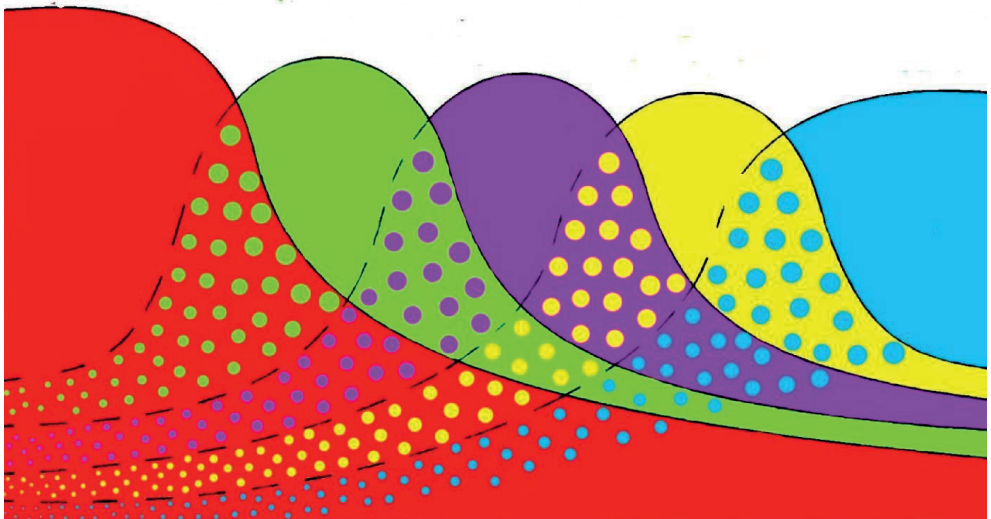


Heinz Streib & Barbara Keller

Manual for the Assessment of

Religious Styles

in Faith Development Interviews



**Fourth, Revised Edition of the
*Manual for Faith Development Research***

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1 Research in Faith Development and Religious Styles

This is the fourth edition of the *Manual for Faith Development Research*. It continues the aim of the first edition (Moseley, Jarvis, & Fowler, 1986) that was published in 1986 after years of testing and extensive interview evaluation at Emory University, Atlanta. The aim was assisting researchers in faith development research and warrant methodological consistency in the rapidly growing community of faith development researchers in the 1970s and 1980s. This aim continued in the second edition (DeNicola & Fowler, 1993), which is a slightly revised and expanded edition, reacting to the growing dissertations and research projects worldwide and trying to keep faith development research up-to-date with current discussions in the field such as the feminist critique of Faith Development Theory.

In the third edition of the Manual (Fowler, Streib, & Keller, 2004), decisive revisions have been implemented such as the restructuring of the coding criteria along the aspects of faith. The intent of this change was the opening of the research perspective for the differences between the aspects—and thus the response to research results that stage assignments differ by a whole stage or more. Such uneven developmental trajectories in different domains reflect assumptions about *décalage* in Piagetian discourse, but reach beyond that to new models in developmental psychology. From a life span perspective, development is conceptualized in multidimensional and multidirectional models, rather than as sequence of predefined stages. Baltes, Lindenberger & Staudinger (2006), for example, conceptualize development functionally and context-related, as selective age-related change in adaptive capacity.

Now we see the need for a fourth and considerably revised edition of the Manual, because of new conceptual and empirical developments in our field. Consideration of the religious styles perspective (Streib, 2001; 2005; 2013) is growing and the semantics of “stages” and “faith” may appear antiquated. We address these challenges and respond to them in the following sections of the Manual.

1.1 At the Base: A Wide and Inclusive Concept

Faith Development Theory (Fowler, 1981) has proposed a model for the study of individual constructions and reconstructions of ‘faith.’ Fowler, with reference to Cantwell Smith (1963; 1979), has defined ‘faith’ not as religion in the sense of cumulative traditions (institutions, texts, religious traditions) nor as belief, in the sense of consent to the content of certain ideas and symbol systems. In basic agreement with Cantwell Smith, Fowler (1981, p. 92-93) has defined ‘faith’ as a person’s constructions and reconstructions of everyday experience in light of the ultimate conditions of existence, thus as ways of meaning-making in response to transcendent centers of value and power. Thus, Fowler’s conceptualization of ‘faith’ is very broad, open and inclusive—a kind of common core of the various religious and worldview traditions, embracing theistic and non-theistic worldviews, and also ways of apparently non-religious meaning-making.

Reflecting on four decades of faith development research, we note that unfortunately neither Fowler’s nor Cantwell Smith’s complex and encompassing conceptualizations of ‘faith’ have been widely adopted in the discourses in religious studies or the psychology of religion. Rather, ‘faith’ is

associated with the beliefs of particular religious groups.¹ Therefore, referring to theological, psychological, and interdisciplinary discussion of “religion,” we talk about religious styles and religious styles development—and note that we understand ‘religion’ as broad concept. In any case: what we absolutely want to maintain—and find ourselves in general agreement with Fowler here—is an open and broad concept that includes non-theistic/horizontal transcendence. We refer to such broad and open conceptualization of religion as we find it e.g. in Schleiermacher (1799) or James (1902). Streib and Hood (2011; 2013; 2016) define religion with special reference to Luckmann’s (1991) concept of transcendence and Tillich’s (1951; 1957) concept of ultimate concern. Drawing on these concepts, we propose to continue such an open understanding of religion on which the understanding of ‘religious styles’ is based.

1.2 From Fowler’s Stages of Faith ...

Faith—what Fowler’s model is well known for—is assumed to develop in a series of stages which are qualitatively different ways of giving meaning to life experiences and relating to the “ultimate conditions of existence” / the ultimate concern for the person. Working within the theoretical paradigm of structural-developmental psychology of his time, Fowler postulated a sequence of stages of faith (for a visualization, see Figure 1):²

1. Stage 1: Intuitive- Projective Faith extends up to six-year old children. Fowler linked his Stage 1 to Piaget’s pre-operational stage. The child at stage 1 does not distinguish readily between fantasy and reality. S/he does not differentiate between the object and the way it appears to them. The world is comprised in part by numinous projections and fantasy; it is magical and unpredictable. There is little ability to take the perspective of the other. A collage of influence of images and symbols viewed magically, intuitively and episodically forms the child’s worldview.
2. Stage 2: Mythic-literal Faith, assumed to be prevalent from 7 to 12 years, was linked to Piaget’s concrete-operational stage; the child is interested in concrete links between things and events and has become more concrete and realistic. They explain the world with reference to myths and stories, which are rather literally understood. Reward and punishment orientation is salient in moral judgments, and there is little notion yet of the interiority of the other.

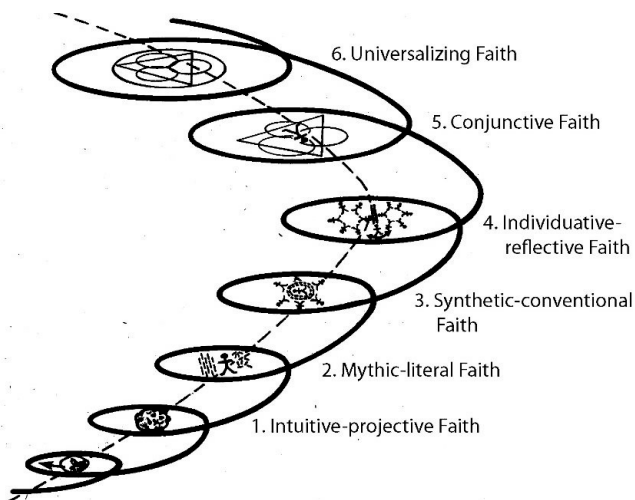


Figure 1. Fowler’s (1981) Spiral Model of Faith Stages

¹ See Harris, Howell and Spurgeon (2017) who refer to Cantwell Smith and Fowler in their discussion of faith, however arriving at the (narrow) interpretation as “synonymous with spirituality or religiousness” (p3) in their review of “faith concepts in psychology”.

² Historically, Fowler postulated a series of stages loosely connected to age based on cross-sectional data and using the frequencies of stage assignment across age groups.

3. Stage 3: Synthetic-Conventional Faith, assumed to emerge in early adolescence, is characterized by an orientation toward concrete others and interpersonal harmony, a felt sense of the attitudes and opinions of others with a more abstract valuing of relationship for its own sake. The self is not apt to differentiate itself from the relationships in which it is engaged thus forming a heteronymous, conformist and conventional worldview. At this stage, reasoning is tacit in that the person is not yet aware of having a particular outlook.
4. Stage 4: Individuative-Reflective Faith is reflected in the detachment, autonomy, choice and individuation, when the late adolescent and adult can distinguish their self more explicitly from the system they are a part of and can reflect on it. The awareness of one's own particularity and of other possible worldviews is considered and reflected with arguments. Stage 4 faith is characteristically ideological, concerned with self-definition and boundary maintenance. The increasing capacity to find and rationally justify one's own truth at this stage finds closures around one's boundaries and conflicts resolved in favor of one's own self chosen ideology.
5. Stage 5: Conjunctive Faith is described as dialogical. There is an increased emphasis on human subjectivity and the need for individual decision-making in the face of an ambiguous reality. Also, there is an increased awareness of the historical and temporal nature of understanding. At this stage, the awareness of multidimensionality of truth makes one more open to other's understandings and a willingness to accept and live with ambiguities, paradoxes and controversies of a mature faith. Symbols, also symbols of another religious tradition, may (re-)gain meaning, importance and impact—a process that Fowler, with reference to Ricoeur (1960), called second naïveté.
6. Stage 6: Fowler considered Universalizing Faith to be very rare. This stage involves self-transcendence and commitment to humanity. According to Fowler, the contents of faith (the centers of values, images of power and master stories) reflect the cognitive structures or aspects of faith.

Fowler based his conception on cross-sectional data, working with the assumption that human development across time can be inferred from studying different age groups. The life span conception of human development, which emerged during the time of Fowler's writing, criticized this for the neglect of social and historical context and suggested more complex research designs.

Stage progression, when it occurs, involves, according to his model, movement toward greater complexity and comprehensiveness in each of these structural aspects (Fowler & Dell, 2005). Faith Development Theory posits seven dimensions or aspects of faith (see Figure 2), which Fowler called

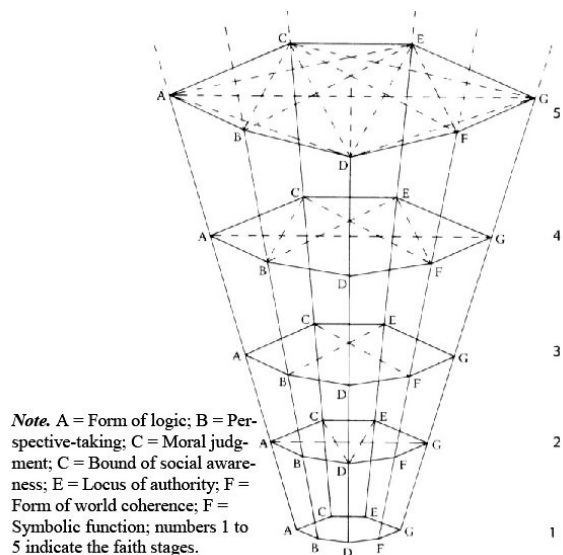


Figure 2. Fowler's (1980) Heptagon Model of Faith Development

'windows' into faith. The first three aspects indicate Fowler's intent to network his model with other Piagetian theories.

1. Form of Logic (based on Piaget's structural theory of cognitive development) is the characteristic pattern of thought that a person employs in making decisions and understanding one's experiences and changes in self. It shows a development from pre-concrete to formal logic at higher stages of faith.
2. Social Perspective Taking, for which Fowler has referred to Selman's (1980) theory of the development of interpersonal relations, reflects how the self is seen in relation to others. Higher stages of faith are characterized by the extent to which one can construct the inner life of significant others.
3. Moral Judgment (based on Kohlberg's theory of moral development) involves moral frameworks in which actions are evaluated as reciprocity, harmony in one's group, principles of a just and fair social order, understandings of good and evil and a person's views on resolution of religious conflicts.

To these aspects, Fowler added the following aspects of his own:

4. Bounds of Social Awareness informs how the person views or constructs the group of which they are a member and how the person relates to the social environment to which they belong. This aspect deals with how inclusive the social world is to which a person responds.
5. Locus of Authority looks at how authorities are constructed in relation to the individual, and whether the person responds primarily to internal or external authority. This aspect attends to the basis on which authorities are selected, as concrete dependence, conventionalism, interpersonal concerns, rational principles and internalized universalizing principles.
6. Form of World Coherence describes how different elements of experience are seen as related to form a world view and how much a person endorses multiple perspectives on reality.
7. Symbolic Function is about the understanding of (religious) symbols. The development of Symbolic Function starts with endowing symbols with magical power, then to a literal interpretation, followed by a 'demythologizing' of symbols into concepts, and finally a post-critical 'second naiveté', in which symbols regain their evocative power, integrated into a more complex, refined and reflexive perspective.

