AN EVOLUTIONARY MODEL OF MEDITATION RESEARCH
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Despite the fact that it has a longer history than almost any other psychotherapeutic endeavor, it is only within the last few years that meditation has attracted significant scientific attention. Meditation of one type or another can be found in a wide variety of cultures and traced back for at least two and a half thousand years. Its ultimate aim is said to be to enable its practitioners to attain control of their minds and develop levels of psychological well being and states of consciousness beyond those recognized in traditional Western psychological models.

Until recently, the typical Western reaction to these claims tended to be one of cynicism. At first sight, many of the claimed effects seem to run counter to traditional Western psychological assumptions. Indeed, some of the reported experiences appear as reminiscent of psychopathology as of extreme health, e.g., claims of the loss of ego boundaries and of a sense of merging with the universe. However, closer examination, personal experience of these disciplines, and a recognition of the limitations imposed by paradigm clash and communication across different states of consciousness has made these claims appear more coherent and comprehensible (Tart, 1975, 1976; Shapiro, 1980; Walsh, 1980; Walsh and Vaughan, 1980). Furthermore, the generally favorable findings of empirical research have now established this as a respectable area for scientific inquiry. Indeed, research in this area appears to be expanding rapidly, a fact which can be traced to several roots. In part, it is a reaction to popular interest and practice of these disciplines. In addition, a number of behavioral scientists have themselves undertaken meditative practice, and several have described positive results including an expanded comprehension of meditative claims once they had some experiential basis for understanding (e.g., Tart, 1972; Walsh, 1977, 1978; Shapiro, 1979, 1980). The wide spread of popularity of transcendental meditation has also been helpful since it comprises a simple, rapid, highly standardized training procedure which readily lends itself to experimental investigation.

The aim of this article is not to perform a detailed analysis and review of individual studies, since this has been done elsewhere (Carrington, 1978; Shapiro, 1980). Rather, it aims at providing an evolutionary model of meditation research which provides a context from which to view and understand it.

This model represents a specific application of a more general stimulus response model of the evolution of research (Walsh, 1981). In this case, the stimulus represents the meditative practice and the responses are considered to be mediated by a variety of psychological, physiological, and chemical mechanisms (Fig. 1).

This model has five major divisions based on the sequence in which specific aspects of meditation tend to be examined. The first of these is the response side of the paradigm, i.e., just what are the qualitative and quantitative changes which occur as a result of meditation? Historically, this is the first division to be investigated and in fact the first demonstration of a significant response can be considered to represent the founding of this research area. As is appropriate for a young field, most studies today have been concerned with this division.

After responses have been demonstrated, interest tends to turn toward the temporal aspects. Research at this level tends to ask questions such as what the time course of the development, and sometimes regression, of these changes is, how long they will persist under various conditions, and what the minimum duration in which effects can be detected is.
When a research field begins to feel more secure in its demonstration of a respectable range of responses, interest begins to turn toward the stimulus side of the paradigm. It is then appreciated that the sensory stimulus employed, in this case the meditative practice, actually represents a multidimensional array of stimulus components. The question is then posed, what are the precise stimulus attributes which elicit which effects? This stage is essentially one of component analysis.

In the fourth stage, the effects of additional independent variables are investigated. Whereas initial studies were concerned only with the effects of meditation per se, more complex experimental designs are now employed in which the interaction between the stimulus and other factors such as drugs, biological rhythms, genetic and experiential background of the subject are investigated.

The fifth level is concerned with the mechanisms which mediate the production of the observed findings. Ideally, such a consideration should be a multi-level one which takes into account mechanisms at a variety of levels from the psychological through the physiological to the chemical.

Since research tends to evolve across these five levels, the maturity of the field can to some extent be judged by the relative amounts of work at each stage. For meditation, the major emphasis has been on the first level. Each of these divisions will now be considered in more detail.

