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SEPARATENESS AND CONNECTEDNESS IN THE PARENT-YOUNG ADULT RELATIONSHIP: PROVIDING A CONTEXT FOR YOUNG ADULT RELIGIOUS FORMATION

By

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ABSTRACT

SEPARATENESS AND CONNECTEDNESS IN THE PARENT-YOUNG ADULT RELATIONSHIP: PROVIDING A CONTEXT FOR YOUNG ADULT RELIGIOUS FORMATION

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Previous research has shown that parent-young adult relationships that manage to balance the maintenance of emotional connectedness with an encouragement of healthy psychological separation foster young adult competence and development within such domains as identity formation, ego development, adjustment to college, and career decision making. This study adds young adult religious formation to the growing list of developmental outcomes used to test the efficacy of this separateness/connectedness model of parent-young adult relationships.

A total of 228 college students completed a demographic sheet, the Conflictual Independence (CI) subscales from the Psychological Separation Inventory, the Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ), and the Religious Formation Questionnaire (RFQ). The RFQ, developed and piloted for use in this study, contains four subscales that measure the extent to which subjects perceived themselves to be (a) making religious commitments after exploring, (b) engaged in

ongoing religious exploration without making commitments, (c) making religious commitments without exploring, and (d) viewing doubt as conducive to religious development.

Hierarchical regressions were conducted to determine the degree to which perceptions of separateness and connectedness in the parent-young adult relationship were related to each of the four RFQ subscales. Results indicated that connectedness with parents played more of a role in young adult religious formation than did separateness from parents. With the exception of ongoing religious exploration, the block of connectedness variables made a significant contribution to scores for the other three religious formation scales. Perhaps for this group of students, connectedness with parents contributed to making religious commitments whether in the presence or absence of exploration.

Some evidence for the contribution of separateness was evident for students who made commitments without exploring. The significant findings suggested that parent-young adult relationships that combine close mutual attachments, freedom from excessive conflict, and parental restraints on young adult autonomy contributed to making religious commitments without questioning or exploring. Some insight into the benefits and costs of this unique combination of parent-young adult relationship characteristics was provided. The implications for counseling were discussed. Finally, preliminary evidence for the psychometric adequacy of the RFQ was presented.

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Here is where I get stuck. I can't possibly thank you enough, Beth, for all you have meant to me and to this dissertation. I think back to our wedding and how we declared before everyone that "Two are better than one because they have a good return for their labor; For if either of them falls, the one will lift up his companion . . . a cord of three strands is not quickly torn apart" (Ecclesiastes 4:9-12). Thanks for lifting me up time and time again during this process with your love, editing, and great ideas. I've got to say it, you, God, and I make a pretty decent cord. Nothing will tear us apart!

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Recently, the work of a growing number of scholars in personality, developmental, and counseling psychology has affirmed the experiences of families that remain close through the transitions associated with adolescence and young adulthood (Baumrind, 1991; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Gilligan, 1987; Hauser, Powers, & Noam, 1991; Josselson, 1980, 1988; Lopez, Watkins, Manus, & Huton-Shoup, 1992). These writers have demonstrated that for an adolescent or young adult, becoming autonomous and self-directed and achieving a sense of identity need not be accomplished at the cost of close relationships with parents. On the contrary, relationships that balance the maintenance of emotional connection with the encouragement of psychological separation may in fact facilitate the negotiation of many of the developmental tasks normally associated with adolescence and young adulthood. At least for some families, the storm and stress traditionally associated with adolescent separation and independence seeking may be moderated by parents and adolescents working within and sustaining family ties (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986; Kenny, 1987; Montemeyor, 1986; Offer & Offer, 1975).

Studies sharing similar theoretical and conceptual underpinnings concerning the nature of optimal parent-child relationships and the importance of both separation and connection to young adult development have used a variety of names to describe these relationships. Whether these parent-adolescent relationships are called authoritative (Baumrind, 1987, 1991), enabling (Hauser et al., 1991), or individuated (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Quintana & Lapsley, 1987), young adult development and psychological adjustment appear to benefit from relationships that provide characteristics of separateness, such as self-assertion and the expression of differences, and characteristics of connectedness, such as respect, acceptance, responsiveness, and warmth.

Ego development, identity formation, role-taking skills, adjustment to college, self-esteem, and career exploration and decision making head a long list of adolescent and young adult developmental tasks and psychological adjustment variables that are related to a parent-adolescent relationship that combines characteristics of connectedness and separateness (Blustein, Walbridge, Friedlander, & Palladino, 1991; Campbell, Adams, & Dobson, 1984; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Hauser et al., 1991; Kenney, 1990; Kenny & Donaldson, 1992; Lopez et al., 1992; Rice, Cole, & Lapsley, 1990; Rice & Whaley, 1994). In a longitudinal study of adolescent and family communication styles, Hauser and his colleagues (1991) found that adolescent ego development was strongly associated with relationship conditions that encouraged the mutual expression of ideas, differences, and curiosity, while communicating acceptance and empathy. In a similar program

of research, Grotevant, Cooper, and their associates (1985, 1986, 1988) reported that relationships that permit the mutual exchange of differences in an atmosphere of respect and sensitivity positively influence adolescent identity formation and skills related to self-assessment and perspective taking.

In her longitudinal research program, Baumrind (1987, 1991) made significant contributions to an understanding of the importance of separateness and connectedness characteristics in the parent-adolescent relationship. According to her work among seven different relationship types, authoritative relationships, in which parents are highly demanding (a separateness characteristic) and highly responsive (a characteristic of connection) are remarkably successful in generating competence and in protecting their adolescents from dangerous risk-taking activities, such as problem drug use.

Purpose of the Study

The researcher's purpose in this study was to put this separateness-connectedness model of the parent-adolescent relationship to another test. The investigator examined whether there is a relationship between measures of separateness and connectedness in the parent-adolescent relationship and young adult religious formation.

Need for the Study

In the variety of measures used to test the benefits of separateness and connectedness in the parent-young adult relationship, conspicuously absent are

measures of young adult religious maturity, religious identity formation, and religious orientation. It is generally accepted that parents play a major role in the formation of their children's religious belief systems and practices and that this influence extends into adolescence and young adulthood (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975; Clark & Worthington, 1987; Kandel, 1986; Spilka, Hood, & Gorsuch, 1985). A number of researchers have reported that young adults refer to their parents as more influential to their religious development than either church attendance or religious education (Spilka et al., 1985). However, when religion or religious issues are included in studies of adolescence and young adulthood, they are often limited to subjects' responses to items on demographic questionnaires, such as frequency of church attendance, denominational preference, or belief in God (Meadow & Kahoe, 1984; Potvin & Lee, 1982; Potvin & Sloane, 1985; Spilka et al., 1985). Even when young adult religiosity is explored in greater detail, the measures seem to be restricted to the content of individuals' religious practices or religious beliefs. Investigators have not pursued more substantive questions concerning the effects of parent-adolescent relationship characteristics or styles on young adult religious development or a willingness to reevaluate one's childhood religiosity in order to make fresh commitments to a more adult form of religious knowing (Gorsuch, 1988; Hill, 1986; Kirkpatrick & Shaver, 1990).

The lack of research on adolescent religious development is surprising, given the importance of religion to many adolescents and the linkage between issues such as religious belief, religious conversion, religious identity, and the adolescent/young

adult years (Allport, 1950; Elkind, 1964, 1970; Erikson, 1958; Parker, 1985; Spilka et al., 1985; Worthington, 1989). Many adolescents and young adults, like the adult population in general, continue to identify themselves as religious (Gallup, 1989; Gallup & Castelli, 1989). A recent survey of adolescents found 82% expressing a belief in a supreme being (Heshmann, 1991). One-third of this group reported religious experiences that had changed their lives, and 40% said they prayed every day. A recent Gallup survey (Gallup, 1989) showed that after losing interest in religion and spending time away from churches or synagogues as late adolescents, young adults showed a dramatic growth in their interest in religion and were returning to church in increasing numbers. Many young adults reported a desire to raise their children in a home where religion is emphasized. These survey data also suggested that adolescents and young adults base many of their moral decisions on religious beliefs (Gallup, 1989; Hershmann, 1991). Finally, in times of interpersonal stress or during episodes of depression, adolescents and young adults said they looked to religious resources, such as prayer, meditation, and reading the Bible, for support and guidance.

On the surface, omitting religious variables from research into adolescent development is not unusual, what with the uneasy relationship that has long existed between psychology and religion (Beit-Hallahmi, 1977; Spilka et al., 1985). Studies surveying the attitudes of scientists toward religion have found that the social sciences, and counseling and clinical psychology in particular, have turned an unsympathetic eye toward religion and religious issues (Bergin, 1983; Ragan,

Malony, & Beit-Hallahmi, 1980). Counselors and therapists have paid a price for ignoring or remaining antagonistic toward their clients' religiousness. Studies have suggested that clients with religious orientations are suspicious of secular counselors (Genia, 1994; Worthington, 1989). The growing number of so-called Christian or religious counselors is testimony to the distrust of secular counselors and therapists (Worthington, 1989).

There is evidence to suggest that this state of affairs is changing (Worthington, 1989). Articles dealing with religion and spiritual concerns are appearing in professional journals with more frequency. In addition, according to a recent national survey, therapists are generally more religious in orientation than was assumed from earlier reports (Bergin & Jensen, 1990; Genia, 1994). Counselors and therapists are beginning to work with clients' religious orientations instead of ignoring them or assuming that they are part of the client's presenting problem.