These aspects present Fowler's view that faith involves the totality of human existence. It is a way of being in the world involving moral, cognitive, social, and religious aspects of life, rather than being reduced to any one of them (Fowler 1981; Fowler & Dell, 2005). Fowler's model of stage-wise development in faith has encountered serious criticisms. Basic structural-developmental assumptions that he has posited have lost plausibility and failed to produce empirical evidence. The most decisive of these assumptions are that development is linear and proceeds in an irreversible sequence.

Based on the critique of these assumptions, which Fowler has posited in agreement with Kohlberg (1983), Streib (2001; 2003b; 2005; 2013) has proposed to move on from modelling religious development in terms of stages to a model of religious styles. As presented in Figure 3, religious styles can be visualized as overlapping waves, rising and descending again to lower levels, when succeeding styles come to the surface. In this model it assumed that the individual has access to and can use more than one style of faith at a given time. Empirically, this is demonstrated by aspect-specific profiles (see Fowler, Streib & Keller, 2004; see also the case studies in Streib & Hood, 2016a; Streib & Klein, 2018), which present stage assignments to single FDI questions—and show in many cases a range of one stage or more.

1.3 ... to Streib's Religious Styles

The religious styles model according to Streib opens new perspectives. The styles still describe a hierarchy (moving from the left to the right), but are depicted with more openness and flexibility. We assume that the emergence of the styles corresponds to a developmental sequence. However, individual trajectories may differ and may not cover the entire spectrum of styles, and may be multidirectional (moving “upwards” or “downwards” in the hierarchy). As aspect-specific profiles from previous FDI evaluation (see Figure 5) show, it is the rule rather than the exception that more than one style is simultaneously available for a person at a certain time. The aspect-specific profiles can be read as a picture of different religious styles which dominate in various areas of life. For instance, a person may express the mutual religious style (corresponding to Fowler's synthetic-conventional stage) in social perspective taking, thus may be open to the views of their significant others. At the same time, they may construct meaning in the framework of the fundamentalist instrumental-reciprocal or do-ut-des religious style (corresponding to the mythic-literal style in Fowler's terms) in moral judgment, in which one's own tradition is seen as true and others as false and in which following rules literally will be rewarded and disobedience will be punished.

Attention to combinations of different styles for different aspects or in different domains thus allows a portrayal of more intra-individual variety. The main difference between Streib's descriptions of the different religious styles and the descriptions of the stages of faith in Fowler's writings (and in the previous editions of this Manual) is a new focus on inter-personal relations. This is reflected in the labels for the religious styles, and revision of the aspects, with Perspective Taking now being the initial aspect. Also the descriptions in the coding criteria in this new edition of the Manual have been revised. This way, one of the aims of the religious styles perspective is accounted for: balancing the overemphasis on the epistemic self in Fowler's work and stronger emphasis on the life-world, life-history and inter-personal world of the individual (for more details, see Streib, 2001).

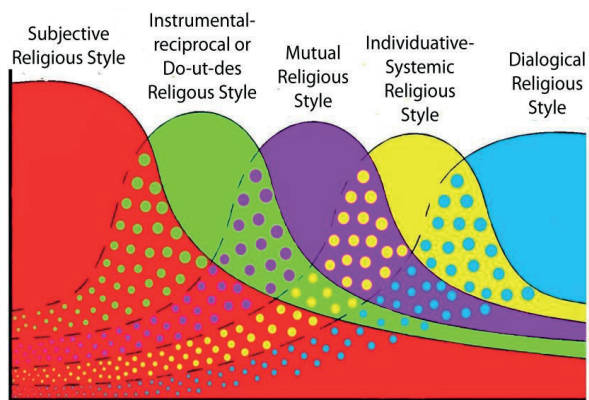


Figure 3. Streib's (2001) Religious Styles Model

This is also intended to keep research on religious styles conversant with concepts of psychological development such as reflective functioning and mentalization, which put emphasis on perspective taking and dialogue, and attachment which attends to relationships (see Keller & Streib, 2013, for more details). It means that we attend to structures as patterns of cognitive and affective operation by which content is understood, expressed, and transformed. How these structures can be accounted for by specific developmental and differential assumptions is the aim of empirical inquiry.

1.4 Changes for this New Edition of the Manual

Based on this brief characterization of the faith development model and the religious styles perspective, we think that three changes are overdue and we have implemented them in this new

edition of the Manual: a. we prefer using the term “religious styles” rather than “stages of faith”; b. we have reduced the number of aspects by eliminating Form of Logic; c. we have dropped the coding criteria for stage/style 6.

As indicated already above, we suggest to talk about “religious styles” and “religious styles development” rather than about “faith stages” and “faith development.” The designation as “styles” avoids their misunderstanding as structural wholes and a part of an irreversible, invariant sequence.

The second necessary change follows from the critique of the primacy of the epistemic self and has led us to exclude the aspect of Form of Logic. This aspect, for which Fowler has created a modified and extended version of Piaget’s four-stage developmental model, is no longer plausible. By excluding Fowler’s first aspect we do not reject the possibility that there may be correspondences between the development of cognitive operations and religious styles, but think we should disentangle the two—and thus open the research perspectives for comparisons. Thus, we have reduced the number of aspects to six and re-arranged the association of FDI questions to the six remaining aspects. The result is presented in Table 2 in an overview and described in more detail in 3.1.

The third overdue change was dropping the coding criteria for stage/style 6, which Fowler labelled Universalizing Faith. This corresponds to the religious styles perspective, which describes only five styles and intentionally left out Fowler’s sixth stage. The conceptual reason for this is that a psychologically plausible model of religious styles does not need, and should not be based on, teleological and theological (eschatological) propositions, which Fowler (1981) himself could not resist to describe with the theological metaphor of the Kingdom of God.

Finally, we announce changes in our descriptions of the styles and aspects: Where we thought it appropriate, we refer more clearly to affinities to current reasoning on psychological development. This especially concerns areas such as the development of biographical narrative and reasoning, of relationships and attachment, of moral reasoning and acting, of conceptions of one’s own and others’ world views, and of the understanding of religious, spiritual or otherwise important symbols across the life span. We are confident that with our well-tested multimethod approach, the cross-cultural approach, and the “longitudinal turn” in research on religious development, we can open a space for interdisciplinary dialogue. At the same time, we invite colleagues and students to get acquainted with and make use of our efforts to focus on the empirical study of human meaning making, drawn from different traditions and world views and appropriated in different individual ways.

2 The Faith Development Interview

The basic instrument for faith development research has been Fowler's Faith Development Interview. The FDI is a semi-structured interview covering four areas: life review, relationships, values and commitments, and religion and worldview (Fowler, 1981, Fowler, Streib & Keller, 2004).

The format of the 25 questions has been preserved throughout all revisions of the Manual. Slight adaptations regard, for example, the semantics of "religion" in the question 20 "Do you consider yourself a religious person?"—where we have added other options, namely "spiritual" and "faithful." Question 4's wording "image of God" was complemented with other options such as "the Divine" and—more open for non-religious interviewees—"your world view." In Table 1 we present the English version of the interview questions in their present form. Translations in many other languages can be found on our website at Bielefeld University.

The Faith Development Interview, in the form presented here, is a research interview with a clear agenda. It is not completely open-ended, and allows for an optimal balance between giving structure to an interview and inviting vivid narration. This Manual strives to provide a standard form of the interview and gives instructions for its use, thereby ensuring reliability and consistency to a necessarily subjective process. As detailed in Section 2.2, we encourage researchers to use probes and follow-up questions in order to elicit enough valid information from the interviewees.

We strive for a language which is acceptable to persons from diverse backgrounds and with very different self-identifications with respect to religion or world view. However, working for decades with cross-cultural designs and in dialogue with researchers from different traditions, we acknowledge that this has, necessarily, limitations. We therefore suggest that interviewers explore criticisms of concepts and wordings when they arise in the interviews, to include them in the description and discussion of results, and consider them as inspiration for adaptations of the wording of the questions as part of the continuing and open longitudinal study of describing narrating and reasoning on one's religious (or else) development in changing cultural and religious landscapes.

2.1 Preparing for and Conducting the Interview

Helpful suggestions to prepare for the Faith Development Interview include the following: Some familiarity with the basic principles of Faith Development Theory and with the styles perspective in particular, is virtually a necessity. This applies to learning how to evaluate (code) an FDI, as well as conducting an interview. The interviewers need thorough familiarity with the aspects and with the scoring procedures. This helps them to understand what makes a valid answer and this will greatly assist them in formulating their own probes and follow-up questions in an actual interview situation. Thus it is recommended that the prospective interviewers have read the appropriate sections of this Manual. Researchers gain skill in administering the interview if they first score some practice interviews. We highly recommend that researchers practice scoring interviews before they begin their own research. Practice in scoring sharpens researchers' understanding of the differences among styles and alerts researchers to probe responses that are ambiguous.³ This practice will (a) better equip you to ask probe questions at appropriate points during your interview, and (b) let you avoid lowering your inter-rater reliability by using your own interviews as practice.

³ The Research Center for Biographical Studies in Contemporary Religion in Bielefeld has some previously validated interviews that new researchers may use for practice. Just email and ask. Also, if you are inexperienced with coding and/or interviewing, you should start your own research by completing at least two trial interviews, have them transcribed and ask for a control rating by someone experienced. We may be able to put you in contact with persons who could provide feedback. You and your control rater should both code the interviews independently, then discuss your findings. This practice should alert you to places that need improvement.

Table 1. The Faith Development Interview (FDI)

LIFE REVIEW	
1.	Reflecting on your life thus far, identify its major chapters. - If your life were a book – how would you name the different chapters? - What marker events stand out as especially important?
2.	Are there past relationships that have been important to your development as a person?
3.	Do you recall any changes in relationships that have had a significant impact on your life or your way of thinking about things?
4.	How has your world view changed across your life's chapters? How has this affected your image of God or of the Divine, or what is holy for you? What does it mean to you now?
5.	Have you had moments of intense joy or breakthrough experiences – moments that have affirmed or changed your sense of life's meaning?
6.	Have you experienced times of crisis or suffering in your life? Have you experienced times when you felt profound disillusionment, or that life had no meaning? - What happened to you at these times? - How have these experiences affected you?
RELATIONSHIPS	
7.	Focusing now on the present, how would you describe your parents? How do you see your current relationship to them? Have there been any changes in your perceptions of your parents over the years? If so, what caused the change?
8.	Are there any other relationships that are important to you?
9.	What groups, institutions, or causes, do you identify with? Why are they important to you? Are there groups that have been important to you, but are not important anymore? Did you leave a (religious) community recently?
PRESENT VALUES AND COMMITMENTS	
10.	Do you feel that your life has meaning at present? What makes your life meaningful to you?
11.	If you could change one thing about yourself or your life, what would you most want to change?
12.	Are there any beliefs, values, or commitments that seem important to your life right now?
13.	When or where do you find yourself most in communion or harmony with the Universe?
14.	What do you consider mature faith or a mature way to handle existential questions?
15.	When you have an important decision to make, how do you generally go about making it? Can you give me an example? If you have a very difficult problem to solve, to whom or what would you look for guidance?
16.	Do you think that actions can be right or wrong? If so, what makes an action right in your opinion?
17.	Are there certain actions or types of actions that are always right under any circumstances? Are there certain moral opinions that you think everyone should agree on?
RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW	
18.	Do you think that human life has a purpose? - If so, what is it? Are we affected by a power or powers beyond our control?
19.	What does death mean to you? What happens to us when we die?
20.	Do you consider yourself a religious, spiritual or faithful person? Or would you prefer another description? What does it mean to you?
21.	Do you pray, meditate, or perform any other spiritual practice?
22.	Are there any religious, spiritual or other ideas, symbols or rituals that are important to you, or have been important to you? If so, what are they and what makes them important?
23.	What is sin, to your understanding?
24.	How do you explain the presence of evil in our world?
25.	If people disagree about issues of world view or religion, how can such conflicts be resolved?

The interview form cautions us about the need for care in the way the data is gathered to ensure an acceptable level of comparability among individual cases. Thus, although the interview is open-ended, in the sense that it allows the respondent to answer each of the questions in their own way, this does not mean that the interviewer is free to ask the questions in any conceivable manner. It is important that all of the questions on the interview schedule be asked in order to elicit sufficient data for all of the aspects.

The respondent may not have quick answers to these questions. The interviewer may have to use probe questions to elicit sufficient data. You want to allow your respondents to answer the questions in their own terms. You should bear in mind that the how and why of a question is what yields codable data, rather than the simple “what.” For example, if you were to ask a respondent: “What are your most important relationships at the present time?” and they answer, “My mother, my two brothers, and Uncle Harry,” the response would be rather uncodable. You may use a probe to engage the respondent in a meaningful conversation, e.g. “Can you tell me more about that?” or “Can you give me an example?”