Responses

The responses to meditation are most readily subdivided into psychological, physiological, and chemical. As might be expected, the general trend has been one of moving from initial fairly gross parameters to finer, more subtle, and more discrete ones, and from those parameters which are most easy to measure to more difficult ones. For example, the first physiological measures examined parameters such as respiratory rate and rhythm, which have subsequently largely given way to electrophysiological investigations, including spectral analyses and interhemispheric comparisons.

Psychological Parameters

Turning first to the psychological arena, studies in this area fall readily into behavioral and phenomenological subdivisions. In accordance with Western research paradigms, most work has focused on the more easily and objectively measured behavioral parameters even though the aim of meditation is primarily phenomenological. In normals, such trait variables as intelligence, personality factors, self-actualization, and field dependence have been examined.

Perceptual studies have looked at both external and internal stimuli. Studies of exteroceptive perception have examined such factors as sensory thresholds, which are lowered, and empathy, which is increased (Lesh, 1970; Leung, 1973).

Phenomenological changes are of special interest since they represent the very raison d'etre for meditation. Two different approaches have been used here which essentially represent both sides of the old nomothetic versus idiographic debate. The nomothetic approach has used groups of subjects and check lists or rating scales of predetermined experiences. The other approach has been one of intensive single case study using a participant-experimenter, usually one who is trained in the Western behavioral sciences (Tart, 1972; Shapiro, 1980; Walsh, 1977, 1978). Such an approach obviously suffers from all the
limitations inherent in a self-report single case approach. On the other hand, it must also be acknowledged that single case designs are now recognized as valuable and, at times, irreplaceable clinical research strategies. For studies of meditation, they have the advantage of allowing an examination of process and the evolution of effects, and they also allow greater room for serendipity, the fortuitous finding of unexpected phenomena.

Participant-experimenters have provided novel information on a number of processes including perception, identification, and psychodynamics. They have also reported a progressive experientially based increase in intellectual understanding of the statements and claims made by more advanced meditators. It thus appears that intellectual understanding in this area demands an experiential basis and that what was incomprehensible at one stage may subsequently become understandable once an individual has sufficient experience of the meditative process. In part, this may reflect state-dependent learning, a suggestion made by Western scientists as well as Eastern yogis (e.g., Rajneesh, 1975). "(This) is a learning in which a basic requirement is: First change your consciousness."

It is this area of phenomenology which is currently the most subtle and difficult for Western science and hence the one which has been most avoided. In part, this avoidance is based on a general anti-phenomenological bias. It should be noted that this bias is partly based on uncertain assumptions concerning scientific "objectivity" and may be without solid philosophical justification (Tart, 1976).

Another factor is the "means-oriented" rather than "problem-oriented" nature of most research. These are terms introduced by Maslow (1966) to suggest that what tends to be measured is what is easy to measure, rather than what is especially important. In many cases, the phenomenological responses lie outside Western measurement technologies and in some cases outside the realm of traditional Western psychology itself, since they represent alternate states of consciousness. The very existence of such states has only recently been acknowledged in the West (Tart, 1975). It is here that the "East-West" split is largest, for the meditative disciplines have provided millennia old exquisitely articulated phenomenological maps of altered states, and some of these states are held to be sine qua non of advanced meditation (Goleman, 1977; Goldstein, 1976). These hold far-reaching implications for Western psychology, and the difficulty of measuring and conceptualizing them should not deter their investigation. Indeed, as Maslow (1966) noted, it is the responsibility of science to confront all areas of knowledge irrespective of the difficulty involved and not to shirk investigation because the areas in question do not readily lend themselves to the best-honed experimental tools presently at hand. "Most psychological problems do and should start with phenomenology rather than with experimental, behavioral laboratory techniques. We must press on from phenomenological beginnings toward objective experimental, behavioral laboratory methods..." It is easy for the laboratory scientist to criticize all this. But in the end, these criticisms come down to an accusation that the final state of knowledge has not yet been achieved" (Maslow, 1966, pp. 47, 130).