This research represents an addition to this growing dialogue between psychology and religion. The current status of theory and research on adolescent and young adult development contributes to the timeliness of this inquiry. We are prepared to ask more substantive questions concerning the influence of parents on late adolescent and young adult religious development. Specifically, we can begin to explore whether perceptions of separateness and connectedness in relationships with parents make a difference in the level of religious exploration undertaken by late adolescents and young adults.

Overview of Theory

Crucial in providing a foundation for this dissertation is coverage of theory that highlights both the relevance of parent-young adult characteristics of separateness and connectedness to young adult development and the salience of religious formation to young adults. First, highlighting the importance of separateness and connectedness to young adult development, prominent separation-individuation theories will be presented. Margaret Mahler's outline of the psychological birth of the human infant foreshadows the dynamic interplay between separateness and connectedness throughout the lifespan. Peter Blos's second individuation process during adolescence and young adulthood recapitulates the separateness-connectedness themes laid down by Mahler and accents the need for a balance of both, particularly during a crucial rapprochement subphase.

The theory chapter concludes with a discussion of the relevance that religious formation processes have for adolescents and young adults. Although no unifying theory exists that adequately explains the nature of adolescent and young adult religious development, theories concerned with ego identity formation, cognitive development, intellectual and ethical development, faith development, and explaining mature religious orientations all allude to adolescence and young adulthood as a period defined by religious questioning, exploring, and commitment making.

The Parent-Late Adolescent Relationship

There is a growing body of theory and research emphasizing the continuing importance of both separation and connection in the relationship with parents for late adolescent and young adult development. This body of knowledge, much of which integrates psychoanalytic object relations and attachment literature (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Blos, 1979; Bowlby, 1988; Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975) with family systems literature (Becvar & Becvar, 1988; Bowen, 1978; Carter & McGoldrick, 1989), is becoming a dominant paradigm in both developmental and counseling psychology (Gelso & Fassinger, 1992; Josselson, 1988).

Traditional psychoanalytic theory posited that the central developmental task of adolescence is to separate from parents in order to make independent commitments in the adult world (Freud, 1958). Contemporary theorists grounded in psychoanalytically based separation-individuation theories, have suggested that ties are not severed with parents in the service of healthy psychological separation, but together parents and young adults work within the relationship to manage a growing sense of young adult independence while still maintaining strong emotional and functional family ties (Blos, 1979; Josselson, 1988; Mahler et al., 1975). Joining psychological separation at center stage in young adult development is the importance of the attachment relationship with parents. What is emerging from this literature is images of warm, supportive, emotionally close relationships with parents that also encourage adolescent and young adult independence.

The importance of the ongoing relationship with parents to late adolescent and young adult development finds a strong voice in the separation-individuation theories of Margaret Mahler (Mahler et al., 1975) and Peter Blos (1979). Mahler's description of the separation-individuation process in infancy and Blos's elaboration of this process for adolescents and young adults reveal the dynamic interplay between independence urgings and relatedness desires. For the adolescent, separation-individuation theory addresses becoming less dependent on parents and less subject to parental introjects, as well as changing and preserving the close relationship with parents.

For the late adolescent/young adult, it is crucial to become autonomous, self-directed, and unencumbered by excessive parental control. However, young adult separation "does not require that relationships be obliterated. . . . Rather, separation modifies relationship" (Josselson, 1988, p. 94). It is conceivable, as one group of researchers found with a group of college sophomores, that growing independence from and a growing affection for parents can exist together (Pipp, Shaver, Jennings, Lamborn, & Fisher, 1985). Yet, contrary to the conclusions reached by Pipp et al., such findings are indicative of healthy young adult development rather than signs that separation is incomplete (Gilligan, 1987).

In terms of the inquiries made for this study, it was assumed that for many young adults, questioning and reevaluating one's religious traditions, examining other forms of religious expression, and making commitments to a religious ideology are part of asserting one's independence from parents and becoming an adult.

Separation-individuation theory suggests that such experiments are often shared with parents in order to both confirm an emerging autonomy and ensure that the close relationship continues. Separation-individuation theory explains the simultaneous appearance of declarations of independence and desires for acceptance from parents on the part of young adults. The developing young adult, like the developing infant, wants assurance that separation and autonomy are not paid for with the loss of connection.

Separation and connectedness defined. Separation-individuation theory, therefore, assumes that a balance of separateness and connectedness in the parent-young adult relationship provides a context for the negotiation of such developmental tasks as religious exploration. Adolescents and young adults who are encouraged to explore ideas and environments apart from those sanctioned by parents and who can bring these new ideas and environments home, so to speak, are likely to perceive separateness in their relationships with parents. Adolescents who perceive separateness in their relationships with parents will feel free to explore new and different ideas from parents, to clarify and express these ideas, and to adopt them as part of an emerging identity without fear of risking resentment, guilt, and excessive anger. Such adolescents are also likely to have more positive feelings regarding separation from parents than adolescents who may be engaging in similar exploration activities but avoid sharing their search with parents for fear of loss of love, approval, or affection (Rice et al., 1990).

Becoming one's own person and highlighting the boundaries between self and other, as central as this task is to adolescent development, does not occur in a vacuum. It makes no sense, as Josselson (1988) asserted, to separate from nothing. With its focus trained on adolescent separation, traditional theory has cast a blind eye to the other player in the separation-individuation drama, namely, the continuing close relationship with parents. Adolescents perceive connectedness in their relationships with parents when, during the internal ambivalence and ambiguity of the separation process, they can rely on the availability of the close relationship for emotional support, affirmation, and acceptance.

Attachment relationships or connection with parents may facilitate the risk-taking involved in developing independence through providing a safe place for emotional refueling and for trying out new identities and feelings. Warm, accepting, and supportive parents enable adolescents to engage in age-appropriate exploration and to make commitments in the adult world.

In the pages to come, different studies using different measures of separation and connection are cited to demonstrate the benefits of both to young adult adjustment and development. At this point, however, the separation-individuation theories of Margaret Mahler and Peter Blos are presented to highlight the usefulness of both relational characteristics in adolescent and young adult development.

Margaret Mahler's model of individuation in infancy. Many theorists writing about young adult development and the importance of separation and connection in the family relationship are indebted to Mahler's (1975) theory of infant separation-

individuation from primary caretakers (Josselson, 1988; Kroger, 1992; Marcia, 1988). Mayler's groundbreaking conceptualization of the "psychological birth of the human infant" originated from her study of severe childhood psychopathology (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). Mahler noticed that most childhood psychoses related to either an inability to form close connections with or separate from primary caretakers. These two extreme pathways led Mahler to conceptualize a stage-process model of normal childhood development that addressed both the need for separation and connection in relationships with parents. Parents in concert with their children walk a fine line between an overemphasis on separation and an overemphasis on connection. Optimal parenting encourages toddlers to emerge with a stable concept of a separate self and a new way to be connected to others.

Infants develop an awareness of self as distinct from primary caretakers through a sequence of specific stages, according to Mahler. At the beginning of life, the newborn is a closed system without the ability to differentiate self from his/her surroundings. During this awakening phase, the newborn is concerned with the satisfaction of its needs and fluctuates between need gratification and frustration. At about 3 to 4 weeks of age, physiological maturation processes allow the infant to respond to his/her external environment with greater clarity. Instead of focusing exclusively inward, as in the awakening phase, during the symbiotic phase the infant begins to look to the periphery and sees his/her caretaker. Still, at this juncture seeing the caretaker is equivalent to seeing the self. Caretaker-infant is viewed as a "dual unity within one common boundary" (Mahler et al., 1975, p. 44). The

experiences gained during this phase are important building blocks for the evolution of one's sense of self and other and set the stage for the four subphases of separation-individuation to which we now turn our attention.

The differentiation, practicing, and rapprochement subphases of the separation-individuation process richly describe the ebb and flow of the growing intrapsychic awareness of self and other and the need for a balance of separateness and connectedness. During the differentiation subphase, between 4 and 10 months of age, the infant is "hatched," to use Mahler's term, and begins actively exploring the caretaker's features as well as features of the environment that are close to the caretaker-child orbit. With increased locomotion, the child is able to move farther away from the primary caretakers and begin active exploration of his/her external environment. At this stage, the child begins his/her "love affair with the world," finding fascination in both animate and inanimate objects. Still, during this practicing subphase, caretakers must provide a home base for the separating child to return to for emotional refueling. For many 10- to 15-month-old babies, interest in the caretaker as a source of "emotional support" and connection will be more important than practicing in the world.

At 15 to 20 months of age, during the rapprochement subphase, the child experiences the primary caretaker as a distinct self and is not sure he/she likes it that way. After an exhilarating sense of omnipotence, the child feels vulnerable to frustration and "failure" in his/her relationship with the world. The caretaker, after all, is not always readily available for help and refueling. What's more, increasingly

complex strategies, such as the use of language, are required to get the caretaker's attention. When these strategies fail, as they often do, Mahler noted the emergence of regressive behaviors such as clinginess and neediness. However, on top of these needy expressions, the child does not give up on separation and will angrily battle with caretakers for his/her "rights." As Mahler suggested, the rapprochement crisis is characterized by often extreme ambivalence on the part of the child. "I do and do not want it this way," the child seems to say as he/she wrestles with the fear of the loss of the caretaker's love, on the one hand, and fear of reengulfment with the caretaker, on the other.

The final achievement in Mahler's separation-individuation process is the phase of libidinal object constancy. The hallmarks of this phase are a stable concept of the self and a stable concept of the other. The child, in Winnicott's terms, has developed "the capacity to be alone" through incorporating both the "good and the bad parts" of the caretaker's image (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). This accomplishment, at around 3 years of age, marks the ability to integrate both separateness and connectedness needs. The developing child, secure in the availability of the close relationship with parents, can now engage in the developmental tasks associated with the play and school-age environments.