The Faith Development Interview has a specific dynamic and this needs time. Normally, interviews take one to two hours. Be sure you have a good recording device and test it before you conduct the interview. You may also want to bring an extra copy of the interview questions with you to the interview; we have found that it often helps subjects to see the written words as they are being asked the questions. The questions, as you will quickly see when taking a closer look at them in the next section, will often elicit profound answers and will sometimes touch very personal, sometimes emotionally intensive, memories. Therefore, it is absolutely mandatory for interviewers to be prepared thoroughly before they start interviewing their first person. We highly recommend intensive training beforehand with role plays, etc. to equip the interviewers with a set of possible reactions to difficult situations. Moreover, it is advised to establish some kind of supervision or peer consulting to give interviewers the space for exchange and reflection on challenging interview situations, thus supporting ethical standards as well as quality of interviewing.

2.2 Faith Development Interview Questions and Probes

The following section presents the Faith Development Interview questions, with instructions for the person administering the interview, including suggested probes and follow-up questions. Note: The interview questions appear in capital letters. After many of the questions there are further instructions addressed to the interviewer, suggesting possible variations on the question, or possible probes and follow-up questions. Wherever possible, a list of commonly used probes and follow-ups has been provided with the questions; however, these will not cover all possible situations. Where there is a string of several questions, do not ask all of them at once. Pause between questions and allow time for the respondent to answer one question before asking the next question. Remember that some of these questions tap into existential issues and that the interviewee may need time to explore these.

2.2.1 LIFE REVIEW

- **REFLECTING ON YOUR LIFE THUS FAR, IDENTIFY ITS MAJOR CHAPTERS. IF YOUR LIFE WERE A BOOK, HOW WOULD YOU NAME THE DIFFERENT CHAPTERS? WHAT MARKER EVENTS STAND OUT AS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT?**
- **ARE THERE PAST RELATIONSHIPS THAT HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT TO YOUR DEVELOPMENT AS A PERSON?**
- **DO YOU RECALL ANY CHANGES IN RELATIONSHIPS THAT HAVE HAD A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON YOUR LIFE OR YOUR WAY OF THINKING ABOUT THINGS?**

Many people have never reflected on the narrative of their lives in such a focused way, so you should allow your respondent plenty of time to mull over these questions.

Note that important relationships do not necessarily have to be with persons currently living, or with persons whom the respondent has known personally. They could be relationships with writers or thinkers, for example, who the person knows only from books. The question dealing with changes in relationships may need additional probing. Emphasize that the focus is indeed on the changes, not on the relationship itself.

What is important here is that you get some sense of the way the respondent views these relationships, then and now, and the way in which the respondent thinks about change. This will yield valuable data on how the respondent perceives other people and their relationship with them and to what extent the person is able to construct the (changing) interiority of others.

- **HOW HAS YOUR WORLD VIEW CHANGED ACROSS YOUR LIFE'S CHAPTERS? HOW HAS THIS AFFECTED YOUR IMAGE OF GOD, OR OF THE DIVINE, OR WHAT IS HOLY FOR YOU? WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO YOU NOW?**

Here, you want to learn something about how the person constructs their worldview and how it has evolved over the years. Pay special attention to the way meaning is made and how symbols are used and interpreted.

- **HAVE YOU HAD MOMENTS OF INTENSE JOY OR BREAKTHROUGH EXPERIENCES—MOMENTS THAT HAVE AFFIRMED OR CHANGED YOUR SENSE OF LIFE'S MEANING?**
- **HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED TIMES OF CRISIS OR SUFFERING IN YOUR LIFE? HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED TIMES WHEN YOU FELT PROFOUND DISILLUSIONMENT, OR THAT LIFE HAD NO MEANING? WHAT HAPPENED TO YOU AT THESE TIMES? HOW HAVE THESE EXPERIENCES AFFECTED YOU?**

Try to elicit the respondent's perspective on what they thought was going on during the experience, and how the experience may have affected their life and thought. In answering these questions, the interviewee may reveal how they construct their social world and who has an influence on the person's weal and woe.

2.2.2 RELATIONSHIPS

- **FOCUSING NOW ON THE PRESENT, HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR PARENTS? HOW DO YOU SEE YOUR CURRENT RELATIONSHIP TO THEM? HAVE THERE BEEN ANY CHANGES IN YOUR PERCEPTIONS OF YOUR PARENTS OVER THE YEARS? IF SO, WHAT CAUSED THE CHANGE?**

This question yields data on the respondent's perspective taking. It is important for you to get a sense of whether or not your respondent is able to construct the interiority of their parents, i.e., has some sense of how they think or feel, and can describe things as they might have seen them, etc. Also, probe to see how the respondent constructs the relation of self to parents. Do they have the sense that parents also have an image or impression of them? To what extent do parents still function as authority figures for the person, at least in their own mind? These questions can be probed by paying particular attention to the respondent's perception of changes in the relationship. What made these changes come about—changes in the parents, changes in the person, or both?

- **ARE THERE ANY OTHER CURRENT RELATIONSHIPS THAT SEEM IMPORTANT TO YOU?**
- **WHAT GROUPS, INSTITUTIONS, OR CAUSES, DO YOU IDENTIFY WITH? WHY ARE THEY IMPORTANT TO YOU? ARE THERE GROUPS THAT HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT TO YOU, BUT ARE NOT IMPORTANT ANYMORE? DID YOU LEAVE A (RELIGIOUS) COMMUNITY RECENTLY?**

In probing these questions, there are a number of things you will want to learn from your respondent related to their social horizon. How are they thinking about relationships in general, and in what ways are they important? What is the attitude toward other people? To what extent do others function as authorities for this person? How does this person locate their own identity with respect to other persons or groups? How do they view their own participation in groups or organizations, etc.?

2.2.3 VALUES AND COMMITMENTS

- **DO YOU FEEL THAT YOUR LIFE HAS MEANING AT PRESENT? WHAT MAKES LIFE MEANINGFUL TO YOU?**

What you are looking for here is your respondent's locus of authority for the meaning of their lives. For example, does their sense of meaning or meaninglessness center on meeting the expectations of significant others, in an implicit and unquestioned way? Or is meaning guided by some set of principles or a worldview? If the respondent currently questions whether their life means anything, you might probe to find out how the sense that life has no meaning came about and when it occurred.

- **IF YOU COULD CHANGE ONE THING ABOUT YOURSELF OR YOUR LIFE, WHAT WOULD YOU MOST WANT TO CHANGE?**

When asking or coding this question, note how the respondents assign responsibility for the future or for what might have turned out differently: Do they play a passive role, wishing for the impossible, or wishing that others would make changes for them; or do they focus more on the areas of their lives over which they do have some control and responsibility? Have they balanced their sense of responsibility for determining the trajectory of their lives with the awareness that they can't control everything?

➤ **ARE THERE ANY BELIEFS, VALUES, OR COMMITMENTS THAT SEEM IMPORTANT TO YOUR LIFE RIGHT NOW?**

Here you will want to learn how beliefs, values, and commitments are held, and also, how they are enacted in a person's life. Some possible probes are: "Can you give me an example of how that works for you?" "How did you come to believe that?" Or, "Why do you believe that?" Thereby, you'll learn something about the person's thinking on moral issues.

➤ **WHEN OR WHERE DO YOU FIND YOURSELF MOST IN COMMUNION OR HARMONY WITH THE UNIVERSE?**

This question means to find out something about the way a person constructs their world, how they "make sense." The answer to this question may tell you something about the person's world view. Let the person elaborate on the "why" when they tell you about "when" they feel in harmony. When coding this question, focus on the structure and the principles by which the persons construct their worldview.

➤ **WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER MATURE FAITH OR A MATURE WAY TO HANDLE EXISTENTIAL QUESTIONS?**

You will probably have to help many participants with this question, since the concept of mature faith is something that for some people may be new. Letting them think about the term "mature" first will often help them on their way to an answer. Answers to this question may help us find out how the person understands and uses symbols and symbolic language and what kind of power is granted to these symbols.

➤ **WHEN YOU HAVE AN IMPORTANT DECISION TO MAKE, HOW DO YOU GENERALLY GO ABOUT MAKING IT? CAN YOU GIVE ME AN EXAMPLE? IF YOU HAVE A VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEM TO SOLVE, TO WHOM OR WHAT WOULD YOU LOOK FOR GUIDANCE?**

Attention should be given to who or what functions as authority in an important decision, and where the weight is given—is it an internal or external authority? Note also whose point of view gets considered, and look for evidence, if any, that the respondent is able to think about an important decision from the constructed point of view of others who may be involved or affected by the decision.

➤ **DO YOU THINK THAT ACTIONS CAN BE RIGHT OR WRONG? IF SO, WHAT MAKES AN ACTION RIGHT IN YOUR OPINION?**

➤ **ARE THERE CERTAIN ACTIONS OR TYPES OF ACTIONS THAT ARE ALWAYS RIGHT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES? ARE THERE CERTAIN MORAL OPINIONS THAT YOU THINK EVERYONE SHOULD AGREE ON?**

It is important to get some sense of the way in which the respondent is thinking of issues like this. The question "why?" is important. These questions should indicate the respondent's form of morality.

2.2.4 RELIGION AND WORLDVIEW

- **DO YOU THINK THAT HUMAN LIFE HAS A PURPOSE? IF SO, WHAT IS IT? ARE WE AFFECTED BY A POWER OR POWERS BEYOND OUR CONTROL?**

Note that the responses to this question may or may not be given in religious terms. It is important to try to stay within the context that the respondent sets with this question. When coding the question, try to find out where authority is located for the person.

- **WHAT DOES DEATH MEAN TO YOU? WHAT HAPPENS TO US WHEN WE DIE?**

If the response is “I don’t know,” you may wish to probe further. You might ask the respondent what they would hope for or what they think might be possible. This way, you’ll find out something about the person’s form of world coherence, how they “make sense” of something that is difficult to grasp intellectually.

- **DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF A RELIGIOUS, SPIRITUAL OR FAITHFUL PERSON? (OR WOULD YOU PREFER ANOTHER DESCRIPTION?) WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO YOU?**

Here we want to learn how the person self-identifies in regard to religiosity and/or worldview. The person does not necessarily have to give a definition of all of the terms. What is important to elicit is the self-description the interviewee is most comfortable with and how they understand this self-description—which may also shed some light on how they utilize symbols and how their meaning-making process is structured.

- **DO YOU PRAY, MEDITATE, OR PERFORM ANY OTHER SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE?**
- **ARE THERE, ANY RELIGIOUS, SPIRITUAL OR OTHER IDEAS, SYMBOLS OR RITUALS THAT ARE IMPORTANT TO YOU, OR HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT TO YOU? IF SO, WHAT ARE THEY AND WHAT MAKES THEM IMPORTANT?**

In these questions you are interested not only in how the respondent thinks about symbols and rituals, but also how these fit with the respondent’s previously stated beliefs and attitudes. It is not necessary that these be presently meaningful. If the initial answer to these questions is “no,” you may follow by asking if there have ever been meaningful symbols, rituals, or ideas. The question of why the idea, symbol, or ritual is important and what it means to the respondent is crucial, because you are also seeking data on how the respondent interprets symbols.

- **WHAT IS SIN, TO YOUR UNDERSTANDING?**

Some people might reject this question stating that sin is not a term/concept they operate with. Maybe they will give a definition not based on their own experience, but rather something that reflects their idea of what religious authorities might mean by that term. If that happens, you might ask what this perhaps “antiquated” definition of sin might become when transferred to today’s resp. the person’s own reality. Respondents may also associate a set of behaviors or actions that should be regarded as sinful; then, we are interested why, because this may yield information about their understanding of moral issues.

➤ **HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE PRESENCE OF EVIL IN OUR WORLD?**

Here, you want to find out how the respondent accounts for suffering in the world—why do bad things happen to good people? Find out what the respondent thinks is the cause of evil, what they think evil consists of, and how they derived their present concept of evil. This will tell you something about how the person constructs their world and by which relations and principles their world is held together.

➤ **IF PEOPLE DISAGREE ABOUT ISSUES OF WORLD VIEW OR RELIGION, HOW CAN SUCH CONFLICTS BE RESOLVED?**

Look at this question from the aspect of world coherence. You should explore the respondent's sense of how their own perspective on the world relates to that of others. Do they regard some beliefs normative for everyone, universally? What boundaries are they willing to consider in resolving a religious dispute? Or, if they reject the option of resolving such conflicts, what moves them to do so?

You should close the interview after the respondent has answered the last question by thanking the respondent and asking if there is anything further they would like to add before you turn off the recording device. This is important, as some respondents will want to add to or modify some of their answers to some of the interview questions at this time. It is important to offer the respondent a chance to do this, as it gives a sense of closure to the interview process and avoids the sense of frustration that can come if something is left hanging or not said. Also, interviewees may offer their opinion about the research in which they just participated—which may be an important feedback for your research project.