Relatively few studies measure the types of effects that meditation was designed to produce, e.g., altered states of consciousness, perceptual enhancement, concentration, increase in certain "mental factors" such as mindfulness, equanimity, tranquility, and reduction in others, e.g., anger, fear, aversion. Indeed, meditative practitioners sometimes laugh at our current scientific investigations and relate the story of the two thieves who went to one of the Buddha's talks. One of them used the right attention of the crowd to his advantage by picking pockets while the other listened to the talk and became enlightened. At the end of the lecture, the pickpocket chastised his friend for coming away with nothing concrete to show for his time.

The suggestion is being made that we are investigating epiphenomena. The information we are collecting may be of interest and value from our traditional Western perspective. On the other hand, it may be of less relevance to meditation, and ultimately of less significance than an examination of the effects which yogis describe as the goals for which meditation was introduced.

Physiological Parameters

One dimension of the evolution of physiological research has already been described as a movement from gross to more sensitive parameters. Early studies employed such parameters as respiration and heart rate. More recent ones have used a range of sophisticated electrophysiological, metabolic, and chemical
measures. These are not only more sensitive but allow greater specificity. Thus, for example, spectral analyses and precise regional mapping of EEG’s are beginning to point to meditation-induced regionally specific spectral patterns (e.g., Banquet, 1975). Regionally specific intra- and interhemispheric synchronicities are also becoming apparent (Glueck and Stroebel, 1977) as are responses to one hemisphere which presumably reflect hemispheric specialization (e.g., Pagano and Franklin, 1978).

A Systems Approach

Obviously, a research field can go on indefinitely investigating a single or a few parameters at a time. However, treating variables in isolation sets obvious limits to the information which can be derived from them. Moreover, the inherently holistic nature of systems has become increasingly apparent in a variety of disciplines and levels (Capra, 1975; Walsh, 1981). Therefore, as a research area starts to develop a respectable number and range of variables under investigation, there is an increasing recognition of the need to adopt an organismic (holistic, general systems, integrative) approach. Thus, variables begin to be considered in relationship to other parameters and in the context of the functioning of the whole organism and it is recognized that a change in one variable affects all others.

The first such attempt to consider variables in relationship to one another usually involves simple correlations. For meditation, such attempts to date have been few in number, e.g., attempts to correlate anxiety with GSR. This type of comparison usually makes overly simplifying assumptions about the nature and complexity of the underlying constructs being correlated, and it is not surprising that successes to date have been few.

A more sophisticated approach employs multivariate studies and statistics. These provide more accurate and valid measures of underlying constructs. e.g., anxiety, as well as of correlations between constructs. e.g., by canonical correlation. Their added complexity is probably a necessary price to pay for the advancement of the field beyond a certain point. But to date, only a few such studies have appeared in the meditation literature (e.g., Osis et al., 1973; Kohr, 1977).

The interrelated organismic nature of systems holds further implications. If changes in one variable produce changes in all, then it follows that any intervention such as meditation will affect the whole organism. This provides a very different research perspective from the one usually employed and suggests that negative findings may be due to a lack of experimental and measurement sensitivity rather than to a lack of meditative effects. The question now becomes one, not of "Does meditation produce an effect?" but rather "Is the meditative effect of any practical significance and if so, what proportion of the variance does it account for?" This shift from asking simple 'yes or no' questions to more quantitative, correlating, and ecological approaches represents an evolutionary stage which is appropriate for developing research fields once responses have been clearly demonstrated but is also one which is often unnecessarily delayed.

The question of the sensitivity, appropriateness, reliability, and validity of response measures is an extremely important one for the evolution of any research field, and this is especially true for meditation. For what will subsequently become apparent is that limitations at any one stage of research become limiting factors for the evolution of subsequent stages. As the demonstration of responses is the first of the five stages, it will be apparent that measurement limitations at this stage will act as limiting factors for all subsequent research.

Temporal Factors

The study of the temporal characteristics of meditation involves several dimensions. The first of these is the effect of varying durations of practice and thus looks at the time course or evolution of effects. As yet, we have very little information on this. Not surprisingly, the trend seems to be for greater practice to produce more marked effects. However, the nature of the learning curve is quite unclear and with few exceptions, subjects have had amounts of experience which would be considered only beginning level by most meditative systems. On the other hand, a study of Goleman and Schwartz (1976) suggested that even first-timers might show detectable GSR effects.