Summary. Underscored in this model of intrapsychic separation-individuation is the need for responsive parenting in order to manage the twin calls for separation and connection. Parents who manage to remain flexible, who set limitations while allowing exploration, and who are firm and demanding while remaining loving and

supportive are more likely to influence the development of competency in their children than parents who either ignore or engulf their infants (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Baumrind, 1981; Bowlby, 1988; Mahler et al., 1975). The same strategies and skills in parenting are called upon during the adolescent transition and the second separation-individuation process (Blos, 1979).

The tension between separation and connection will heighten when adolescents must balance a need to affiliate with parents and peers with a need to identify their own course in life. Asserting one's independence from parents, while on-task developmentally, can threaten the stability in family relationships enjoyed during the school-age years. Exploring and developing new ideas and commitments and taking responsibility for communicating them may go hand in hand with a developing sense of emotional distance with parents. Students have shown that even as young adults are happy about the independence they enjoy in family relationships, they wish the family were closer and will often seek after parental approval (Feldman & Gehring, 1988; Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990). Like the child involved in the separation-individuation process described by Mahler, the developing adolescent involved in the second-individuation process may echo, "I do and I do not like this!"

The second individuation process in adolescent/young adult development. Blos's (1967) attempt to adapt Mahler's scheme to adolescent/young adult growth and development sheds light on the heightened tension between separation and connection and the importance of the continuing relationship with parents.

> I propose to view adolescence in its totality as the second individuation process, the first one having been completed toward the end of the third year of life with the attainment of object constancy. Both periods have in common a heightened vulnerability of personality organization. Both periods have in common the urgency for changes in psychic structure in consonance with the maturational forward surge. Last but not least, both periods--should they miscarry--are followed by a specific deviant development (psychopathology) that embodies the respective failures of individuation. (p. 163)

Although he did not refer to Mahler's scheme directly, Blos found striking similarities between the tentativeness of the individuating infant and that of the adolescent/young adult separating from his/her family. What emerging from symbiosis with the primary caretaker is to Mahler's infant, becoming independent from parents is to Blos's young adult. An adolescent's exploration of a variety of ideological options and interpersonal styles is analogous to the infant's exploration of the surrounding environment. The ambivalence experienced by the adolescent conducting these separation experiments is very much like the experience of the infant in the rapprochement crisis, who in the middle of play looks around for his/her mother and is either terrified to find she is not there or relieved that she is just a crawl's distance away.

The awakening adolescent: From fusion to practicing. Adolescence, in part, is about becoming disentangled from parental control and becoming responsible for oneself and one's direction in life. Merging from this fusion with parental rules and mandates and loosening ties with the internalized parents is a double-edged sword. During the school-age years, pleasing and obeying parents is crucial to a child's emotional stability and self-esteem. During adolescence, however, physical and cognitive changes along with shifting expectations and practices in the family and

society precipitate a differentiation-like subphase or a "hatching" of the adolescent self. At this juncture, the adolescent begins to see parents from a distance and realize they are not just roles or figures but people who are inconsistent and flawed (Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

Often, the developing adolescent begins to test these hypotheses through demanding more control and power in parent-child relationships. Challenging parental rules and regulations, debating ideological positions, and spending more time alone or with peers is part of this practicing subphase in adolescence.

A "spirit of adolescent rebelliousness" with parents and other authorities is the popular picture of adolescent-authority relationships that endures to this day. However, there are differing opinions concerning the nature of parent-child conflict in the young adult years (Adams & Gullotta, 1983; Montmeyor, 1986; Offer & Offer, 1975). Theorists writing from the traditional psychodynamic perspective, including Peter Blos, have suggested that these years are punctuated by intense conflict with parents (Blos, 1967; 1979; Freud, 1958). Other authors have noted that "storm and stress" is far from the universal experience observed in families with young adult children (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986; Josselson, 1980, 1988; Montmeyor, 1986; Offer & Offer, 1975). Unlike Freud or Blos, revisionist theoreticians have suggested that turbulent relationships, in which young adults attempt to cut themselves off from parents, are indicative of problematic, rather than normal adjustment. These writers have referred to peaceful relationships with parents for a significant number of adolescents. Conflicts are present but manageable and often revolve around

mundane issues like household chores and bedtime hours during the school week. Evidence of increased independence or separation from parents exists, but the emotional turmoil often associated with separation is not present in these families.

It is safe to say that whether the family experiences calm or stress, adolescents are practicing their growing sense of independence in a variety of ways. The parents' response to the practicing adolescent seems crucial in determining how interpersonal conflicts are managed, whether they revolve around taking out the trash or changing religious beliefs.

Rapprochement: Heightened tension between separation and connection. "Rapprochement," as Josselson (1988) noted, is a powerful term for understanding development because it integrates movement toward separateness and concern for connectedness. Mahler's original definition, emphasizing the need for the child to return to caretakers for emotional support and to obtain encouragement for autonomy projects, is just one aspect of the rapprochement phenomenon in human development. Rapprochement also represents the adolescent's desire to share with caretakers the accomplishments gained during the individuation process, to seek affirmation and recognition for these accomplishments, and to acknowledge that even though the relationship is obviously changing, an interest in sustaining a closeness remains. It also highlights a growing recognition that the relationship with parents is gradually moving toward mutuality and symmetry (Allison & Sabatelli, 1988; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). For adolescents and young adults, therefore,

rapprochement is the struggle with concurrent demands for independence, emotional refueling, and renegotiating the close relationship with parents.

During the rapprochement crisis, adolescents may fluctuate between strongly asserting their independence from parents and seeking to be near parents. Establishing psychological distance from parents is a "mixed emotional bag" for adolescents and young adults. Separating from parents is not only linked to an increased sense of independence but also includes feelings of insecurity and intensified concerns over parental approval (Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990). The challenge to both adolescents and their parents at this juncture is to preserve parent-adolescent connections while simultaneously encouraging adolescents' movement toward independent selfhood (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1990; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Josselson, 1980, 1988; Quintana & Lapsley, 1990).

Parents, according to one developmental theorist, need to "stay in place" as adolescents move from looking exclusively to them for support and affirmation to becoming sources of their own affirmation; from being defined by their parents to taking responsibility for defining themselves (Kegan, 1982).

> It takes a special wisdom for the family of an adolescent to understand that by remaining in place so that the adolescent can have the family there to ignore and reject . . . [the family] is still in an important and *intimate* [italics added] way involved in the child's development. (Kegan, 1982, p. 129)

For many individuals in our society, going to college is a cultural rite of passage marking the emergence from adolescence and the protection of home into the freedoms and responsibilities associated with the adult world. It is often in college that late adolescents and young adults are exposed to new ideas and

lifestyles, including new religious practices and beliefs, that prove to be instrumental in identity formation. For some, adjustment to college is bound to be a stressful and emotionally taxing process, a process that underscores the tension in the rapprochement dialect between separation and connection.

Kenny (1987) suggested that the transition to college is "a naturally occurring strange situation" where the availability of parents as a secure base is often put to the test. The perceived availability of these connections with parents and the awareness that a close, supportive relationship exists at home may serve to facilitate the successful negotiation of such hallmarks of young adult independence as college adjustment, career decision making, and perhaps exploration and commitment to a religious orientation (Blustein et al., 1991; Kenny, 1987, 1990; Lopez et al., 1992; Quintana & Lapsley, 1987; Rice et al., 1990). A breakdown in this important relationship and a failure to meet the challenges posed by a rapprochement crisis create their own consequences. "Whatever excitement, adventure, and joyous emancipation may be associated with a young person's going off to college, it is true that it is a time of vulnerability and a high susceptibility to depression" (Kegan, 1982, p. 185).

These "depressions" are nothing new to college residence halls or counseling centers. They are often conceptualized as students having problems separating from parents. But as Kegan (1982) noted:

> The only problem here is the depression is terribly hard to solve through the exercise of personal agency or independence. Without some way of recognizing that the satisfaction of one yearning (here, for example, academic achievement) really requires the satisfaction of the other (feeling connected

> and supported) in order for either to feel worthwhile, the person is left to wander around in the worst sort of lostness--the kind that does not even know what is missing. (pp. 193-195)

Kegan suggested that the triumph of the self at this juncture, namely, the emergence of a new independence and autonomy, is due in large part to the environments that have confirmed these strengths, namely, those close, mutual attachments with peers and parents.

Summary. The rapprochement dialectic presents a tension between aspects of separateness and connectedness in adolescent and young adult development. The individual's ability to come to terms with the demands of this dialectic is reflected, in part, in the degree to which the individual is emotionally fused and reactive to his/her parents (Bowen, 1978). This tension is managed by adolescents and young adults who maintain a sense of communication and trust with parents while also seeking a more differentiated relationship with them. These individuals rely on parents for emotional support, encouragement, and advice during risky exploration of new and unusual environments. Such reliance is adaptive rather than being a sign of developmental weakness. It is the securely attached children, adolescents, and young adults who are most free to explore their world (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

The essence of the rapprochement phenomenon, according to Josselson (1988), is the idea that an adolescent can bring new "parts" of him/herself "home" in order to experience some continuity between his/her new context and the old (p. 96). The rapprochement adolescent or young adult uses the close relationship with

parents to recognize the self he/she has been, the self that he/she is experimenting with, and the self he/she envisions.

Synthesis: Self-other constancy and the competent-connected self. According to Blos (1967, 1979), the adolescent equivalent of self-other constancy or the successful accomplishment of the second individuation process occurs when adolescents have "shed family dependencies" through the establishment of firm boundaries between self and others. Parents are not the sole source of approval or emotional well being for individuated adolescents or young adults. Exploring attitudes or beliefs different from parents' does not cripple individuated young adults with excessive guilt or anxiety. Those who have achieved a sense of self-other constancy in adolescence can make commitments in accordance with their emerging differences without fear of excessive resentment or anger in relation to their parents (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1990; Blos, 1967, 1979; Hoffman, 1984; Kroger, 1989, 1992).