3 Coding a Faith Development Interview

Administering and evaluating the Faith Development Interview (FDI) by the procedures outlined in this manual presumes some knowledge of Faith Development Theory and the religious styles perspective. We recommend that the person who intends to administer and code the interview begins by reading chapters one through five, and chapters fifteen through twenty-three of Fowler's *Stages of Faith*. For understanding the religious styles perspective as critique and revision of faith development, we recommend reading Streib's texts (basic texts are: Streib, 2001a; 2005).

In this chapter we explain the basic rules and procedures of how to code a FDI: attention to structure and style, understanding the aspects, using the scoring sheet, and interpretation of style assignments.

3.1 Interpreting Structure and Style: Understanding the Aspects

A key point in coding a FDI is learning how to think in structural terms. Structures are patterns of cognitive and affective operation by which content is understood, appropriated, manipulated, expressed, and transformed. In the interviewee's responses to the questions of the FDI, we are seeking not so much the "what" of content, but the "how" and the "why" that indicates structure and style. As such, the structures of meaning-making are not directly manifest, but must be intuited and interpreted through the analysis of the inner processes that have produced the specific interview responses. Because the meaning-constitutive structures are not directly observable, they must be identified from the ways in which a subject "operates" on specific content areas. Coding means to identify the specific style that the interviewee has used in a specific interview passage and to assign the style that appears most adequate to this interview passage. The coding criteria explained below describe how to code each style for each aspect, thus giving detailed orientation.

Style codes are assigned attending to the six aspects, the different "windows" to the person's lived and narrated meaning-making. As visualized in Figure 2, this aspect-specific coding rests on the assumption that meaning-making is a multi-dimensional construct. The variety of dimensions or aspects is addressed by the interview questions. Thus, in order to base the evaluation of the entire FDI on the broad and full conceptualization of religiosity, the evaluation procedure has been designed to attend to each of the aspects with equal weight. To warrant such equal attention to the aspects, each of the 25 interview questions is associated to one of the aspects. The aspect structure, however, is meant to be a heuristic model with some flexibility, rather than a rigid system with fixed boundaries. Thus, the aspect structure helps to attend to responses given in the various domains of human life, where meaning-making and religious styles development can be observed. In any case, the aspect structure should not foreclose, but rather open attention to religious styles development across domains.

Therefore, before we go in more detail about the coding process and present the coding criteria, we start with a brief description of the aspects. As you read through these aspect descriptions, refer to Table 2 or the scoring sheet (see Figure 4). You can see that we have assigned each of the interview questions to an aspect. Here we will discuss those aspects and how the questions relate to them.

3.1.1 Aspect: Perspective Taking

This aspect describes the way in which the person constructs the self, the other, and the relationship between them. It looks at how the person is constructing the interiority of another person. It also looks at how the individual is thinking and feeling, and how this relates to the person's knowledge of their own internal states. Thus, this aspect shows a certain "family resemblance" to the concept of mentalization or reflective functioning (Fonagy & Target, 2007)⁴.

How persons construct their life's chapters (1),⁵ how they describe and reflect on parents (7), past relationships (2), and changes in relationships (3), should tell us, how they conceive their own and others' inner processes, how the respondent thinks about other people and their influence on their life, and how the person perceives relationships in general. Within this aspect, we pay particular attention to the respondent's perception of changes in relationships. What made these changes come about – changes in the respondent, changes in the other person, or both?

When focusing of the aspect of Perspective Taking, evaluation of the interview passages, in particular to the FDI questions 1, 2, 3 and 7, involves a decision between the following styles of perspective-taking:

- subjective perspective taking (style 1), the other is taken for granted and their view is not yet differentiated from one's own,
- simple perspective taking (style 2), conceding that others have other views, but predominantly focusing on reward/punishment ("do-ut-des") relations and on outer appearance,
- mutual interpersonal perspective taking (style 3) where interiority is perceived and related to social roles emerge, often in an implicit way,
- third-person perspective in the form of a system or ideology with explicit reasoning on the construction of possible views (style 4), or
- the consciously conceptually mediated perspective of style 5, which takes into account that all experience is mediated and reflects on difference as possible perspective on one's own position

3.1.2 Aspect: Social Horizon

Here, the focus is on the mode of a person's identification in terms of group and family relations. It answers the question of how the person is viewing or constructing the world in which they are embedded, which may be a "small social life world" at first and, in later states of development, the person's social world may be related to the wider horizon of society in a global perspective. Thus, this aspect attends to the question of how wide or inclusive the social world is to which a person will respond. Who is the person willing to include in his or her thinking and who remains outside? This aspect will also show the differences in how past relations, crises and breakthrough experiences are treated within an individual's structure of meaning making. To determine if a given response indicates the social horizon, ask these questions: Does it show how the person relates to their significant others in the past? Does it answer the question, "Who has a claim on me and to whom and

⁴ Mentalization, operationalized as reflective functioning, has been conceptualized and explored in attachment research. We have argued for the consideration of the concept for Faith Development Research, based on the argument, that especially the FDI-questions on relationships elicit responses of some similarity to those gained with the Adult Attachment Interview (Keller & Streib, 2013). For a general argument to use this approach with other autobiographical narratives because of its strong connection to self-organization and self-understanding (see Köber, Kuhn, Peters, & Habermas, 2018).

⁵ The numbers in brackets refer to the number of the question in the Faith Development Interview in Table 1.

for whom am I responsible?" This concept resembles the "social convoy" (Kahn & Antonucci, 1980; Antonucci, Ajrouch, & Birditt, 2013) and offers potential for interdisciplinary discussion especially in long term perspective.

The scoring for social horizon includes the following questions, which are likely to provide indicators for this aspect: How does the interviewee narrate breakthrough experiences (5) and experiences of crises in the past (6), how do they characterize current relationships (8) and do they present groups they identifies with (9)?

Generally, the coder should be asking the following questions:

- Is the respondent aware of boundaries (style 1)?
- Are the respondent's boundaries best characterized as extended only to "those like us," in familial, ethnic, racial, class and religious terms (style 2)?
- Are the respondent's boundaries best characterized as extended to groups and family members to which the subject has emotional bonds and interpersonal relationships (style 3)?
- Are the respondent's boundaries best characterized as extended to groups that are ideologically compatible (style 4)?
- Are the boundaries open to outgroups and other traditions and their truths claims (style 5)?

3.1.3 Aspect: Morality

In assessing the form of morality, we are looking at the patterns of how a person is handling issues of moral significance, including how the person defines what is to be taken as a moral issue and how the person answers the question of why be moral. This aspect answers the question, "What is the nature of the claims that others have on me, and how are these claims to be weighed?" Fowler's original formulation relied on his appropriation of Lawrence Kohlberg's work on moral reasoning. We suggest keeping the questions, while considering new perspectives in the study of moral development, such as the development of moral identity or the narrative construction of moral agency (Narvaez, 2005; Narvaez & Lapsley, 2009; Lapsley & Carlo, 2014; Pasupathi & Wainryb, 2010). We strive to keep Kohlberg's interdisciplinary approach in conceptualizing moral development, while avoiding the narrow empirical orientation on cognitive structuralism (cf. Schrader, 2015).

We expect that the following questions likely provide indicators for this aspect of morality: Are there any beliefs, values, or commitments that seem important to your life right now? (12), Do you think that actions can be right or wrong? (16), Are there certain actions or types of actions that are always right under any circumstances? (17), and the question, What is sin, to your understanding? (23).

Under the aspect of Morality, the FDI evaluator will ask: Would the interview responses be best be characterized as ...

- motivated by complying with authority and power (style 1),
- motivated by reciprocity or do-ut-des (style 2),
- meeting interpersonal expectations (style 3),
- societal perspective and reflective judgment (style 4), or
- prior-to-society perspective and as dialogical ethic (style 5)?

3.1.4 Aspect: Locus of Authority

The aspect, locus of authority, looks at three factors: how authorities are selected, how authorities are held in relationship to the individual, and whether the person responds primarily to internal or external authority. This aspect of Fowler's formulation is related to, but transcends the psychological construct of locus of control in that it explicitly addresses powers toward which individual may draw on for orientation. A statement may be coded under Locus of Authority if it answers any of the following questions: Does the person locate authority internally or externally? To whom or what does the person look for guidance or approval? To whom or what does the person hold themselves responsible? How does the person identify authority?

The questions Do you feel that your life has meaning at present? What makes your life meaningful to you? (10), If you could change one thing about yourself or your life, what would you most want to change? (11), the question of how to approach an Important Decision (15), and the question on the Purpose of Human life (18) should provide material on locus of authority.

Working on the aspect of Locus of Authority the coder will ask:

- Does the respondent rely on external authority which is taken for granted (style 1)?
- Is the person relating to an external authority, which is based on orthodoxy and absoluteness, thus on rules (style 2)?
- Is authority grounded in tacit interpersonal values consonant with the respondent's social group (style 3)?
- Does the person rely on an internal authority, a self-ratified ideological perspective, an explicit relationship to authority (style 4)?
- Is the person relying on an internal authority, which shows reflective engagement with multiple perspectives as well as a disciplined subjectivity (style 5)?

3.1.5 Aspect: Form of World Coherence

This aspect describes how a person constructs the object world, including the sense of the ultimate environment. It answers the questions, "How do things make sense?" or, "How do the various elements of my experience fit together?" The form of world coherence is a type of cosmology, whether explicit or tacit. It includes the person's worldview, and may include explicitly religious answers. It also includes the principles by which this worldview is constructed, the logical relations by which elements of the world are held together. This aspect may be seen as related to Antonovsky's construct "sense of coherence," which means to experience one's world as comprehensible, manageable and meaningful (Antonovsky 1979). However, in our understanding of this aspect, the focus is more on how a meaningful world view is constructed.

The questions on Harmony with the Universe (13), What does death mean to you? What happens to us when we die? (19), How do you explain the presence of evil in our world? (24) and the question of how to deal with religious conflicts (25) may provide data indicating the respondent's form of world coherence.

The rating will attend to the questions:

- Does the interviewee show an impressionistic picture of the world, a view that seems partial and fragmented (style 1)?
- Is world coherence based on cause and effect, based on concrete and empirical evidence and without reflective distance (style 2)?
- Is the coherence of the interviewee's world based on tacit systems, which may also include simple and uncritical pluralism (style 3)?

- Does the coherence of the respondent's world rely on an explicit system, on striving for closure (style 4)?
- Is the world coherence characterized by multi-levelled and complex reality, are disparate elements held in tension, displaying a reflective sensitivity toward history and culture (style 5)?

3.1.6 Aspect: Symbolic Function

This aspect is concerned with how the person understands, appropriates, and utilizes symbols and other aspects of language in the process of meaning-making and locating their centers of value and images of power. Any passage which reveals how a person interprets symbolic material, particularly those symbols which are important to the individual, can be coded under this aspect.

Material will be provided in particular by the questions regarding the respondent's image of God, conception of the transcendent, or world view and how it has changed over time (4), by the question whether the participant regards themselves as religious, spiritual or faithful person (20), by the way the respondent appropriates symbols (21), and how they understand and use rituals and/or prayer (22), and finally by the question about the person's understanding of mature faith or handling of existential questions (14).

Working on the aspect Symbolic Function the leading questions are:

- Is there a distinction between the symbol and what it stands for? If not, we see style 1.
- Is there an interpretation of symbols, which is literal and perhaps relying on one authoritarian text ("intratextuality") (style 2)?
- Is there conventional interpretation, pre-critical openness to symbols and their power to evoke feeling and emotion (style 3)?
- Does the respondent explicitly translate symbols into concepts or ideas, thus "demythologizing" them (style 4)?
- Does the respondent keep the evocative power of a symbol and its ideational content in tension, displaying "second naiveté" (style 5)?

3.2 A Chart of Themes and Aspects

As indicated in the aspect descriptions already, we have associated the single FDI questions to the aspects. With this, we follow the procedure already implemented in the first edition of this Manual. We recommend scoring the single questions in the FDI according to the assigned aspect, even though this requires going back and forth in the interview transcript. This procedure may yield a sense of the aspects in the interview—and thereby inspire interpretation and case study writing.

However, as explained above, we have reduced the number of aspects and therefore we have carefully re-arranged these associations. We present the association of the FDI questions with the aspects in Table 2.

We additionally note: If scoring of a single FDI question according to the aspect assigned in Table 2 seems not possible, the coder may decide whether or not the text is scorable at all or whether it should be assigned to a different aspect. For the latter, eventually move the question to another aspect (there are extra rows in the scoring sheet, marked yellow, as will be explained below).

