that members of the Baha'i World Faith consistently differed from Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and non-affiliates in the following ways:

1. Greater homogeneity or unity on the religion factors derived from the total sample amid greater demographic diversity of the Baha'is.
2. Greater strength in this relatively unified position as indicated by their high scores on these religion factors.
3. A relationship between Adaptive behavior and an approach to religion which is Personal by de-emphasizing doctrine, creed, and ritual.
4. A more differentiated structure of religious behavior as described by the Cognitive, Experiential, Self-defining, Administrative, and Meditative factors.
5. Different psychosocial functions for each of these religion components as indicated by their correlations with personality items.
6. High scores on all five religion components at once—total, balanced religious activity—a pattern unique to the Baha'i group.
7. Belief in the soul and God (Cognitive) correlated with Adaptive behavior, and Meditative religious behavior correlated with Worldminded attitudes.
8. A unique personality-religion interaction in which activity in all five Baha'i religion components correlates with a pattern of Worldminded, Spontaneous, and Adaptive behaviors. A deviation from this total religious paricipation is associated with disruption of this unique personality pattern, and vice versa.

In response to the hypothesis that the Baha'i Faith is a new definition or a redefinition of religion, one might ask if this phenomenon described as a unique personality-religion interaction is indeed unique and new. Might it be present in other groups not studied here, such as Muslims or Buddhists? Has it perhaps occurred in all of the great religious movements when they were young? Is this a rebirth of religion, a living religion? Is it characteristic of persons strongly involved in and committed to a faith? We are sympathetic to questions in these terms. Yet there are hardly any shared descriptive concepts for these phenomena, probably since few claim to have experienced a "living religion." Hence we have described the discovery of this unique phenomenon in the systematic terms of this paper.

There is some evidence, however, that the features most distinctive of the Baha'is might not be present in other groups. The sample in Cline and Richards' (1965) study of religious belief and behavior was 72 per cent Mormon. In discussing the universality of the religion factors they found, the authors present evidence that the structure of religious behavior in the Mormon group does not significantly differ from the structure in the non-Mormon part of the sample, which was composed largely of non-affiliates, Protestants, and Catholics. They also found that the predominantly Mormon sample distinguished between religious behavior and belief. In our sample of Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and non-affiliates, a similar behavior-belief distinction was found between the Salient/Irrelevant and Spiritual/Secular factors. The Mormon religion, like the Baha'i Faith, is a relatively new religion historically. The above evidence that the Mormons are more similar to the non-Baha'i groups than to the Baha'i group suggests that the

differences observed in the Baha'i group cannot be explained solely by referring to the recent beginning of the Baha'i Faith. At any rate, further research on other religious groups is necessary to test more conclusively the notion of the uniqueness of the Baha'i Faith.

Since the Baha'i Faith attracts strong involvement and commitment from the majority of its members, some of the unique characteristics noted for the Baha'is, such as the more differentiated structure of religious behavior, might also be found in other religious groups with highly involved and committed members. Indeed, intense personal involvement and commitment may be a characteristic of all new religious and even social movements. However, this involvement can vary qualitatively from one new religion to another, depending on the goals (and means) to which the participants are committed.

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COMMENT by the editor

(*continued from page 220*)

from the obverse side. He demonstrates how any definition of " secularization " which is intended to be a polar *opposite* of "religion" (in its more visible forms) may turn out to coincide with what important strains of religious thought have regarded as a *definition of* religion.

Uniqueness of religion

If the distinction Allen and Spilka measure seems to be more of a difference in personality characteristics than in different types of "religion," and if Monaghan and Keene seem to have blended personality and religion variables, this raises still another standard definitional dilemma, the distinctive uniqueness of religion. These authors do demonstrate some correlation between their categories and more conventional religious content. But if Shiner is right in his forceful questioning, implicitly throughout and explicitly at the end of this article, of the polarity between the religious and the secular this has implications for the question. Perhaps, in studying "religion," social scientists should not expect to find variables and processes so different from other important human processes.

JAMES E. DITTES

At least three additional studies in the measurement of religion, closely congruent with these, will appear in the spring:

The definition and measurement of interfaith marriage

J. MILTON YINGER

The conceptualization of God as seen in adjective ratings

RICHARD L. GORSUCH

The interpretation of the religious scale of the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey study of values

RICHARD A. HUNT