Within one's family, successful accomplishment of the second individuation process in adolescence includes the ability to manage an age-appropriate separateness while in the context of the ongoing connectedness with parents (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1990; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Mahler et al. (1975), in discussing infant and childhood development, suggested that the healthy outcome of libidinal object constancy is the ability to integrate both dependence and independence needs. The same conclusions can be drawn for development across the lifespan: dependence in this context is acknowledging the need every human has for relationship in order to be affirmed and validated, whereas independence

implies a sense of self-ownership and authorship with a sense of personal responsibility for defining commitments. Josselson (1988) put it this way:

> Separation-individuation, then, is not moving away from but an elaborate *pas de deux* in which the developing individual moves in such a way as to attempt to effect the degree of autonomy that she needs within the form of relatedness that she wishes. . . . Separation-individuation implies continued, renewed, often strengthened, but revised connectedness. A more clearly delineated sense of self makes new forms of relatedness possible. (p. 98)

Recent studies identifying "several distinct parent-young adult relationship types" (Frank, Avery, & Laman, 1988) and outlining stages of relationship maturity (White, Speisman, & Costos, 1983) provided evidence of this kind of synthesis between connectedness and separateness in parent-young adult relationships. According to Frank et al., young adults in competent-connected relationships with parents are able to declare a strong sense of independence and hold viewpoints radically different from those of their parents. However, they also described mutual, affectively close relationships with parents. Parents were viewed as demanding and critical, and yet the ability to empathize with and appreciate parents' limitations and strengths allowed competent-connected young adults to manage any conflicts without their getting out of hand. According to these researchers, the competent-connected style was related to measures of healthy young adult development, whereas relationship styles that featured young adults who were emotionally cut off from parents or bound by their dependence on parents were related to less healthy outcomes.

In their model of relationship maturity, White, Speisman, and Costos (1985, 1987) also described a similar synthesis of characteristics of connection and

separation in parent-young adult relationships. Integrating threads from ego, social cognitive, and psychosocial developmental theories, White et al. identified three levels of relationship maturity, beginning with the simplicity and concreteness of the undifferentiated or self-focused level, then emphasizing conformity and convention in the role-focused level, and ending with the individuated-connected level. At this highest level of relationship maturity, members are both separated themselves and are able to connect with others in "intimate, reciprocal, mutual bonds" (White et al., 1987, p. 92).

Summary. Traditional developmental theory suggests that in order to celebrate independence, one has to sacrifice relationship. For such theorists. the making of mature religious commitments would only be accomplished by distancing oneself from parents and looking less to family ties for affection and support. Revisionist theoreticians such as those discussed here have suggested that separation and connection, autonomy and attachment, and independence and dependence emerge side by side in adolescent and young adult development. Mature religious commitments may evolve out of parent-young adult relationships that blend elements of both separateness and connectedness.

Parents who are able to be supportive but not smothering, set limits but allow for freedom, and value discipline but negotiate expectations with their children demonstrate their ability to combine elements of separateness and connectedness in their parenting style. Such parents are not only interested in being heard and respected, they are also interested in hearing and in understanding their children.

Parents who are able to blend characteristics of separateness and connectedness in their parenting practices manage to communicate and model an expectation that family members are responsible for developing and expressing their ideas, opinions, or positions, while making it clear through providing warmth and acceptance that the family is a safe place to engage in such communications.

The empirical research presented in Chapter II supports the assertion that such parent-young adult relationships foster the achievement of a mature sense of independence and responsibility for one's internal life, as well as a secure ego-identity. This research sets the stage for the present investigation into the contributions that similar parent-young adult relationships make to young adults' religious formation.

Religious Formation and Adolescence/ Young Adulthood

In an examination of the literature over the last 10 years, one researcher found little systematic research on adolescent religious development (Hill, 1986). Another group of researchers suggested that investigations into religious development are scarce due to the lack of theory to guide them (Kirkpatrick & Shaver, 1991); this criticism was also leveled at the discipline of the psychology of religion as a whole (Spilka et al., 1985). Still, a perusal of the literature on adolescence, religion, and intellectual and ethical development reveals some basic assumptions concerning the nature of religious development during the adolescent and young adult years.

Scholars have acknowledged that adolescence and young adulthood are often periods of increased religious conversions, solidified religious commitments, liberalized religious beliefs, or a turning away from religion altogether (Allport, 1950; Clark, 1929; Elkind, 1964, 1970; Erikson, 1958, 1963, 1968; Fowler, 1981, 1984; Meadows & Kahoe, 1984; Parks, 1986; Spilka et al., 1985; Ullman, 1989). Religious exploration, the questioning of familial religious traditions, the examination of alternative forms of religious expression, and subsequent decisions concerning the place religion will hold in one's adult life are processes that occur for many during the adolescent and young adult years.

Religious exploration, like exploration into other existential issues, may occur in response to the many physical, social, and cognitive changes noted during adolescence and young adulthood (Erikson, 1958; Fowler, 1981; Parker, 1985). For some, religious exploration and commitment may be due to an increased curiosity about the meaning of family religious traditions. For others, exploring and deciding to commit to alternative religions may occur due to profound disillusionment with these traditions or exposure to alternative belief systems and practices. Still others have suggested that religious exploration and commitment are part of more global identity-formation processes that include exploration and commitment to other life style and ideological domains (Marcia, 1966, 1980; Waterman, 1982). Erikson (1958) suggested that religion is a "source of ideologies for those who seek identities" (p. 22).

Scholars in the psychology of religion have long upheld that adolescence is a time when many religious conversions occur (Meadows & Kahoe, 1984; Spilka et al., 1985). G. Stanley Hall (1905), the first psychologist to focus on adolescence as a developmental stage, devoted a chapter in his book on adolescence to religious conversions (Ullman, 1989). Starbuck (1899) conducted the first large-scale empirical investigation into the phenomenon of adolescent conversion. He found that conversions occurred most frequently at age 16 for boys and at age 13 for girls.

More recent investigations have suggested that adolescence is still the age at which religious conversions typically occur (Adams & Gullotta, 1983; Argyle, 1959; Asa, 1994; Johnson, 1959; Levine, 1984). Whether conversions are sudden, resulting from crisis or highly charged with feelings related to guilt or sin, or whether conversions are gradual, resulting from a search for meaning and purpose or filled with feelings related to love and forgiveness, conversions typically occur from adolescence through young adulthood.

As early as the turn of the century, scholars attempted to explain the phenomenon of adolescent conversions. Starbuck's (1899) account has echoed throughout the literature on the conversion experience in adolescence. He argued that humans need to make meaning of their experiences and that religion or philosophy provides a framework for doing so. Adolescence, he suggested, is when persons begin to look for different ideological guides outside the home. Ideologies, such as religions, that are supported by appropriate social institutions, such as

churches, are often turned to by adolescents as guides for orienting, understanding, and directing their lives.

Conversions, whether sudden or gradual, were defined by one researcher as "active and unqualified commitments to religious positions that were previously unknown, unacceptable, or inadequately understood" (Parker, 1985, p. 48). These words mirror the type of language used in descriptions of processes involved in adolescent and young adult ego-identity formation (Grotevant, 1992; Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1982). For some religious converts, commitment to a religious position involves similar kinds of processes that result in commitments to a career direction, political affiliation, or gender identity (Bergin, 1989). These commitments come after a time devoted to thoughtful, sometimes uneasy, exploration of oneself and one's environment. The resulting commitments may or may not include choices advocated by one's parents.

Exploration and commitment to a religious identity as well as questioning family religious traditions may also result from the development of formal operations in adolescence (Byrnes, 1984; Elkind, 1964, 1970; Parker, 1985). The religious domain, as was suggested above, appeals to adolescents' fascination with ideological systems that offer encompassing world views. Religion affirms adolescents' yearning for the possible and their affinity for ideals, both characteristics of formal operational thinking. The exploration of and commitment to beliefs and values regarding the nature of truth, right versus wrong, God, and other ultimate concerns move to center stage for many adolescents and young

adults. Especially at a time when answers may be in short supply compared to the plethora of questions posed, religion offers a way for the late adolescent to make sense of his/her place in the world.

The development of formal operations also marks a shift in the way individuals view their religious heritages, and this may help to explain the presence of religious exploration in adolescence and young adulthood (Elkind, 1970). Where children find meaning in the concrete practices associated with a church or synagogue and in affiliating with specific denominations or sects, adolescents and young adults find meaning in the exploration and understanding of religious beliefs. They seek to comprehend the more abstract aspects of their religious traditions and to use these beliefs to reconcile the often paradoxical dilemmas encountered in contemporary life.

According to one commentator on religious development, some adolescents or young adults give up on religion because they have not developed an adult concept of religion (Asa, 1994). Such individuals often believe that religion or spirituality is childish when it may be their thinking about religion that remains childish. For other adolescents and young adults, engaging in conventional religious practices and conforming to a set of beliefs only to associate with a peer or social group is insufficient to demand personal allegiance to a particular religious tradition (Fowler, 1981; Kohlberg, 1981).