Table 2. Association of Faith Development Interview Questions to Aspects

1 Life chapters	Perspective-taking
2 Past relationships	
3 Changes in relationships	
7 Parents	
5 Breakthrough	Social Horizon
6 Crises	
8 Current relationships	
9 Groups	
12 Beliefs, values, commitments	Morality
16 Action right/wrong	
17 Always right	
23 Sin	
10 Your life meaning	Locus of Authority
11 Change one thing	
15 Important decision	
18 Purpose of human life	
13 Harmony with universe	Form of World Coherence
19 Death	
24 Evil in the world	
25 Religious conflicts	
4 Changes in world view / Image of God	Symbolic Function
14 Maturity	
20 Religious person?	
21 Religious ideas, symbols, rituals	
22 Pray, meditate?	

3.3 Steps in the Coding Process Using the Scoring Sheet

Already in the third edition of this Manual, we have announced an electronic scoring sheet. This has been revised for this new edition, adapted to the reduced number of aspects. Figure 4 presents a screen shot of the scoring sheet in Excel, which we recommend for coding, because of several features such as automatic calculation and style-aspect map production, and easy import in external quantitative data sets.

Themes / Interview Questions		Interact #	Scoring Criteria	style 1	style 2	style 3	style 4	style 5
Perspective-taking	Life chapters (1)					3		
	Past relationships (2)						4	
	Changes in relationships (3)					3		
	Parents (7)					3		
Social Horizon	Breakthrough (5)						4	
	Crises (6)						4	
	Current relationships (8)					3		
	Groups (9)					3		
Morality	Beliefs, Values, commitments (12)						4	
	Action right/wrong (16)					3		
	Always right (17)						4	
	Sin (23)					3		
Locus of authority	Your life meaning (10)					3		
	Change one thing (11)						4	
	Important decision (15)					3		
	Purpose of human life (18)					3		
Form of World Coherence	Harmony with the universe (13)					3		
	Death (19)					3		
	Evil (24)					3		
	Religious conflicts (25)						4	
Symbolic Function	Changes in worldview/Image of God (4)					3		
	Religious Person (20)					3		
	Religious ideas, symbols, rituals (21)						4	
	Pray, meditate (22)					3		
	Maturity (14)						4	

	Percentage of single style Assignments	0,00	0,00	0,64	0,36	0,00	
Please enter estimated total FDI score	Total FDI Score						3

Figure 4. Example of a Scoring Sheet

3.3.1 Coding the Responses

We begin with the first aspect, perspective-taking. Look up your subject’s response to the “Life Chapters” question (1), as prompted on the scoring sheet. In the scoring sheet column “Interact #,” write in the number of the passage/interact of the response(s) to the FDI question under consideration. Then find and note your style assignment. If you are not sure, it is recommended that you check the criteria one style above and one style below your initial style guess. After you have coded several interviews, this should only be necessary when a response appears ambiguous or appears to contain elements of more than one style. Let’s say you have estimated that an interact in your interview will best be described by the style 3 criteria. You will turn to the Manual’s section on style 3 for the respective aspect, e.g. perspective-taking. If the criteria do adequately describe the subject’s response, type “3” in the “Style 3” column on the scoring sheet and make a note of the criteria you are referring to in justification your style assignment in the “Scoring Criteria” column of

the score sheet. It may also be helpful to note to which parts of the answer you are referring to especially; you may even want to put in a short quote from the interview.

In the same way, you may analyze the other questions under the specific aspect. In the scoring sheet, an additional blank line (marked yellow) is provided for other passages that supply structure-indicating information for that specific aspect. In any case, you should aim to have at least three passages that provide solid evidence for each aspect. You should in any case avoid writing more than one style assignments in one single row or use decimals in one cell.

There are times when no criteria adequately describe a response. What should be done with puzzling passages? This could be answered as follows:

(1) The response is uncodable; that is, it is too short or remains ambiguous for other reasons. In that case, note “uncodable” on your scoring sheet and try to find another passage that does adequately represent structure-indicating material for that aspect.

(2) The response may contain a mixture of two styles next to each other or the response may contain a mixture of two styles which are not next to each other. To account for such potential style/aspect diversity, we recommend carefully reading and interpreting whether there may be two styles present; then, you should still try to make a decision for one style, yet note your doubts in the scoring criteria section, clarifying the reasons pro or contra the respective style. Furthermore, you can mark in color the style you did *not* choose in the end. This will be immensely helpful when comparing first and second rating or when writing case studies.

3.3.2 Interpret the Style-Aspect Map and Assign the Total FDI Score

Look at the style-aspect mapping columns. The Excel scoring sheet also includes an easy-to-read figure (see Figure 5), which can be copied and included in case study texts. You may have a straight vertical line—which would indicate that the interview is displaying one style. When you see an amplitude of more than one style or virtually two vertical lines, this may indicate that the interview presents two separate styles. To decide this, the Excel sheet counts the number of assignments of each style. When you have observed that there are only a few passages that simply do not fit with the style codes you have been assigning to the majority of other passages, take the most frequent style assignment and note this as the estimated final FDI score. This is, of course, an interpretation and an estimate, it points toward the predominant religious style or the predominant stage (*sensu* Fowler) for this person. When you are convinced that you have two lines, you may have an interview of a person who may operate at different styles. In case of equal frequencies of assignments of two or more styles, the highest style should be noted as the final FDI score. However, all reflections should be noted on the scoring sheet; these may be very helpful notes when writing up a case study about such an interesting case.⁶

There may be significant differences of style assignments across the aspects. It has been observed in earlier studies, for example, that style assignments to the single 25 FDI questions, and even entire aspects, may differ by a whole style or more. Discrepant style assignments can point to uneven developmental trajectories in different domains. This discrepancy may also indicate partial regression on or revival of earlier styles.

⁶ For examples of FDI evaluation, we recommend reading our research reports from the Deconversion, Spirituality and Xenosophia Projects.

Interpretations of single interviews need to rely on careful work with the interview material at hand, including discussion of the limitations of a one-time-observation.⁷ A new initiative, based on reflections on religious styles development and fundamentalism (Streib, 2001a; 2001b; 2002; 2003b), is the identification of patterns and specific profiles that are specific to fundamentalist orientations. Aspect-specific ‘profiles’ are of special importance for the analysis of members with fundamentalist orientation. For them, we hypothesize, besides their “normal” overall style achievement, the presence of a do-ut-des or taskmaster deity of Style Two. Thus, we may see in an interview, for example, higher style assignments in questions and aspects with a predominantly ‘worldly’ focus, e.g. those interview passages which fall under the Aspect of *Social Horizon* or *Perspective Taking*, and lower style assignments in questions or aspects with a more existential or religious focus, e.g. in Aspects *Locus of Authority*⁸ or *Form of World Coherence*. If we keep these aspects separate, we are able to document a potential aspect-specific difference in developmental levels.

Thus, we strive for openness with respect to the empirical analysis to discover to what extent the aspects form more complex clusters based on cognitive skills, personality characteristics, motivations, and biographical trajectories. For more easy identification of such discrepancies, and possible patterns of discrepancies, we included a figure, the so-called “Style-Aspect Map” (see Figure 5) in the electronic scoring sheet, which maps the style assignments to each single FDI question, sorted according to the aspects.

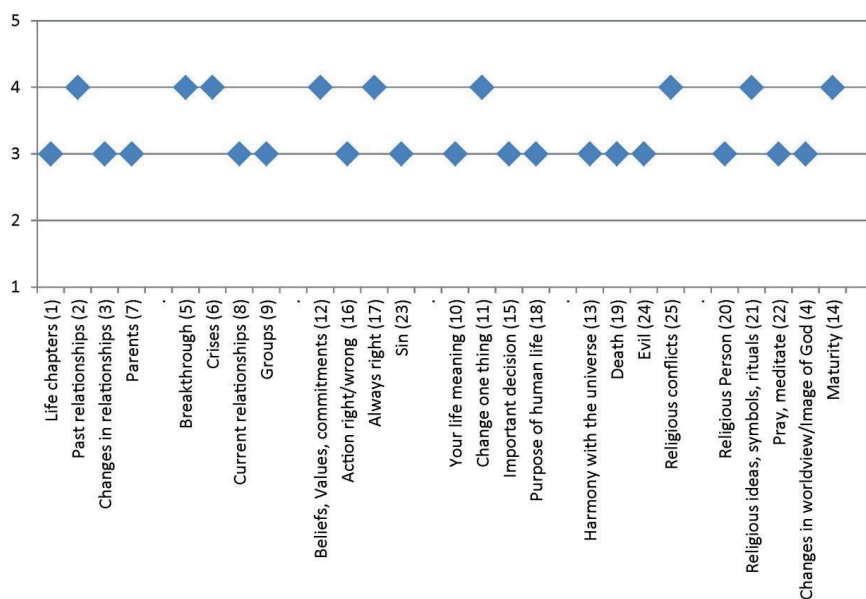


Figure 5. Example of Style-Aspect Map

⁷ In a major Bielefeld-Chattanooga research project, we are studying, for the first time, religious styles development in longitudinal perspective—which is necessary to explore regression or progression based on observation.

⁸ See for example the faith development profile of “Omar” in Tarar, Hassan, & Keller (2017).

4 Aspect-Specific Coding Criteria

4.1 Aspect: Perspective Taking

4.1.1 Style 1

At Style 1, the capacity to take the perspective of others or to see oneself as the object of another's perception is limited. This is especially associated with young children who do not yet know fully that their internal world is private and individual (Fonagy & Target, 2007, 922). The young child at Style 1 has not yet developed a sense of self that is differentiated from others and the world. From the perspective of the child or the adult at Style 1, who does not realize that there are minds which mediate any kind of knowledge, there is no shared perspective, but just what is perceived. According to the teleological mode of the mentalization model, there is reliance on cause-effect relations which are physically observable. Separation from parents or caretakers causes significant anxieties in the young child, and the adult with this style may tend to keep a relationship at all costs because being on one's own feels like being lost—the presence of another person is needed to meet the challenges of the world (Fonagy, Luyten, Allison & Campbell, 2017).

Style 1 Coding Criteria for Perspective Taking

1. Persons at Style 1 do not usually engage with the other. Rather, their conversations are more like parallel monologues that seem to take the other and their involvement for granted.
2. The person at this style is not aware of the interiority of the other.
3. Style 1's reactions to the other/the world are expressed in terms of the other's mono-directional effect on the self, e.g. fear, suspicion, reward, etc.
4. Keeping a relationship at all costs in order not to be alone points to an anxiety which characterizes this style.

4.1.2 Style 2

Style 2's perspective taking is usually based upon concrete imagery. It is the kind of perspective taking that enables one to write a letter, for example, which requires one to imagine the thoughts and reactions of a person not seen, however, without much awareness of different inner processes in self and others.

There is generally not much awareness of one's own or the other's interiority at Style 2. This style resonates with the mode of psychic equivalence of the mentalization model: What is perceived is perceived as reality per se—and not as mediated through inner processes. The person at this style is usually embedded in their own needs and wants and does not see the other as being different from them in this regard. Rather, 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. It also means that the person at Style 2 will tend to view the other in terms of the other's ability to satisfy that individual's desires. Perspective taking at Style 2 will also often display the need to control or manipulate the other and the perception of being controlled and manipulated. The other is there at Style 2 in a very concrete way.

Style 2 Coding Criteria for Perspective Taking

1. The person at Style 2 can be aware of the perspective of the other to the extent that they can recognize that another (hypothetical or imagined) person may have a different perspective.
2. Style 2 perspective taking is usually concrete. Interview statements scored Style 2 will not show an explicit awareness of the interiority of the other, i.e., the other's inner thoughts and feelings, as being different from one's own.
3. At Style 2, the other is usually objectified in terms of their reactions to my needs and wants. This is the attempt at prediction and control applied to social relations.
4. Style 2 may be harshly judgmental in its characterization of others.
5. Style 2 individuals usually are not engaged in seeing the self from the imagined perspective of the other.

4.1.3 Style 3

At Style 3 the other person is recognized as having an interiority of their own. Perspective taking at Style 3 is mutual and interpersonal. The question, “How do you think she feels about that?” emerges at Style 3 and can be answered on the basis of imagined thoughts and feelings of the other. Style 3 will often orient towards, and perhaps depend on, the feelings, moods and emotional states of the other.

Style 3 also begins to construct a “generalized other” (Mead). This construction, the idea of what “they are thinking,” however remains a tacit orientation in the person’s consciousness. This form of generalized perspective taking reflects Style 3’s embeddedness in the matrix of social relations of which it is a part. In fact, it may be said that the person at Style 3 gives more power and control to the other than to the self.

Style 3 relies on the other to dispute their perceptions of things and even their opinion of self. It is the realization that one also has the power to dispute the other’s perceptions that marks the beginnings of the breakdown of Style 3 and the emergence of a sense of self that transcends the matrix of social relations. This realization relativizes the power of the other and gives the person the ability to call the authority of the “generalized other” into question⁹. When this occurs, there arises the need of a “third person perspective” to mediate between self and other. It is out of this “third person” that the rational and reflective self of Style 4 is eventually constructed.