Evolutionary Model of Meditation Research
The second dimension concerns the permanence and reversibility of meditation-induced effects, a question of obvious therapeutic importance. Here, there are actually several subquestions, such as “Will the effects be maintained after practice ceases?” “If so, for what parameters?” “Can the extent of this maintenance be increased or decreased (reversed) by various means including other therapeutic practices?” “What is the optimum scheduling of practice to maximize gains?” To date, these questions remain unanswered and unanswered.

The problem may actually be more complex. This is suggested by other fields such as research on effects of psychotherapy or sensory environments which have found interactions among various temporal factors and between these factors and other dimensions (Walsh, 1981). Thus, for example, the effects of meditation in young individuals might differ not only in magnitude, but also in time course from those in older ones. Furthermore, different parameters may exhibit different temporal profiles. It therefore seems prudent to be very cautious in drawing general conclusions from the few facts currently available to us.

The Stimulus

Research on the stimulus side of the stimulus-response paradigm tends to be a type of component analysis. Initial studies of any stimulus input tend to consider the stimulus as a whole and are not too concerned with its individual components. However, after the stimulus complex has been demonstrated to be effective, then the question arises as to precisely which component stimuli are responsible for which effects. This is the initial approach is a unidimensional one where the total stimulus impact alone is considered, whereas later studies begin to recognize the multidimensional nature of this complex and to question the contribution of various stimulus dimensions to it. When sufficient work has been done at this level, then the question arises as to the nature of the interactions between stimulus components. Related questions include “Are stimuli additive, inhibitory, or synergistic?” and “What is the optimum (most effective) combination of stimuli for which effect?” To date, there appears to have been little in the way of attempts to conceptualize these stimulus dimensions.

A question which arises during this phase is the basic one of “What is meditation?” For, on closer examination, most meditative practices are seen to consist of an array of behaviors ranging from the focusing of awareness to somatic posturing, and to be couched within a philosophical, ethical, and lifestyle context. A precise definition of meditation becomes essential so as to differentiate between those behaviors which are inherent or essential to the practice and those which can be regarded as ancillary.

Meditation is defined here as the conscious training of attention aimed at modifying mental processes so as to elicit enhanced states of consciousness and well being. It should be noted that this definition avoids saying anything about the nature of the object(s) of awareness, which may be single and fixed as in concentration meditation or multiple and varied as in “open” meditation. It also recognizes that meditation may be independent of posture or behavior and is not restricted to sitting meditation, a confusion which is not infrequently made by people who assume that all meditation is a function of awareness and not necessarily of overt behavior, then it becomes obvious that it may be impossible to tell whether meditation is occurring by behavioral measures alone. Any, and in some practices all, behavior may thus provide an opportunity for meditation. Furthermore, within a single session, there may be wide fluctuations in the degree to which attention is successfully controlled. Thus, for research purposes, it is necessary not only to differentiate meditation from nonmeditation, but also usually to limit investigation to one specific type of meditation, e.g., sitting meditation. It is also important to be aware of the probable occurrence of considerable within-trials variability, even where the overt behavior remains stable.

Initially research fields tend to assume a certain degree of equality between different stimuli. However, as component analysis proceeds, it is usually recognized that stimulus complexes vary, and at this stage, it becomes possible to begin categorizing different complexes. Thus, initial studies of meditation tended to make implicit assumptions about the uniformity of meditation traditions and rarely furnished precise details of the practices being studied.