Gains in intellectual and ethical development may also be a catalyst for adolescent and young adult religious formation (Fowler, 1981; Kohlberg, 1981;

Perry, 1969). Dualistic thinking, marked by the assumption that knowledge is absolute and in the possession of the right authorities, is transformed in part by exposure to new and conflicting ideas and authorities who disagree on similar ethical and intellectual issues. Individuals transitioning from one form of knowing to another find they are unable to reconcile these conflicting ideas by relying on authorities, and they begin to look inward to develop their own intellectual and ethical positions. Consequently, adolescent intellectual and ethical meaning-making becomes more contextual and relativistic. Many adolescents and young adults, therefore, turn from a reliance on externally validated truth to searching for truths that stand up to the test of internal verification.

Adolescents and young adults are often encouraged to question their own dualistic approach to religion through exposure to diverse forms of religious belief and practice in the young adult worlds of college or the workplace. Instead of blindly accepting "truth" from parents, pastors, or professors, the relativistic thinker weighs and compares these points of view, but may have trouble committing to a position. The paradox for the religious seeker in contemporary society is that he/she is encouraged to question authority and to conform (Allport, 1950). Often the relativistic thinker gets stuck in this paradox and remains an explorer--all truths are relative, so it is impossible to take a stand.

William Perry (1969), in his charting of the intellectual and ethical development of college students, described a way of knowing that untangles the paradox ensnaring the relativistic thinker. This stage, which Perry called

commitment in relativism, underscores how young adults may make commitments to value positions (e.g., religious/spiritual ideologies and/or practices) without sacrificing the openness and intellectual tolerance of the relativistic knower. Perry suggested that committed relativists can take a stand, come to closure, and make judgments while remaining open to new information and tolerant of new ideas. Exploration, in varying degrees, is ongoing for the committed relativist. Even for a committed person, there is a respect for doubt and questioning as paths to better or more adequate ways of understanding and explaining one's commitment to a religious or spiritual path.

Theoreticians developing stage models of faith development or describing mature religious sentiments also have suggested that religious exploration and an acceptance of religious questioning and doubt are part of the religious experience of adolescence and young adulthood (Allport, 1950; Batson & Ventis, 1982; Fowler, 1981; Parks, 1986). In describing a stage of faith that makes its appearance during late adolescence and young adulthood, Fowler (1981) referred to "experiences that make it necessary for persons to objectify, examine, and make critical choices about defining elements of their identity and faith" (p. 173). What were once tacit and unexamined convictions and beliefs must now become matters of more explicit commitment and accountability. One becomes a young adult in faith when one begins to take self-conscious responsibility for one's knowing, becoming, and moral action (Parks, 1986).

In his description of the mature religious sentiment, Gordon Allport (1950) also placed a value on exploration, questioning, and doubt. The late adolescent/ young adult religious explorer discovers that the literal-minded and second-hand faith that he previously held now needs changing. Maturity of religion requires reflection, doubt, and other cognitive processes typically associated with Piaget's formal operations. A mature religious sentiment is the outgrowth of many successive discriminations and reorganizations. Mature religion, according to Allport, is a "working hypothesis" (p. 81); even though it is held tentatively and subject to revision, it is used to make meaning of life's tough questions.

This focus on open-minded truth seeking within religion was developed further in the Batson and Ventis (1982) conception of religion as quest or quest faith. In developing a measure of quest religion, Batson and Ventis drew from three components of mature religion as interpreted from Allport (1950): "a willingness to ask existential questions without reducing their complexity" (Batson & Ventis, 1982, p. 149), willingness to doubt, and a tolerance of new and competing information that may alter current understandings or shed light on religious questions (McFarland & Warren, 1992).

Whereas Batson and Ventis referred to quest religion as a mature orientation, other researchers have found characteristics of quest faith in adolescents and young adults who are currently exploring within other identity content domains (Fulton, 1991; Watson, Howard, Hood, & Morris, 1988). These researchers concluded that quest may be an indicator of ongoing conflict over identity issues rather than a more

mature religious orientation. Research continues on the validity of quest religion (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991; McFarland, 1991), but for the purposes of this study, researchers and theoreticians seem to agree that open-minded exploring within religion is characteristic of many adolescents and young adults.

Summary. Even though research on adolescent and young adult religious development is sparse, connecting threads of psychosocial, ego, cognitive, intellectual, and moral development literature underscore the relevance of religious exploration during this part of the life span. Psychologists involved in the study of religion agree: adolescence and young adulthood are periods when religious conversions typically occur. It may be that religion is a guide for those who require orientation and direction in life. Religion and spirituality provide coherent ideologies that appeal to those who are exploring and deciding about other identity domains such as career, politics, or gender roles. The development of formal operations may also encourage adolescents and young adults to examine their childhood religious traditions, to look beyond the facade of organized religion, and to examine the deeper meanings of their religious doctrines and beliefs. Finally, psychologists studying young adult ethical and faith development and the development of mature religious orientations have concluded that increasing ability to tolerate ambiguity and doubt is also a hallmark of adolescent and young adult religious formation.

Statement of Research Questions

For many adolescents and young adults, "religion elaborates on what feels profoundly true even though it is not demonstrable: it translates into significant

words, images, and codes the exceeding darkness which surrounds man's existence, and the light which pervades it beyond all desert or comprehension" (Erikson, 1958, p. 21). For many, the religious pilgrimage is part of the search for identity and meaning that occupies the time and efforts of young adults in our society. For those who embark on such a journey, religious exploration often includes a reevaluation of family religious practices and beliefs.

For college students, religious exploration may be influenced by the kinds of experiences encountered at school. Engaging and provocative professors and reading material, roommates with different religious ideas, and encounters with different cultures or ethnic groups may challenge college students to look more closely at their previous religious commitments and practices. For these students, many of whom are separated from their parents for the first time, these new thoughts and ideas may be both exciting and scary. They may have ambivalent feelings about leaving the safe haven of the family's religious beliefs and practices and meeting the challenge of defining an adult faith or religious orientation.

Some of these religious explorers want to bring their search home with them, so to speak, and share with parents their changing ideas and attitudes. They may seek to be challenged by thoughtful and caring parents who will question their evolving beliefs. Such young adults may find that their parents will share their own beliefs in a way that acknowledges the growing mutuality and symmetry in the parent-child relationship.

For others, bringing this information home and engaging in conversations with parents about their changing ideas and attitudes may provoke anxiety and heated discussion. Such individuals, desiring parental approval for the adults they are becoming, are often too aware of the price they will pay for differing with their parents.

The theory and research presented in support of this dissertation suggest that a blend of characteristics of connectedness and separateness in the parent-young adult relationship will positively influence adolescent and young adult religious formation. Religious exploration and commitment will be positively influenced by parent-young adult relationships that are emotionally supportive and affectively close. The close relationship with parents becomes a context for religious exploration and commitment when ideas, beliefs, and attitudes can be shared and developed in an atmosphere that is free from excessive anger, guilt, retribution, and threats of abandonment.

The following are the major research questions that were tested in this study:

1. To what extent do separateness and connectedness predict religious formation?

2. To what extent does separateness alone predict religious formation?

3. To what extent does connectedness alone predict religious formation?

4. Does the effect of separateness and connectedness on religious formation depend on gender?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter contains a review of studies that have used measures of separateness and connectedness in the parent-adolescent relationship in order to demonstrate their effectiveness in promoting development and adjustment in adolescents and young adults. The studies chosen for this review used different means to assess the parent-adolescent relationship conditions--characteristics of separateness and connectedness were either observed by researchers in parenting styles and parent-child communication patterns or reflected in adolescent perceptions of both conditions in their relationship with parents. To lay the foundation for this study, it is important that an empirical link be established between parent-child relationship factors and young adult developmental outcomes, whether these factors are observed by impartial raters or perceived by adolescent or young adult family members. In this chapter, research using parenting styles, communication patterns, and adolescents' perceptions of their relationship with parents is presented.

It was also important to choose studies that used dependent measures analogous to religious formation, the construct of interest in this dissertation.

Religious formation, as conceptualized for this study, includes both exploration and commitment processes. Exploration, according to an investigator of young adult identity formation, includes attitudes and behaviors aimed at eliciting information about oneself and/or one's environment in order to make an important life choice such as choosing a career direction or committing to a particular religious or spiritual ideology (Grotevant, 1992). Studies were selected, therefore, that employed measures of ego-identity exploration, ego development, and processes related to career decision making.

Observations of Separateness and Connectedness in Parenting Styles

The Authoritative Relationship

Beginning in the mid-1960s, Diana Baumrind began a longitudinal study of parenting styles and their effects on children's competence that continues to this day (Baumrind, 1987, 1991). In many ways these studies foreshadowed the kinds of efforts that will be reported in this dissertation. It was Baumrind's research that pointed to the effectiveness of parenting styles that communicated expectations and limits while also communicating affirmation and support. During this 20-year period, she and her colleagues followed the same families, collecting data when the children were 4, 10, and 15 years old. At each analysis point she consistently found relations between a balance of demandingness and responsiveness in the parent-child relationship and important indices of social and instrumental competence. Currently,

she is in the process of analyzing the adolescent data and has begun to publish preliminary results (Baumrind, 1987, 1991).

Perhaps Baumrind is best known for her descriptions of the authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and rejecting-neglecting parenting styles. These styles are defined in terms of the presence or absence of behaviors related to demandingness and responsiveness.

> Demandingness refers to the claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family whole, by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts, and willingness to confront the child who disobeys. Responsiveness refers to the extent to which parents intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation, and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to children's special needs and demands. (Baumrind, 1991, pp. 61-62)

Authoritative parents, who combine demandingness with nurturance, are consistently more effective than authoritarian parents, who are demanding but unsupportive. Permissive parents, who nurture but do not place demands on their offspring, produce a mixed picture of adolescent competencies and deficits. The rejecting-neglecting parents are disengaged from their children; they avoid placing demands on and supporting their children and are generally the least effective of the four styles.