Style 3 Coding Criteria for Perspective Taking

1. Perspective taking at Style 3 is mutual and interpersonal. The person at Style 3 will attempt to understand the interiority of the other, particularly with regards to the other’s feelings and emotions, but often can only achieve this in a limited or stereotypical way.
2. At Style 3, the person is embedded in their social relationships. Others, particularly the “generalized other,” have the power to determine the “me.”
3. Significant others are not usually self-selected at Style 3. Rather, the social context has the initiative in determining which others become salient.
4. The person at Style 3 will often take on the opinions of others without much explicit reflection.
5. Interview statements at Style 3 will display the ability to take the other’s motives and intentions into account. Style 3 perspective taking will often display an orientation toward meeting the expectations of others.
6. Perspective taking at Style 3 will tend to locate interpersonal conflicts in the external world, i.e., between the self and others. Style 3 experiences conflict as the conflicting demands of external other persons or groups, rather than as partially the conflict of its own desires.
7. Style 3 perspective taking is not usually critical or systematic except in a stereotypical way. Style 3 does not see the other as part of a more abstract system of relationships.

⁹ In terms of the development of reflective functioning / mentalization, there is growing awareness of inner processes which structure others’ as well as one’s own perceptions.

4.1.4 Style 4

Perspective taking at Style 4 represents a systemic view, which is different from the mutuality that characterizes Style 3. At Style 4 the person sees the other as a unique individual in terms of the other's particular thought system, worldview or history, comparing, justifying and maintaining their own worldview with respect to those of others.

The interiority of the other is imagined in a conceptually mediated way, according to self-selected rules or principles of relationship. The personality of the other will be constructed and explained in terms of a subjective theory of personality or an ideology.

At Style 4 there is a sense of the "I" that is more independent from relationships. Because this emergent sense of the "I" is identified with its thought system or worldview, it will also tend to see the other "I's" in the same manner. Style 4 perspective taking can conceptually formulate and analyze its relationships with others, and thus gain some critical distance on its emotional and religious or ideological commitments. Style 4 tends to over-objectify, to see the other only in terms of their self-selected system of ideas, thus reducing or ignoring particular qualities of the other. This style resonates with what is portrayed as "mentalization": the awareness of one's own and others' inner worlds, however, with a focus on the discovery of one's own inner world.

Perspective taking that attempts to genuinely see the other as other and perspective taking that appears not to use conceptual systems or worldviews to evaluate the other should be checked against Style 5 criteria on this aspect.

Style 4 Coding Criteria for Perspective Taking

1. Interview statements that are scored Style 4 will display a reflective and systematic approach to perspective taking. Others will be thought of in terms of their ideas, histories and worldviews. Others will be seen as part of larger, generalized systems of relationships. They will be perceived, construed and evaluated through the lenses of the person's self-selected worldview or thought system.
2. The person at Style 4 will usually be able to consider and analyze the viewpoint of the other, but often in a defensive manner, with an eye toward maintaining their own viewpoint.
3. Style 4 constructs the other (and the self) in terms of general rules, laws or principles of relationship. The person has an explicit theory of how people should relate to each other.
4. Style 4 perspective taking will center on the forms of relationship and institutional values.
5. The person at Style 4 is not able to consider the full interiority of the other. Rather, their view of the other is often limited to a reconstruction of the other's ideas and thought processes. Style 4 orients the individual toward ideas and worldviews; it is usually not able to accord the other's autonomy from the self, to see the other in their otherness.

4.1.5 Style 5

Style 5 takes multiple perspectives and brings to this aspect a heightened ability to construct the perspective of the other in its complexity and along multiple dimensions. Style 5 perspective taking will attend to affect, history and situation as well as the ideas or world view of the other, thus exemplifying mentalization at an advanced level. Style 5 will strive to recognize the other in their otherness or autonomy. Thereby, the person will bracket their own thoughts or feelings in order to develop openness toward a fresh perception of the “strange” and strive to “see” from the perspective of the other. Style 5 perspective taking clearly reflects a model of relating to the strange with intellectual humility, which, with reference to the works of Waldenfels (2011) and Nakamura (2000), we associate with xenosophia (Streib, 2018) and which has been included as the third schema (xenosophia/inter-religious dialog, xenos) in the Religious Schema Scale (Streib, Hood, & Klein, 2010).

Style 5 is less invested in defining, maintaining or defending one’s own perspective than Style 4. Style 5 shows increasing attention to the emotions and to the possibility of a depth dimension in the self and others. This “re-opening” of the self-other boundary, however, is not uncritical nor does it imply the easy pluralism of Style 3 or the fusion of earlier styles. Style 5 can see itself from the perspective of the other, thus its perspective taking is grounded in critical self-awareness and the knowledge of its own particularity and limits. Style 5 perspective taking is fully dialogical. Style 5 has a sense of self that can reflect on itself and its emotions, ideas, systems and world views. Thus it is able to move between systems and is open to being changed by the other.

Style 5 Coding Criteria for Perspective Taking

1. Style 5 will often be self-critical, rather than defensive, in its perspective taking. There will often be a conscious bracketing of one’s own point of view for the sake of trying to see the world as the other sees it (intellectual humility).
2. Statements coded Style 5 should reflect the ability to take and identify with the perspective of the other without much concern for the defense of one’s own perspective, even if those perspectives are radically different from one’s own.
3. Statements at Style 5 should reflect the perception of what something might mean to the other without the projection of one’s own values and beliefs.
4. Style 5 is able to grant autonomy to the other and to look at the other from the other’s perspective, that is, to construct the ways in which others may be seeing themselves and how they may see oneself, which opens a self-critical perspective.
5. There is often a return to an emphasis on the particular in social perspective taking at Style 5. The other is valued for their uniqueness as an individual, and not only for their membership in a class or group.

4.2 Aspect: Social Horizon

4.2.1 Style 1

The world of the young child is constituted largely by the family and particularly by the primary caretaker, which are taken for granted. While there is awareness of others, this awareness is usually mediated by the primary relationships or of secondary importance.

In later life, there is little awareness of how others are related to self and to the family at Style 1. The person at Style 1 does not yet construct wider systems of relationships. Style 1's responses to persons outside the family are idiosyncratic and interactions with others are usually moment-to-moment.

Style 1 Coding Criteria for Social Horizon

1. Style 1 will display little awareness of relationships outside the family.
2. Style 1 has the ability to recognize others and to name them, but does not have the categories of relationship to classify them.
3. Responses which indicate that the interviewee makes no difference between self and other, e.g. talking as if the interviewer already knows all persons and events, may indicate Style 1.

4.2.2 Style 2

The social horizon at Style 2 is widened to include persons outside the immediate family such as close friends, day care and school authorities, teachers, or (in adulthood) the group of close colleagues etc. Because classification operations are in place at Style 2, the person at Style 2 may be aware of different types of social relationships outside the immediate family. Nevertheless, Style 2 persons relate to their social environment as if it were their family or primal group into which they are born or have naturally grown; this social environment represents the unquestioned and authoritative orientation.

Therefore, on the basis of such widened social horizon at Style 2, powerful stereotyping can occur, which may, in addition, reflect the characteristics of Style 2, as the images of others that the person holds are concrete, literal and immediate – and taken as perceptions of reality, not as mediated inner images one can have in one's mind and eventually see differently from another perspective.

Style 2 Coding Criteria for Social Horizon

1. The primary identification of Style 2 Social Horizon is with the family of origin or another closed family-type in-group the person belongs to, however, the person at Style 2 is aware of others outside this set of relationships.
2. Style 2 will refer to appearances in relation to others. Persons will divide others into "those like us" and "those not like us." The own family and primal groups are concrete, their rules are interpreted literally and authoritative.

4.2.3 Style 3

Personal identity at Style 3 is a derived identity that is constructed on the basis of interpersonal expectation and the desire to please significant others. The locus of identity at Style 3 is shifting away from the family and moving toward the peer group and a wider social network. Nevertheless, Style 3 social horizon is limited to the group or groups, the relational network, in which the person is immediately involved. This may include the family, of course, but at Style 3 the boundaries of social relations are widened to include the peer group and, in our media based culture, eventually scenes and groups in social networks.

The social horizon at Style 3 typically tends to be formed from generalized composite images of one's own group or groups—on the basis of which other groups outside the person's relational network are apt to be harshly devaluated. Images of groups and their norms are largely tacit at Style 3. They are constructed at a high level of generality and appropriated implicitly.

Style 3 Coding Criteria for Social Horizon

1. Statements which take the perspective of the person's social group, which express the opinion of that group, and/or explain changes in the person's life with primary reference to that group should be coded Style 3.
2. Check the boundaries of the social group: they should, at Style 3, not be limited to the immediate family or representatives of a closed in-group social authority. (If these boundaries appear to be very narrowly constricted or limited to the immediate family or representatives of a closed in-group social authority, uncritically appropriated, check the response against style 2 criteria).
3. Statements that express a mode of valuing that centers on group goals or interpersonal concordance within the membership group and which value the membership group to the exclusion of other groups should be coded Style 3.
4. Statements stressing harmonious relationships in one's social group(s) should be rated Style 3.

4.2.4 Style 4

The social horizon at Style 4 is widened to include organizations and ideological systems. One must bear in mind that the primary concern at Style 4 is maintaining the system with which the self is identified, and the person at Style 4 will tend to see others as parts or representatives of systems or social orders, rather than as individuals. Thus the person at Style 4 often has an oversimplified or reduced view of the members of systems other than the one they have selected. Changes in the person's life (breakthrough, crisis) are explained with primary reference to systems of social order.

The mode of group participation at Style 4 is explicit and reflected, however, rather ideological: social inclusion will extend to those persons and communities that have some ideological compatibility with the individual. Those parties who are not ideologically compatible are generally viewed critically from the perspective of one's own ideology or system. Style 4 will thus tend towards dichotomizing the social realm into those who are ideologically compatible and those who are not.

Style 4 Coding Criteria for Social Horizon

1. Style 4 judges who is included and who is alien on the basis of ideological compatibility.
2. Style 4 tends to see other individuals as part of a system or group, rather than as individuals.
3. Style 4 can consider a wide range of viewpoints, but usually does so in order to preserve its own perspective.
4. Style 4 has rather clear-cut explanations for changes in a person's life.
5. Style 4 tends to dichotomize: it divides persons and groups into categories of ideologically compatible or incompatible.
6. Pluralism, when it is part of an explicit system, can also reflect Style 4 attitudes in this aspect.

4.2.5 Style 5

Statements coded Style 5 on this aspect should display not only the expanded awareness of groups and classes other than one's own that occurs at this style, but an active seeking to include other groups different from one's own for the purpose of dialog. Style 5 will seek out the opinions of others and show openness toward them. Whereas Style 4 is seeking closure and tends not to invite dissonance, Style 5 is apt to give as much weight to the views and opinions of others as to their own, and try to accept difference and cope with dissonance by eventually referring to some higher order inter-group principle or meta-level of discourse. Style 5 opts for dialog. However, dialog may not always be successful, thus persons with this style tend toward accepting the conflictual nature of social life. Changes in a person's life (breakthrough and crises) are represented in a rather complex interplay of influences; there is less reliance on rational explanations alone, but also room for mystery.

Style 5 Coding Criteria for Social Horizon

1. Style 5 is willing to include persons and groups that are different in its social awareness.
2. Style 5 will actively seek contact with groups and persons that are different for the purposes of comparison. It displays openness toward those differences. It can live with the challenge of the "strange" and hold it in tension to its own position.
3. Style 5 affirms pluralism as an enriching phenomenon. Style 5 also seeks principles upon which pluralism can be workable. Style 5 features dialog.
4. Style 5 will approach the understanding of changes in one's life as open and unfinished project.

4.3 Aspect: Morality

4.3.1 Style 1

Style 1 is, in effect, a “pre-moral” style. While the person at Style 1 may be able to articulate notions of right and wrong, good and bad, these are usually evaluated solely in terms of consequences to the self, usually avoiding punishment—corresponding to the teleological (cause-effect) mode which precedes mentalization. Because the person at Style 1 has not yet developed their own perspective, the person at this style cannot consider the perspectives and interests of others, because they do not yet know that there are other’s interests which can be different from their own. Actions are judged on the basis of consequences, usually physical consequences. Authority is not clearly defined or differentiated, but it is based upon the power to punish. Thus fear of punishment is associated with Style 1 morality.

Style 1 Coding Criteria for Morality

1. The form of morality at Style 1 is usually oriented toward physical consequences, particularly deprivation or other forms of punishment. Physical consequences to the self are the most important criteria for determining what is right at Style 1.
2. Style 1 is not aware of the intention or motive of an act when determining whether it is right or wrong.
3. “Good or bad” are better understood than concepts of right and wrong at this style
4. There is no clear sense of “self” and “other” available at Style 1.