One ancient division has been between three categories of meditation: concentrative, receptive, and combined. Concentrative practices aim at focusing awareness on a single object only, whereas receptive meditations open awareness in a nondiscriminative manner to any and all stimuli; combined practices follow both approaches, alternating between fixed and open awareness. This division is not absolute and there is some overlap in effects (Goleman, 1977).
While this categorization represents a considerable advance over assumptions of equivalence, it represents only an initial stage of stimulus analysis. The next stage moves toward the simultaneous examination of greater numbers of stimulus dimensions. In view of the multidimensional nature of the meditative stimulus complex, an adequate description and conceptualization must necessarily entail description and measurement of as many as possible of these dimensions, effectively necessitating a multidimensional descriptive grid. Development of this aspect of research, which is a form of progressive component analysis, thus tends to consist of moving from a unidimensional to an increasingly multidimensional conceptualization, toward increasing specificity of description of component stimuli, and to more precise control such that experimental and control subjects differ on fewer stimulus dimensions.

As yet, there has been almost no research on meditation at this level of sophistication, a fact which is not surprising in light of the field's recent history. However, the importance of an appreciation of this potential level of analysis is essential if adequate controls are to be employed. Thus, for example, in a study (Smith, 1976) designed to determine whether meditation effects were due to expectancy, the experiment employed a control group who sat repeating a specific phrase. The study concluded that since there were no detectable differences between experimental and control groups, the meditative effects were indeed due to expectancy. However, this type of repetition might be viewed as a mantra, so that in point of fact the control group might be considered to also be doing a form of meditation, though a different type than the experimental group.

Other Independent Variables

The fourth stage investigates the interactions between independent variables. When other independent variables go unrecognized or uncontrolled, then function as confounding variables which reduce the sensitivity, reliability, and validity of experimental findings. On the other hand, when they are recognized and appropriately manipulated and controlled, they provide information on their interactive nature on meditative effects.

These variables can be divided into two major categories: those associated with the experimental subjects and those independent of the subjects. The major subject variables can be subsumed under the headings of genetic, sex, age, intellectual, experiential, and personality factors. Non-subject variables are limitless in number but common significant ones include such things as demand characteristics of the experimental situation, experimenter expectancy (Rosenthal effects), other forms of training given simultaneously, etc. Subject variables can be examined from two perspectives, employing them as either independent or dependent variables. Where they are used as independents, then the response of preselected groups differing in these characteristics, e.g., extraversion-intraversion, can be determined. In the other case, then, individuals manifesting differential responsivity, e.g., people who persist in meditation versus those who drop out, are examined and the role of subject variables in accounting for these differential responses can be determined. By experiments such as these, it is possible to determine the characteristics most likely to facilitate or hinder successful outcome. As might be predicted, there has as yet been little work done at this level. However, Otis (1974) and Smith (1978) found, that compared with those who drop out, individuals who persist with the practice of transcendental meditation are likely to be less psychologically disturbed, to have low psychoticism scores, and to be more open to recognizing and acknowledging unfavorable personal characteristics. Future research in this area is likely to focus especially on defining those subjects who will respond optimally, those at risk for negative effects, and be possible means of enhancing favorable responses, e.g., matching subjects to type of practice, manipulating expectancy, provision of previous training and information.

Mediating Mechanisms

This stage comprises the study of mechanisms which mediate the production of the observed effects. In most research areas, mechanisms tend to be viewed overly simplistically and to be advanced singly and in competition with one another. Unfortunately, meditation has been no exception to his principle. However, a moment’s thought suggests that there will be many mechanisms involved at all levels from the

Evolutionary Model of Meditation Research 29
psychological to the molecular biological. A more useful approach may employ a multidimensional hierarchical model which acknowledges mechanisms at all levels: psychological, physiological, and chemical. From this perspective, what is viewed as a response at one level may be seen as a mechanism at another. Indeed, it may be that forms of reciprocal feedback exist such that, for example, chemical responses may mediate phenomenological changes which, in turn, may themselves affect physiology and chemistry. In any event, the search for the single mechanism is clearly an anachronistic approach reflecting an atomistic nonholistic nonorganismic model of the universe, in general, and biological systems, in particular. A considerable body of data is now available to support the organismic model at all levels from quantum physics to neuroscience (e.g., Capra, 1975; Walsh and Vaughan, 1980). The recognition of this model serves as a useful antidote for the common tendency toward reductionism which attempts to explain (away) meditation only in terms of lower order processes, e.g., relaxation or reduced blood lactate, and to sometimes suggest that it is nothing but these lower order processes.