Without departing from the conceptual underpinnings of the previous research, Baumrind is currently interested in how parenting styles are related to the development of competencies associated with adolescence. Borrowing from the theories of Bakan and others (Bakan, 1966; Greenberger, 1984), Baumrind defined optimal competence as an integration of agency or the drive for independence, self-

aggrandizement, and individuality; and communion, or the need to be of service, to belong, and be connected. Echoing the theoretical backdrop of this study, the competent adolescent is one who seeks independence without sacrificing relationship and has come to terms with the conflicting demands of separation and connection.

Specifically, Baumrind (1991) hypothesized that adolescents who actively seek to explore ideas and engage in activities that depart from earlier, more stable and secure courses, an aspect of agency, will come from homes of authoritative parents. She suggested that these independence-seeking adolescents will be more likely to criticize and to sustain attachments to their parents if they come from homes where "parents are both highly demanding and highly responsive, but increase the ratio of freedom to control in order to match the developmental level of their adolescent child" (p. 61).

The results of this preliminary analysis of adolescent data continue to support the efficacy of the authoritative parenting style. Adolescents in homes where parents were not restrictive but highly demanding and challenging as well as supportive and loving were "outstandingly competent" (Baumrind, 1991, p. 72). On indices of competence, such as ego development, assertiveness, individuation, optimism, creativity, and others, developmental progress was enhanced by reciprocal, balanced, and committed caregiving and held back by authoritarian, disengaged, and nondirective practices.

Interestingly, with respect to dangerous risk-taking or exploratory behavior (such as drug use), families that were highly demanding and restrictive as well as caring and considerate were as effective in shielding their adolescents from dysfunctional risk-taking behaviors as were authoritative families. These traditional families, a subset of families that were classified as authoritarian in earlier studies, often shared conventional values and were less sanctioning of adolescent exploration outside of the families' norms, but they still managed to maintain strong mutual attachments. This was in contrast to more authoritarian parents, who were as restrictive and demanding but much more intrusive or officious in the way they managed their households.

Whereas adolescents in traditional families were more like adolescents from authoritative families with respect to illegal drug use, they were less competent than their counterparts from authoritative homes. Baumrind (1991) suggested that the traditional family's ability to adhere to consistent management policies and sustain enduring close relationships, characteristics they shared with authoritative families, accounted for their adolescents' abstaining from illegal drug use. She added, however, that the combination of restrictiveness with the expectation that adolescents conform and stay away from nontraditional beliefs may also have accounted for losses in adolescents' assertiveness and optimism as well as in autonomy and creativity. In traditional families, where close attachments were sustained but encouragement to explore was constrained, adolescents were also more concerned with seeking parental approval.

Summary

The optimal parenting style emerging from this literature is the style that balances separateness and connectedness in the family relationship. This style combines the ability to adjust to and encourage the adolescent's freedom to explore new ideas and behaviors while not sacrificing a "demanding" voice or a loving atmosphere. Authoritative parents are able to engage with their adolescent children in give-and-take discussions where different points of view are raised, examined, and critiqued. Acceptance and empathy are also expressed among family members, and through the transition there is a shared perception that the close relationship endures.

On the other hand, adolescents who are having difficulty integrating aspects of agency and communion come from homes where the parenting styles are either overdemanding, overaccepting, or neither demanding nor accepting of their adolescent children. Adolescents from homes where parents are uninvolved with their children lack both parental challenge and support for the exploration of novel life courses or ideas. Some families err on the side of maintaining family connections while making exploration or separation from the family "risky business" for the adolescent. Costs in adolescent development are also noted when families are excessive in their control of and expectations for their children.

Observations of Separateness and Connectedness in Family Communication Patterns

The Individuated Relationship

Contemporary observational studies of family communication patterns are adding to this picture of optimal parenting styles developed in the Baumrind studies (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Hauser et al., 1991; Hill & Holmbeck, 1986). To examine the effects of the parent-adolescent relationship on identity exploration, self-appraisal, and perspective-taking competencies, Grotevant et al. developed a model of family communication patterns that they called the individuated relationship model. Consistent with theory presented for this dissertation, adolescent psychological separation from parents and attachment to parents are not viewed as mutually exclusive but occur concurrently in individuated family relationships. Individuated family systems allow for an examination of differences in a context of connectedness--"there is an interplay between individuality and connectedness in relationships that have implications for the development of identity in individuals" (Grotevant, 1992, p. 87).

In operationalizing the individuated relationship pattern, Grotevant et al. (1983) identified two communication variables reflecting individuality and two reflecting connection. Communications expressing individuality included separateness, or one's ability to express differences from each other, and self-assertion, or knowing one's point of view and expressing it clearly. Communications expressing connectedness included permeability, or the expression of openness or responsiveness to others, and mutuality, or expressions that show sensitivity and

respect to others' points of view. It was hypothesized in the investigations of Grotevant and Cooper that adolescents who had the opportunity to observe expressions of individuality and connectedness between parents and to express the same with parents would have the highest scores in identity-exploration and role-taking skill.

To measure individuality and connectedness in family relationships, Grotevant et al. (1983) observed families engaged in a family interaction task. The task, planning a vacation with unlimited funds, was designed to elicit differences of opinion, and was carried out in family homes to encourage unselfconscious or "natural" communication among family members.

Grotevant and his colleagues found that individuated relationships enhanced adolescent competencies related to identity exploration and role-raking or cognitive perspective-taking skills. According to Grotevant and Cooper (1986), "the families of high scoring adolescents appeared to thrive on examining their differences but in the context of connectedness" (p. 92). The families of low-scoring adolescents, on the other hand, came from families who avoided disagreements and expressed high levels of permeability or responsiveness.

Researchers also have noted gender differences in the ways that adolescent sons and daughters use separation and connection, or in this case, individuality and connectedness, in family relationships (Franz & White, 1985; Lopez et al., 1992; White et al., 1985). In general, scholars have concluded that in relationships with

parents, adolescent boys use individuality characteristics whereas girls use characteristics of connectedness in the service of development.

Gender differences were also described in this investigation. Only relationships with fathers were predictive of identity exploration in adolescent boys. The type of father-son communication pattern indicative of high-exploration boys featured sons' expressions of disagreements to their fathers, as well as sons' making clear statements of their own ideas and suggestions. Fathers who expressed mutuality as well as separateness (through disagreements) and made fewer suggestions of their own seemed to influence exploration for adolescent boys. For daughters, communications with mother and father were predictive of identity-exploration scores. Fathers who were responsive, respectful, and sensitive to the ideas expressed by others during the interaction task and fathers who expressed fewer ideas overall had daughters with higher exploration ratings. Daughters who scored lower in exploration had mothers who made more permeable communications, such as requesting information, agreeing, and complying with requests.

The Enabling Relationship

Hauser et al. (1991) also used a family communication task in order to identify patterns of interaction that enhanced the ego development of family members. Higher stages of ego development (Loevinger, 1970) capture some of the requisite cognitive and interpersonal styles relevant to the religious exploration variable of interest to this investigation, namely, less dogmatism, less dependence on external

sources for guidelines, an openness to change, and a willingness to use doubt and paradox in the service of one's development.

Like Grotevant and Cooper, Hauser et al. (1991) found that family communications that encouraged the expression and exploration of different ideas within a context of connectedness were optimal and related to higher ego-development scores for adolescents. Enabling relationships that blended aspects of connectedness, such as empathy and acceptance, with aspects of separateness, such as disagreements, explaining, and engaging in joint problem solving, were related to higher ego-development scores. Low-scoring adolescents, on the other hand, were involved in constraining relationships or communications with parents that restricted or limited the expression of different ideas or points of view. Constraining behaviors discouraged both separation and connection in family communications through expressions of judging, detachment, indifference, and devaluing.

Summary

The individuated relationship, enabling relationship, and authoritative relationship all point to the importance of aspects of separateness and connectedness in the family relationship. Adolescents are more likely to engage in identity exploration in relationships with parents where differences are freely expressed within the context of connectedness. Characteristics of higher stages of ego development, such as the expression of curiosity, an openness to try out new ideas and perspectives, a tolerance for doubt and ambiguity, as well as increased

cognitive complexity, are influenced by relationships where there is a mutual sharing and challenging of perspectives in a context of support. Similarly, adolescent competencies related to seeking independence and autonomy as well as connection and relationship are influenced by parents who are demanding, responsive, and less controlling with their adolescent children.

Young Adult Perceptions of Separateness and Connectedness in Their Relationships With Parents

In the previous studies, family behaviors or communication patterns that encouraged and accepted individuality in a context of shared affection or connectedness were found to positively influence adolescent and young adult growth and development. In the following studies, perceptions of parent-adolescent relations rather than observed behaviors were the focus. It is important that adolescent perceptions of separation and connection demonstrate similar results before a study such as the present one is launched.

Effects on Identity Status

To test the utility of Cooper and Grotevant's model of the parent-adolescent relationship, Campbell et al. (1984) investigated the extent to which characteristics of connectedness and separateness in the parent-adolescent relationship were able to differentiate between different ego-identity statuses as defined by the research of James Marcia (1960, 1980). In his operationalization of Erikson's ego-identity construct, Marcia identified four identity statuses reflecting the presence or absence of exploration of and commitment to a variety of ideological and interpersonal

content domains. Campbell et al. suggested that adolescent movement from statuses defined by the absence of exploration (diffuse and foreclosure) to statuses characterized by the presence of exploration (moratorium and achieved) would be encouraged by parent-adolescent relationships that balanced characteristics of separation and connection. They hypothesized that identity-achieved adolescents, or those who have committed to occupational, political, and religious positions after a time of personal exploration, and moratorium adolescents, or those who are in the process of exploring and seek to make commitments in the same domains, would experience more separation and connection in relationship with parents.