4.3.2 Style 2

The person at Style 2 makes moral decisions on the basis of instrumental reciprocity, a *do-ut-des* ("I'll do something for you, in order that you do something for me") type of orientation. In case of instrumental reciprocity with authority figures such as parents, God or the divine, Style 2 morality may thus involve fear of punishment or expectation of reward. Usually, this reciprocity is one-to-one and based on a concrete individualistic perspective that is not mediated by group identifications and the concern for the maintenance of interpersonal relationships that we find salient at Style 3. Style 2 is the style of concrete exchange in the service of one's own needs and interests. The notion of "right" is based on instrumental-reciprocal exchange. Style 2 will follow rules when they are perceived to serve its interests. Persons at this style will be aware that other people have different interests and that these interests can conflict. Style 2 attempts to resolve conflicting interests by exchanging favors or services, or by making sure that everyone gets the same amount.

Style 2 Coding Criteria for Morality

1. Morality at Style 2 is based on instrumental reciprocity and usually involves concrete consequences.
2. Morality at Style 2 shows an awareness of the other person or authority figure, and the person may take into consideration what the authority person might decide to do. Therefore, Style 2 morality is a *do-ut-des* morality.
3. The satisfaction of one's needs is the basis of Style 2 moral judgments. Style 2 attempts to satisfy its needs by exchange.
4. Style 2 moral judgments are usually based on a concrete and simple reciprocity. e.g., it is wrong to hit another child because he might hit you back. (Interview statements that display more complex reasoning, such as, "it is wrong to hit another child because you want to keep his friendship," etc. should be checked against the criteria of style 3.)

4.3.3 Style 3

Morality at Style 3 follows the general structural features of the style. A person at Style 3 is embedded in the world of interpersonal relations, therefore grounds morality on values of interpersonal harmony and concordance. Style 3 is concerned with living up to the expectations of significant others and with fulfilling its role obligations.

The moral universe at Style 3 consists of one's social, religious or ideological group or one's social network. Strangers are often stereotyped in one of two ways: either they are seen to have the same feelings and desires as "we" do (which is a projection), or they are held to be deviant and thus they do not have moral claims on the Style 3 individual. While Style 3 orients toward interpersonal values, it can, at the same time, generate harsh stereotypes of those who are excluded from the scope of its interpersonal awareness.

Moral authority at Style 3 derives from the person's orientation toward interpersonal relationships. "Binding"¹⁰ are those values, which support the maintenance of interpersonal relationships, such as loyalty, honesty, sincerity and other conventional traits of "good character."

It is not unusual to find, in interviews that are largely Style 3, moral judgments that sound much like Style 4, i.e., thinking in terms of law and order and the maintenance of society. It is critical to notice how the notion of society is being constructed, i.e., whether it is seen as an abstract system of rules and relations, or whether it is an assimilation and projection of the values of one's own group or class.

Style 3 Coding Criteria for Morality

1. Morality at Style 3 will generally display values which are important to the maintenance of interpersonal relationships and harmony and concordance within a group such as loyalty, honesty and integrity, etc. At Style 3, interpersonal consequences make the difference.
2. Morality at Style 3 orients toward the feelings and internal states of concrete individuals as a basis for making decisions about the rightness or wrongness of actions. Simple moral relativism, especially when it makes reference to personal feelings of interpersonal values, should be coded Style 3 in the absence of further evidence of critical complexity.
3. "Law and order" statements can be Style 3 or Style 4. The distinction is made on the basis of the way the statement is used. If the statement is used in a taken-for-granted convention to defend the maintenance of one's own group, it should be coded Style 3. If the statement sees law as representing principles upon which society should be founded, it should be checked against the criteria of Styles 4.

¹⁰ These notions resonate with the "binding" moral foundations in "Moral Foundations Theory" (e.g. Graham, Nosek & Haidt 2012) loyalty/authority/sanctity. Relating this conception to religious styles development, we suppose that styles 1 to 3 will be more characterized by these moral foundations or intuitions. With style 4 a movement toward the "individualizing" as well as "generalizing" moral foundations care/fairness sets in.

4.3.4 Style 4

Style 4 morality is oriented toward the maintenance of society or the social order and toward doing one's duty for that end, a kind of “Law and Order” reasoning. The maintenance of the social order is consonant with Style 4’s orientation to logic, systems and boundary maintenance. The person at Style 4 explicitly takes the viewpoint of the system or social order. What is right is closely explicitly associated with doing one's duty within that system.

While Style 4 orients persons toward system and law, assessment of the rights and duties of others is usually made from the perspective of their contribution to the maintenance of the social order. Laws are to be obeyed, unless they conflict with principles of social order. At the individual level, the person at Style 4 thinks in terms of fulfilling obligations and judges actions on the basis of what would happen to the social order if everyone did it.

Statements which display a “prior to society” perspective—addressing moral judgments in terms of the rules and principles upon which a just social order could be founded—should be checked against Style 5 criteria.

Style 4 Coding Criteria for Morality

1. Style 4 moral judgments emphasize laws, rights or duties in terms of their function in maintaining a social system or order. Style 4 morality is explicitly and rationally defended.
2. There is a tendency at Style 4 for moral judgments to reflect the position of the individual’s self-chosen class or group; one does not take a perspective based on the rules of an idealized “prior to society” social order.
3. Style 4 moral judgments may reflect the values of maintaining the institution or social order over the rights or needs of individuals.

4.3.5 Style 5

Morality at Style 5 will display moral reasoning based on principles, or the search for mediation in regard to conflicting moralities. Thereby Style 5 reasoning may operate on the level of kind of “prior to society” perspective, that is, the person will aim at basing their morality on principles upon which an ideal society can be based. Often Style 5 will also display a complex reasoning process whereby competing claims in a situation are held in tension, and a principle is sought which may mediate or resolve that tension. Interviews at Style 5 will display an awareness that people tend to hold a variety of values and opinions and that these values and opinions can be relative to one's culture, group or historical moment.

At Style 5, there is also the possibility of multiple perspective taking in the evaluation of morality. Style 5 will be able to assume the perspective of several actors in a moral conflict situation and will be aware that there are multiple points of view that can be taken toward a moral issue. Style 5 will make efforts toward integrating these multiple perspectives or discuss how to keep them in tension.

Style 5 Coding Criteria for Morality

1. Morality at Style 5 will display a “prior to society” perspective where principles of right or justice are seen as prior to the upholding of a given social order.
2. Style 5 will be capable of taking multiple perspectives on issues of moral concern. Style 5 will keep a “critical” distance through considering principles by which a social order can be criticized.
3. Style 5 moral reasoning may appear utilitarian in form. Persons at this style will attempt to reach moral decision by weighing the competing claims to benefits in a situation according to some principle of distribution. Style 5 will perceive the relativity of cultural values and norms, but will opt for dialog and mediation.
4. Style 5 moral judgments will often orient toward the individuals in a situation, rather than taking society's or a group's perspective. It will uphold the rights of the individual over and against loyalties to society or the group.

4.4 Aspect: Locus of Authority

4.4.1 Style 1

The person at Style 1 does not possess a notion of authority as such. Authority is external at Style 1 and is constituted by the dependency of the person at Style 1 on primary caretakers or by preserving this relationship at all costs. Usually, the acceptance of authority is based on the desire to avoid adverse physical consequences. Children at this style, for example, will show deference to older children, for example, who are bigger or stronger, but true authority resides in the primary caretakers. Carried into adult life, the response to authority at Style 1 is also concrete and situation-specific. In novel situations, the person at Style 1 will often test authority to see what will be allowed.

Style 1 Coding Criteria for Locus of Authority

1. Style 1 will orient toward size, power or other concrete signs of authority.
2. Authority is external at Style 1.
3. Relationship to authority is usually based on the dependency on primary caretakers and on the desire to preserve this relationship at all costs and avoid punishment or being left alone.
4. Style 1 will often test authority in concrete ways.

4.4.2 Style 2

Style 2 locus of authority is external, but the person at Style 2 has begun to move to a more autonomous position with regard to the relationship to authority. Style 2 is able to question and negotiate with authority figures. The person at this style is aware of their needs and desires and these are weighed against the claims of authorities. Style 2 will negotiate with authorities to obtain the most favorable arrangement.

At Style 2 significant authorities are still largely limited to those who have the power to exert a concrete influence on the individual. Style 2 relates to authority in terms of fulfilling role expectations.

Style 2 Coding Criteria for Locus of Authority

1. Style 2 is able to question authority and ask the reasons for a request or prohibition, thus going beyond the dependency-obedience relationship of Style 1.
2. At Style 2, the range of persons who can function as authorities widens to include those persons that one's in-group invests in authority roles.
3. Style 2 locus of authority is external. The immediate family or in-group people belong to is the most important source of authority for most of Style 2.
4. Badges and other symbols of authority are important to the person at Style 2.
5. Relations to persons of authority display a concrete component at Style 2. Personal relatedness increases the salience of an authority figure.
6. Absoluteness and orthodoxy are criteria for assessing the claims of authorities at Style 2.

4.4.3 Style 3

Style 3 grounds its acceptance of authority in tacit interpersonal values which are consonant with the peer group or the social group one identifies with. Group consensus, real or hypothesized, is an important way of legitimating authority at Style 3. The power of the valued group is tacit and often very strong. Social convention plays an important part in the validation of authority at Style 3 and the stamp of social approval is often the determinative factor in deciding whether or not a given authority will be accepted by the person in Style 3. Lacking Style 4's reflective and principled forms of reasoning, the individual at Style 3 often selects objects of trust and authority on the basis of whether they seem to be accepted by significant others. Because the person at Style 3 is embedded in their social relationships, they are unable to penetrate completely the interiority of the other, and do not locate the other within a system or order. Thus appearances become the major clue to the other's intentions. Style 3 thus usually attends to fairly conventional symbols of authority.

Style 3 Coding Criteria for Locus of Authority

1. Statements that reflect a trust in socially approved figures and institutions should be coded Style 3 in the absence of evidence of critical and systemic thinking about these issues.
2. Statements that display the tendency to select authorities on the basis of feelings, appearances, or tacit images and concepts are usually Style 3.
3. Statements that reflect an accommodation with traditional forms of authority that have not been critically examined or rationally legitimated are Style 3.
4. Statements that show a tendency to select authority figures on the basis of group consensus or the appearance of approval by significant others are usually Style 3.

4.4.4 Style 4

At style 4, authority figures are selected on the basis of rational principles and the claims of authority are accepted or rejected on the basis of whether such claims are compatible with one's self-selected ideology, worldview or outlook. The Style 4 relation to authority, however, is based on a straightforward deduction of 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 social order and fair relations among people is properly characteristic of Style 4.

If there is a “prior to society” perspective, or an emphasis on reflected subjectivity and pluralism, coding should be checked against the criteria of Style 5.

Style 4 Coding Criteria for Locus of Authority

1. Style 4 authority is internally located, based on a self-ratified, ideological perspective.
2. The mode of assessing the claims of authority is always conceptually mediated at Style 4, usually in terms of compatibility with the self-selected set of ideological principles. The relationship to authority is explicit and rational at Style 4.
3. Style 4 tends to locate authority in ideas, systems and institutions, rather than in persons. When there is identification with an authority figure, they are usually selected for the way they represent a system, institution or set of ideas.
4. At Style 4 there is the ability to stand back from authority relationships and evaluate them, thus take a critical perspective.

4.4.5 Style 5

The centers of power and authority that appeared at the other styles—laws, cultural norms, traditions, individuals, the opinions of others, ideologies—can also be present at Style 5 yet they will be mediated by Style 5's characteristic multiple perspective taking and tensional or mediated thought. The Style 5 emphasis on choice, pluralism, and individual responsibility tends to mediate the reliance on any one authority. Authority at Style 5 is internally located and develops in the dialectic of multiple perspectives.

Although it is possible to find individual subjectivity functioning as the final arbiter of authority at Style 5, it is always a reflected subjectivity mediated by critical thought and imagination that one encounters in Style 5 statements. It should be distinguished from the pre-critical subjectivity and unreflected pluralism of Style 3. When the mode of appropriation of authority appears to be absolute, it should be checked against the ideological stance of Style 4 (or the external orientation of Style 2) thinking.

Style 5 typically accepts or rejects authority on the basis of its conformity with potentially universalizable principles of relationship, rather than with particular systems or world views. There is a willingness to locate authority in a transcendent dimension at Style 5 and an increasing emphasis on the sovereignty of the individual conscience.

Style 5 Coding Criteria for Locus of Authority

1. The key criteria for classifying a particular statement as Style 5 in terms of locus of authority are that it displays a tensional or mediated approach to any form of authority or authority figure as a result of multiple perspective-taking.
2. Style 5 will judge authority from the perspective of universalizable principles.