Suggested psychological mechanisms include relaxation and global desensitization (Goleman, 1971), deconditioning, behavioral reactivity, heightened awareness (Walsh, 1977), dehynsisis (Walsh, 1982), behavioral self-control skills (Shapiro, 1980), and facilitation of psychological development and maturation (Wilber, 1982). At the physiological level, suggested mechanisms include reduced arousal, hemispheric-lateralization (Pagano and Franklin, 1978) and electroencephalographic resonance and coherence (Glueck and Stroebel, 1976). To date, no chemical mechanisms seem to have been advanced, although a number of relevant responses have been identified, e.g., reduced serum cortisol (Jevning et al., this volume). As data accumulates, the multiply overdetermined nature of any response becomes apparent, and, ultimately, one is forced to a viewpoint of "omnideterminism" in which it is recognized that every component influences every other and the very concept of mediating mechanisms becomes meaningless (Walsh, 1981; Walsh and Vaughan, 1980).

Overview

In overview, then, this model provides a context in which the evolution of research on meditation can be viewed. In addition, current and future problems and limiting factors can be identified and an overview of this field as a whole can be obtained.

It can be seen that this field has met the criteria for acceptance as a serious area of investigation in that a broad range of significant responses have now been identified. On the other hand, a major limitation is set by the phenomenological nature of many of the most significant variables since traditionally Western science has been hesitant to tackle these areas. Not surprisingly, research at subsequent levels has as yet been limited. However, an examination of the second level, i.e., temporal factors, suggests a further major limitation, namely, that most experimental subjects have practiced amounts of meditation which would be considered miniscule by most meditative disciplines. The complex multidimensional nature of the stimuli which comprise meditation has as yet been little recognized, a situation which must be remedied to allow for more sophisticated controls and the identification of the effective components. Studies of other independent variables may improve meditation results by such procedures as selecting and matching subjects, providing pretrainings, expectation setting, social support, etc.

Finally, I would like to add two personal pleas based on my own experience as a meditator, researcher, and journal editor. The first is for researchers to begin to acquaint themselves with the Asian literature on meditation. Some of these practices span thousands of years and some of humankind's best minds have devoted themselves to their study. The result has been a voluminous literature, as yet largely untapped by Western researchers, by people with far greater experience and knowledge of meditation than most of us who are now beginning research on it. Their understanding may be valuable, despite their derivation from different cultures and centuries.

My second plea is for researchers to have some personal experience of meditation practice. The meditative traditions almost invariably state the intellectual understanding of the nature of the meditative process is dependent on an adequate base of personal experience. This seems to be borne out by the personal experience of researchers who have themselves undertaken the practice and also in some cases by the quality of research. In my role as a journal editor, it is sometimes painfully apparent that researchers lack direct experience when statements are made and conclusions drawn that are markedly at variance with even a basic experiential understanding.
To give an example of a problem which could have been avoided by either personal experience or familiarity with the traditional literature, I will cite the case of the controversy around the role of sleep in meditation. When EEG patterns consistent with certain stages of sleep were found in some meditators, some researchers concluded that this was the major mechanism mediating any beneficial effects or dismissed meditation entirely. Certainly, sleepiness can occur in the initial stages of meditation as even a small amount of personal experience will show. But greater experience and the Asian literature both suggest that this is a largely transient phenomenon which is one of the major traps for the beginner. Incidentally, subjects with 1 or 2 years' experience of 20 to 40 minutes daily practice would be regarded as beginners by most traditions. Indeed, many traditions contain detailed discussions and instructions on the need and means for overcoming what the Buddhists picturesquely call "sloth and torpor" (Goldstein, 1975). Thus, some Western researchers dismissed meditation on the basis of an epiphenomenon which meditation traditions explicitly warn against. Personal acquaintance with both the practice and its traditional literature may thus deepen our understanding of this millennia old discipline which we are beginning to explore.

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