The results of this investigation were consistent with the studies reported in this review. Using self-report measures of affection, communication, and independence to operationalize separation and connection in the parent-adolescent relationship, researchers have found that adolescents who were engaged in searching (moratorium) or who had made identity commitments after a period of exploration (identity-achieved) typically reported high levels of affection for parents, as well as a greater sense of independence from parents.

This finding is in contrast to the results reported with those adolescents who did not experience a balance of separateness and connectedness in relationships with parents. For example, foreclosed adolescents, or those who had made identity commitments without engaging in exploration behaviors, experienced particularly close relationships with their parents and also reported lower levels of independence. Foreclosed youths, like the adolescents in Baumrind's traditional

families, may be reluctant to test the comfortable stability established by strong mutual attachments and clear and consistent family policies. Campbell et al. suggested that such adolescents may be responding to a rapprochement crisis or "regressive pull" by foregoing exploration and its implicit separation message for the emotional security of the connection at home (Blos, 1967).

Meeting the Rapprochement Challenge

In a recent study, Quintana and Lapsley (1987) set out to demonstrate the efficacy of separateness and connectedness in meeting the demands of the rapprochement subphase (Josselson, 1980, 1988; Mahler et al., 1975) and in promoting identity formation. To operationalize the separation and connection dimensions, Quintana and Lapsley employed a measure of family differentiation (Benjamin, 1979) and an attachment to parents questionnaire (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). The family differentiation measure assesses adolescents' perceptions of how parents encourage their independence as well as how independent they feel within the family. The attachment questionnaire measures three relationship factors: trust in parents, communication with parents, and alienation from parents. According to the authors, parents who encourage independence while remaining trustworthy, accessible, and responsive are more likely to meet the rapprochement challenge than parents who are hypercritical, demanding of conformity, unavailable, and/or unresponsive.

First of all, the results reported in this study support the notion that separation and connection are interrelated aspects of young adult development. Employing

multiple measures of parent-adolescent relationship factors and using a factor-analytic strategy called structural equations modeling, the authors found that both measures of separation and connection combined to form what they called a "single separation-individuation construct" (p. 382). Relevant to the present study, the authors concluded that adolescents maintain a sense of communication and trust with parents while also seeking independence from parents; they are meeting the rapprochement challenge through the preservation of family ties in the presence of increasing autonomy.

In addition, their test of the validity of the separation-individuation construct revealed a strong positive relationship between the construct and measures of ego-identity formation (Enright, Lapsley, Cullen, & Lallensack, 1983; Tan, Kendis, Fine, & Porac, 1977). Previous studies had demonstrated that separation and attachment processes, when assessed alone, did not fully account for identity development (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Josselson, 1980; Quintana & Lapsley, 1987). According to Quintana and Lapsley, adolescent identity formation is better facilitated by families who are not excessively critical and do not demand conformity but encourage the independent exploration of and commitment to new ideas. Furthermore, parents who are available, communicative, and trustworthy are able to provide the secure home base for adolescents who need to return home to assert their developing independence or reconnect and refuel.

Effects on Career Exploration and Commitment Processes

Similar findings with respect to career exploration and commitment were reported in a recent study by Blustein et al. (1991). Like the previous authors, these researchers were interested in the contributions of psychological separation and attachment to young adult development. After finding that measures of psychological separation alone were unrelated to attitudes related to career decision making, Blustein et al. set out to test whether, together, separation and attachment to parents would influence important dimensions of the career-development process for late adolescents and young adults.

The authors used the conflictual independence and attitudinal independence subscales from the Psychological Separation Inventory (Hoffman, 1984) as measures of separateness. For the connectedness measures, the authors used the mother and father subscales from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). The conflictual independence component assesses one's reported freedom from guilt, anxiety, mistrust, responsibility toward, or resentment of one's parents. The attitudinal independence subscale reflects to what extent one's attitudes, values, and beliefs differ from those of one's parents. The IPPA assesses three qualities of connectedness with parents: degree of mutual trust, quality of communication, and extent of anger and alienation.

In this follow-up study, Blustein et al. were interested in the influence of separateness and connectedness on adolescents' perceptions of progress in their commitment to a career choice, as well as a tendency to foreclose on the

commitment process. The vocational exploration and commitment construct assesses the early exploratory phases as well as the later committed phase of career decision making. The tendency to foreclose construct captures an overall approach to decision making, with high scores identifying individuals who are closed, dogmatic, and dualistic, and low scores reflecting individuals who are open to the commitment process. The authors hypothesized that both progress in exploration and commitment to a career choice, as well as a willingness to tolerate ambivalence and engage in ongoing self-appraisal, would be related to adolescents' perceptions of attachment and separation in their relationship with parents.

As in the earlier study, Blustein et al. found that separation alone was not significant in predicting the career-choice variables. In addition, when the researchers controlled for the separation variables, attachment alone did not account for a significant portion of the variance among the dependent variables. However, the combination of parental attachment and psychological separation contributed significantly to the career-choice process. In other words, the effects of psychological separation are most pronounced in conjunction with parental attachment. Likewise, the attachment relationship with parents is most influential to the career-choice process in conjunction with a degree of psychological separation from parents.

Some interesting gender differences emerged in this research. Men seemed to engage in greater career exploration and were more open to the career commitment process when they perceived a high degree of conflictual independence

and higher levels of attachment with fathers. However, when sons were attitudinally independent from fathers, scores on the career commitment measure were lower. It seems that sharing similar attitudes with fathers facilitated career decision making as long as the relationship was conflictually independent and close. For adolescent daughters, on the other hand, attitudinal independence was unrelated to the career-choice-process variables. Also, relationships with mother and father were important to daughters' career development. Daughters who were free of excessive anger, resentment, and guilt with both parents and attached to both parents were more open to and progressed further with the career-exploration and commitment process.

Summary

An impressive body of empirical literature supports those researchers who have claimed that parenting styles and family communication patterns that combine characteristics of separateness and connectedness foster psychologically healthy adolescents and young adults. In addition, adolescents' perceptions of separation and connection in their relationships with parents also predict various indices of adolescent development (see Table 2.1).

Theory and research in the area of late adolescent and young adult religious development are sparse. Among psychologists interested in religion, it is generally accepted that religious exploration and making religious commitments are part and parcel of becoming mature adults for many young people. Likewise, scholars have acknowledged that parents are likely to influence the religious beliefs and practices of their adolescent and young adult children. However, the contributions that parent-

adolescent relationship factors make to the religious development of adolescents and young adults have not been studied.

Like ego identity formation or career exploration and decision-making, existing theory and research suggest that one aspect of adolescent/young adult religious development, religious formation, may be encouraged or inhibited by parent-young adult relationship factors such as separateness and connectedness.

A summary of the research discussed in this chapter is presented in Table 2.1. Highlighted are the measures of separateness and connectedness, the outcome measures, and the results.

Table 2.1: Summary of studies and their results.

Study/Author	Independent Measures		Dependent Measures	Results
	Separateness	Connectedness		
Baumrind (1991)	Demandingness	Responsiveness	Adolescent Competence Exploration, independence, belonging	Balance of demandingness and responsiveness contributes to adolescent competence
Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon (1985, 1986)	Separateness, self-assertion	Permeability, mutuality	Identity exploration	Individuality and connectedness lead to higher levels of identity exploration
Hauser, Noam, & Power (1991)	Problem solving, disagreements, clarifying ideas	Empathy, acceptance, warmth	Ego Development Openness to change, tolerance of doubt, less dogmatism	Higher levels of ego development are related to a balance of separateness and connectedness
Campbell, Adams, & Dobson (1984)	Parents respect ideas, independence	Affection, communication	Identity Status Presence of identity exploration	Exploration of identity content areas is related to affection and encouragement of independence
Quintana & Lapsley (1990)	Feelings of independence, encouragement of independence	Trust, communication, closeness	Identity formation	Separateness and connectedness work together to resolve rapprochement tension and enhance identity exploration
Blustein, Walbridge, Friedlander, & Palladino (1991)	Conflictual independence, attitudinal independence	Trust, communication, closeness	Career exploration and commitment/openness to process	Openness to and progress in the career-commitment process related to separation and connection to parents

CHAPTER III

METHOD

In this chapter the subjects and the process for obtaining the data are described, and the instruments used in the study are discussed. The design of the study and method of analysis are presented. Finally, the hypotheses are stated in testable form.

Subjects

A total of 228 college students (83 men, 145 women) were recruited from a variety of college and university classes to participate in what was described as a study on "religious development and family relationships." Officials from two small, religiously affiliated, liberal arts colleges in western Michigan agreed to allow their students to participate in the study. In addition, members of religious clubs and organizations on a large university campus participated in the study. As indicated in Table 3.1, the total sample ranged from 17 years to 53 years of age, with 77% of the sample between the ages of 19 and 22.

Class representation was as follows: first-year students, 12.7%; sophomores, 22.5%; juniors, 30.3%; seniors, 25.4%; and graduate students, 8.8%.

Table 3.1: Age of subjects.

Age	Frequency	Percent of Sample
17-18	9	4
19	32	15
20	63	29
21	47	22
22	25	11
23	13	6
24-30	13	6
31-53	14	6
Missing	12	5

Subjects declared a variety of majors and represented schools and departments throughout their respective institutions. Majors were grouped for the study as follows: natural sciences, health sciences, education, social sciences/ humanities, business, and undecided. Forty percent of the subjects came from the social science/humanities category due to their availability for this research. Table 3.2 summarizes this grouping of subjects by majors.