4.5 Aspect: Form of World Coherence

4.5.1 Style 1

The world of the person at Style 1 is not clearly separated from the self. Thus the world is invested with human meaning or seen in very concrete human terms. The distinctions that the later styles make between animate and inanimate objects are not clear at Style 1. Things are often invested with purpose or personality.

To the person at Style 1, the episodes of life stand out as events separate and complete unto themselves. They are related only by association, because the person at Style 1 cannot yet construct the categories of space and time or order events in a series.

In addition, the world at this style is constructed partly in fantasy and partly in reality with no clear distinctions between the two.

Style 1 Coding Criteria for Form of World Coherence

1. Statements coded Style 1 will display an episodic character.
2. Style 1 statements will form a partial and intuitive picture of the world, which can look fragmented when compared with those of the later styles.
3. In Style 1 statements do not yet distinguish between fantasy and reality as there is no awareness yet of an individual mind that filters perceptions.
4. Storytelling at Style 1 can be imaginative and prolific, but it is usually episodic and associative in form.

4.5.2 Style 2

There are two primary ways by which the world coheres for the person at Style 2. One is the concrete coherence of the physical world (resonating with the concept of the teleological mode) and of concrete operational thought to tie together objects and events in logical relationships. The other is due to the emergence of narrative as a mode of giving coherence to the world (especially the interpersonal or social world). The ability to generate narrative is based on the ability to understand the categories of space and time and to order events in a series. The world thus becomes a more ordered and coherent world at Style 2, rather than the episodic and associative world that we observe at Style 1.

The person at Style 2, however, does not *reflect upon* story or myth, and, as a general rule, does not separate themselves from the story told and attempt to interpret it and translate it into an abstract or general statement. The story itself is taken concretely and literally at this Style. In addition, Style 2 orients toward the “real” world and attempts to separate fantasy from reality. Style 2 will display considerable concern with making the distinction with what is real and what is “as if,” or, in terms of the mentalization-approach, alternating between the modes of psychic equivalence and pretend mode (Fonagy & Target, 2007) and with keeping these two categories of thought separate.

Style 2 Coding Criteria for World Coherence

1. Statements rated Style 2 in World Coherence will show the ability to use narrative forms to describe events, to tie events together in terms of time and space.
2. Style 2 is very conscious of and very interested in the concrete. Style 2 thinking will tend to be “empirical” and will attempt to describe the logical connections between objects and events.
3. Statements which represent Style 2 forms of world coherence will often display interest in objects and events from the standpoint of prediction and control.
4. Style 2 is embedded in the narratives that it constructs. There is no sense of standing back from them, and no real sense that the narrative is a construction of one’s mind. Evidence of this reflective distance should be checked against the criteria of the later styles.

4.5.3 Style 3

World coherence at Style 3 forms a tacit rather than an explicit system. In style 3 interviews or passages, the coder will see that the elements of the thoughts of the interviewee could form a system or parts of a system, but the person at Style 3 will not be aware of having a system, nor will they have reflected on the more generalized implications of their thoughts, attitudes and beliefs. Persons in Style 3 display a synthesis or blending together of the conventional ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of their membership groups or set of significant others. There is scarce awareness of contradictions in this synthesized world view; contradictions seem to be dealt with by avoidance and exclusion, rather than by explicit reasoning about them. Nevertheless, Style 3 attempts to form a more comprehensive viewpoint.

The Style 3 interviewee is apt to display a judgmental quality that results from the fact that meanings are tacit at this style. There will often be a tendency to project one's own values and attitudes on groups or persons thought to be "like us," and a concomitant attempt to exclude other "different from us" groups and persons from consideration. This results from the unexamined nature of the Style 3 world view, and the attempt to keep the set of values and meanings homogeneous in the absence of any clear reflective awareness that they have been appropriated from various concrete social relationships and group involvements. Laissez-faire pluralism is also an example of a common form of world coherence at Style 3.

Style 3 Coding Criteria for World Coherence

1. Style 3 will legitimate its world view by appeals to feelings and to external authorities, not by reflection. Beliefs and concepts exist as tacit value orientations at Style 3, and not as explicit theories about the world.
2. Tacitly held values and belief systems are usually Style 3. Tacit systems can be distinguished from explicit systems on an interview protocol on the basis of whether the person is aware of "having a system or ideology" and on the basis of whether they are able to give arguments for it.
3. Statements which operate from a "consensus" viewpoint or see consensus as the primary criteria of truth are usually Style 3 in the absence of other mediating forms of reason. Simple and uncritical pluralism is often evidence of a Style 3 form of world coherence.
4. Attempts to deal with dissonant views by avoidance and exclusion are should be coded Style 3.

4.5.4 Style 4

World coherence at Style 4 will display the ability to critically reflect on one's worldview or religious position. There is at Style 4 an awareness of one's worldview as an explicit system, as all of us perceive reality filtered through our own inner processes (Fonagy & Target, 2007). There is a concern that one's system be consistent, coherent, and comprehensive. Ideologies can be particularly appealing to the person at Style 4, and these usually display the quality of having been radically considered and appropriated.

There is an abiding concern with maintaining and defining system boundaries at Style 4 and this, combined with the knowledge that one's worldview may be different from that of others, often gives Style 4 thought a dichotomizing quality where differences are sharply recognized to the detriment of similarities. Ideological consistencies are major concerns, as is defending one's own ideologically held perspective against the threat of relativity.

Style 4 Coding Criteria for World Coherence

1. An explicit system, rationally defended and maintained is characteristic of Style 4 world coherence. A concern with system boundaries and definitions is characteristic of Style 4 on this aspect.
2. An emphasis on the differences between worldviews, and a tendency to dichotomize are also Style 4 characteristics.
3. A concern with general rules, laws and norms is explicit at Style 4. A striving for closure and comprehensiveness in one's worldview, often to the point of reductionism, is characteristic of Style 4 world coherence.

4.5.5 Style 5

Style 5 operates within a basically pluralistic framework in its way of making sense of experience. But this is different from the simple pluralism that affirms that one belief is as good as another: The Style 5 view of the world is one of a multi-leveled and complex reality. Style 5 affirms this multi-dimensional reality and is aware of disparate elements and can reflect on how to hold these in tension. Style 5 tends to resist the reductionistic moves of Style 4 that would view the world from within the framework of a single formula or system. There is a tendency to see reality as complex and to realize that different metaphors or methods can be applied to different aspects of it.

Style 5 incorporates both logical and existential polarities in its meaning construction. The style attempts to hold together concerns for self, the wider community, and its intuitions of universality. It is sensitive to such variables as history and culture in framing its judgments about the world. In addition, Style 5 is open to the possibility that much that is true remains hidden or unseen. Style 5 world coherence will often display openness to mystery and to the uncanny.

Style 5 Coding Criteria for World Coherence

1. Statements at Style 5 will show an awareness of ambiguity and complexity in thinking about the world, and will be willing to embrace these to a certain extent. Statements at Style 5 will often place an emphasis on the mediation of different perspectives and methods to yield more complete understanding.
2. Style 5 seeks “understanding” and displays an openness to experienced complexity rather than seeking “explanation.”
3. Style 5 is generally open to depth phenomena in all of reality, but particularly in human beings, and Style 5 is aware that much may lie hidden.
4. The worldviews that result from the Style 5 structures of meaning making are multidimensional and pluralistic in a reflected way. Style 5 will display some sense of responsibility for holding pluralistic perspectives in tension and will not attempt to collapse the tensions to achieve closure.

4.6 Aspect: Symbolic Function

4.6.1 Style 1

For the person at Style 1 the symbol and what it represents are still the same. The blending of fantasy and reality at Style 1 gives the use and understanding of symbols a global and numinous quality. Fairy tales and myths are not distinguished from reality. Symbols of deity are often anthropomorphic, using concrete understandings like invisibility, soul and air to represent a God who is nevertheless capable of acting in the world.

Style 1 Coding Criteria for Symbolic Function

1. Style 1 symbolization does not (yet) make distinctions between fantasy and reality, the real (psychic equivalence) and the “as if” or make-believe.
2. For Style 1 symbolization, the symbol and the thing symbolized are the same.
3. Style 1 symbols of the deity are often anthropomorphic.
4. Style 1 symbolization displays fluidity and lack of boundaries.

4.6.2 Style 2

While the person at Style 2 may be capable of working with a distinction between fantasy and reality, between the symbol and the thing symbolized, Style 2 symbolic functioning is based on a literal correspondence between the two, alternating between the modes of psychic equivalence and “as if.” Symbolization of the deity at Style 2 includes the notion of a divine intention; Style 2 respondents can be aware that their deity is attentive to the actions of humans. The person at Style 2 is able to categorize worldly and divine events and re-tell or construct coherent narratives. There is considerable interest in myth and story at this style. Stories and myths are taken literally at Style 2. Here, we see a resonance to the concept of intratextuality, the tendency to rely on the authoritative text of one’s tradition (Hood, Hill & Williamson, 2005).

Regarding the understanding of symbols, there is little notion of the power of the symbol to evoke feeling (this appears more strongly at Style 3). Style 2 rather tends to be embedded in its stories, myths and symbols and does not have a reflective distance on them.

Style 2 Coding Criteria for Symbolic Function

1. Style 2 makes the distinction between fantasy and reality, and may be aware of a difference between the symbol and the thing symbolized.
2. At Style 2 symbols are interpreted literally and in a one-dimensional one-to-one correspondence.
3. Style 2 is able to group symbols and events together to create a narrative.
4. Symbols at Style 2 are not invested with evocative power, nor is there reflective distance from stories.

4.6.3 Style 3

At Style 3 the use and appropriation of symbols is more open and includes the awareness of diverse meanings. Instead of the literal interpretation of Style 2, Style 3 persons display a sense of the power of the symbol to evoke an emotional response.

Style 3 is characterized by a rather conventional understanding and undifferentiated use of symbols. There is scarce reflection on how symbols or their power can be used at Style 3.

This is the style of a pre-critical openness to symbols. Style 3 does not attempt to de-mythologize or to translate the symbol into conceptual meanings. In fact, persons at this style may even resist the idea of an analytic and reflective approach of a symbol.

Style 3 Coding Criteria for Symbolic Function

1. Style 3 will go beyond the literalism of Style 2 and be open to diverse meanings of symbols.
2. At Style 3, the interpretation and appropriation of symbols is strongly influenced by trusted authorities and by group or conventional norms.
3. Conventional interpretations of religious symbols which orient toward interpersonal qualities but do not appear to be literal translation are often Style 3.
4. Style 3 orients toward the power of symbols to evoke feeling and emotion, rather than to represent ideas or concepts. Style 3 may even resist such analysis.

4.6.4 Style 4

In line with Style 4's concern for explicit and systematic thought, symbols are usually made univocal and are translated into explicit conceptual meanings. Thus, they are seen as representative of some meaning or cluster of meanings, and are often thought to have one "true" meaning. Style 4 is de-mythologizing, employing a kind of "reductive" hermeneutic. Often symbols are reduced to the form of truth of the individual's ideology or world system. Style 4 often views symbols functionally, in terms of their effect on individuals and groups; it sees symbols as part of an explicit larger system of meaning and action. There is a marked concern for precision in language usage at Style 4, and ambiguity is viewed as a fault.

Style 4 Coding Criteria for Symbolic Function

1. Style 4 tends to translate symbols into concepts or ideas.
2. Style 4 appropriations and interpretations of symbols are univocal and reductive, often reducing them to the propositional truth of the self-selected ideology or worldview.
3. Statements which reflect the attempt to place symbols within a systematic framework or worldview are indicative of Style 4 symbolic functioning.
4. Statements which view symbols and myth in terms of their functional impact on social systems and groups are Style 4.

4.6.5 Style 5

Symbolic functioning at Style 5 represents post-critical fusion of the symbolic and the ideational, similar to what Ricoeur has termed the “second naïveté.” Style 5 is not bound by the need to establish firm conceptual boundaries.

A new sensitivity to the multi-valent nature of symbol and its power to compress layers of meaning emerges at Style 5, along with the ability to tease out the multiple meanings a symbol has to offer. At Style 5 there is the potential of a fresh turn toward the symbolic and a new sensitivity to the possible richness of its disclosures. Style 5 recognizes the symbol as symbol, while the symbol is simultaneously re-invested with new meaning. Style 5 reflects on understanding and handling the evocative power of symbols.

Style 5 Coding Criteria for Symbolic Function

1. Style 5 will evidence a reflected openness to the evocative power of symbol.
2. Style 5 is aware of the multiple meanings of symbols, holding various or even conflicting meanings consciously in tension.
3. Style 5 will often take the history of interpretation of a symbol into account. The time and place relativity of symbols and their interpretation is acknowledged at Style 5.
4. At Style 5, the evocative power of symbol and its ideational content are held in tension; one is not reduced to the other.

5 Literature

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