Subjects were chosen primarily from religiously affiliated colleges to ensure the availability of respondents who had been raised in homes where religious traditions were observed. Students were asked on a demographic questionnaire to

declare a family denomination of religious affiliation. Only 3 respondents out of 228 left this question unanswered. The remaining subjects declared a wide variety of denominational affiliations. An authority on church history was consulted in order to group these different denominations (F. Graham, personal communication, June 20, 1993). Table 3.3 summarizes the subjects' declared denominational affiliations.

Table 3.2: Academic majors of subjects.

Category/Major	Frequency	Percent of Sample
Natural sciences	28	12
Health sciences	41	18
Education	35	15
Social Sciences/Humanities	102	40
Business	25	11
Undecided	7	4

Table 3.3: Subjects' denominational affiliations.

Denomination	Frequency	Percent of Sample
Mainline Protestant	29	13
Fundamentalist/evangelical	52	23
Christian reformed	57	25
Free Methodist	41	18
Catholic	10	4
Nondenominational	29	13
Other	7	3
Missing	3	1

Items on a demographic questionnaire also asked subjects to assess their own and their parents' interest and participation in religion and religious activities. Subjects reported their parents as either very interested or moderately interested in religion/spirituality. Table 3.4 summarizes these results.

Table 3.4: Subjects' assessment of their parents' and their own interest in religion/ spirituality (percent of sample reported in each cell).

Person	Level of Interest			
	Very Low	Low	Moderate	Very High
Mother	4.5	7.0	16.2	70.2
Father	8.0	9.4	17.5	60.5
Subject	0	4.4	25.9	69.7

Despite sharing a similar interest in religion with their parents, there seemed to be a marked difference between subjects' perceptions of their own and their parents' level of involvement in religious activities and behaviors. As shown in Table 3.5, subjects reported that their parents were actively engaged in religious behaviors such as praying, reading religious works, and going to church or synagogue. When asked to choose between "never or rarely," "sometimes," and "often," 76.8% of the total sample reported that their parents often engaged in religious activities, whereas only 49.1% said the same for themselves.

Table 3.5: Subjects' assessment of their own and their parents' level of involvement in religious activities and behaviors (percent of sample reported in each cell).

Person	Level of Involvement		
	Never or Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Parents	10.5	12.7	76.8
Subject	13.2	37.7	49.1

When asked to check from a list the top three influences on their religious/spiritual development, 72.4% of the total sample included their parents, as indicated in Table 3.6. The next highest influence, peers, was selected by only 48.7%. For this sample, interpersonal influences such as parents and peers were more influential than institutional influences, such as formal education and church services. In addition, individuals who were in informal relationships with the subjects, such as parents and peers, were cited as more influential than individuals who were in functional relationships with the subjects, such as teachers and pastors.

Table 3.6: Subjects' selection of the top three influences on their religious/spiritual development.

Influence	Frequency	Percent
Parents	165	72.4
Peers	111	48.7
Education	82	36.0
Church/synagogue	73	32.0
Pastors	65	28.5
Prayer/meditation	64	28.1
Teachers	60	26.3
Religious reading	35	15.4

Procedures

Questionnaires were arranged in a test packet and given to students in a variety of psychology, communications, history, and general education courses in the spring of 1993. The test packet included the following items:

1. Participant consent form explaining the nature of the research and enlisting subjects' participation. It indicated that by voluntarily completing and returning the questionnaires, subjects were giving their consent to participate.
2. Data Sheet.
3. Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ).
4. Religious Formation Questionnaire (RFQ).
5. Psychological Separation Inventory (PSI).

Copies of materials are in the Appendix.

Students responded to the measures in class and out of class. Students who responded outside of class returned the test packets to their professors. Directions were the same for both groups and were included in the test packets. The use of social science and humanities courses as sources of subjects resulted in a smaller male than female sample.

Instruments

Demographic Questionnaire

All respondents were asked to complete a demographic information form. Information was collected on the following: age, year in college, major, religious and/or denominational affiliation, living at home or away from home, and frequency

of church attendance. Items were also included to gather information about both the subject's and the parents' level of religious interest and activity and the major influences on the respondent's religious development.

A Measure of Religious Formation

A 38-item Religious Formation Questionnaire (RFQ) was developed for this research to assess the presence of attitudes and behaviors that reflect a willingness to explore and make commitments within one's religious and/or spiritual affiliation. The version of the RFQ used in the present study contained four subscales: Commitment After Exploration, Religious Exploration Ongoing, Commitment Without Exploration, and Doubt Is Conducive to Growth. With the exception of the Doubt Is Conducive to Growth subscale, the other three subscales roughly correspond to the identity statuses, identity achievement, moratorium, and foreclosure, from the identity status model developed by James Marcia (1966). In Marcia's model, four identity statuses--identity achievement, diffusion, moratorium, and foreclosure--were conceptualized in order to describe the presence or absence of exploration of and/or commitment to an ideological or interpersonal content area, such as occupation (ideological) and friendship (interpersonal) (see Table 3.7).

Respondents were asked to answer each of the 38 items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5).

Table 3.7: The four identity statuses as derived from the presence or absence of exploration and commitment.

		Commitment Dimension	
		Present	Absent
Exploration Dimension	Present	Achievement	Moratorium
	Absent	Foreclosure	Diffusion

Individual items were either created by the researcher or taken from preexisting measures of ego identity formation (Adams, Bennion, & Huh, 1989), religious orientation (Allport & Ross, 1967), religious quest (Batson & Bentis, 1982; Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a, 1991b; McFarland, 1991; McFarland & Warren, 1992), and religious maturity (Dudley & Cruise, 1990). Experts were consulted regarding the face validity of the RFQ items. In personal meetings, writing, and group consultations, these campus ministers, student affairs professionals, counselors, and teachers provided clarification on the wording of some of the items and suggested the addition or exclusion of items. Finally, items were created with the assumption that individuals taking the assessment came to college with a religious affiliation or were raised in homes where religious traditions were observed.

Piloting the RFQ. Initially, a 45-item RFQ containing six subscales was piloted with a group of 25 college students. The six subscales highlighted different aspects of religious exploration and commitment. For the pilot study, the RFQ subscales were Commitment After Exploration, Exploration Ongoing/No

Commitment, Commitment Without Exploration, Openness to Change, Active Questioning, and Doubt Is Conducive to Growth.

The pilot study yielded preliminary reliability data for the RFQ subscales. Reliability was assessed by an internal consistency method. Based on item-analysis statistics, a decision was made to drop seven items from the measure. After deleting these items, Cronbach alphas for each of the six subscales were as follows: .59 for Commitment After Exploration, .85 for Exploration Ongoing/No Commitment, .68 for Commitment Without Exploration, .75 for Openness to Change, .68 for Active Questioning, and .54 for Doubt Is Conducive to Growth. A Cronbach alpha of .72 was derived for the measure as a whole.

This pilot investigation also provided evidence supporting the construct validity of the RFQ subscales. The same 25 students responded to the revised version of the 64-item Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS; Bennion & Adams, 1986). This self-report instrument measures the extent to which individuals are exploring within or committed to a variety of ideological and interpersonal identity content domains. The content of ideological areas includes assessment of occupational, philosophical, political, and religious issues. Interpersonal content domains are friendship, dating, sex role, and recreational pursuits. Four ego identity statuses (Marcia, 1966) are derived from the presence or absence of exploration or commitment (Table 3.6). Raw scale scores for identity diffusion (no exploration/no commitment), foreclosure (no exploration/commitment), moratorium (exploration/no commitment), and achievement (exploration/

commitment) statuses can be assigned for an ideological, interpersonal, and/or combined identity status.

Of interest in the pilot study were relationships between those identity statuses that provide evidence of either previous or current exploration and commitment, achievement and moratorium, and the different religious formation subscales. These correlations are reported in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: Correlations between RFQ subscales and EIS Achievement and EIS Moratorium.

RFQ Subscale	Identity Status	
	Achievement	Moratorium
Religious Commitment After Exploration	.62**	.16
Religious Exploration/No Commitment	.30	.78**
Commitment Without Exploration	-.13	-.20
Active Questioning	.46*	.67**
Openness to Change	.26	.48*
Doubt Is Conducive to Growth	.44*	.20

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

The construct validity of the RFQ subscales was partially supported in this pilot study. As expected, significant positive correlations were found between scale scores on the EIS-Identity Achievement status, which measures the presence of

both exploration and commitment, and scores on the RFQ subscale Exploration After Commitment. The moratorium status, which measures the presence of identity exploration and the absence of commitment, was significantly correlated with those RFQ subscales that emphasized ongoing exploration, active questioning, and openness to change. Also as expected, RFQ Commitment Without Exploration was unrelated to either identity status. Interestingly, RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth was positively correlated with the Identity Achievement status but not the moratorium status. This result suggests that religious doubt may be a process used by individuals after making religious commitments. Individuals involved in ongoing exploration such as those individuals in the moratorium status may see doubt in a different light.

RFQ and the present study. After administering the RFQ to subjects (N = 228) in the present study, simple correlation coefficients were computed among the six different RFQ subscales. Table 3.9 presents these correlations.

Strong intercorrelations between RFQ Religious Exploration/No Commitment, RFQ Openness to Change, and RFQ Active Questioning suggested that these subscales were measuring the same phenomena. Therefore, a new subscale, Religious Exploration Ongoing, was created by pooling items from the above three scales.

After incorporating this change, the RFQ measure used in the present study had four subscales: Commitment After Exploration, Religious Exploration Ongoing,

Commitment Without Exploration, and Doubt Is Conducive to Growth. An intercorrelation matrix for the four subscales is presented in Table 3.10.

Table 3.9: Correlations among the six RFQ subscales.

RFQ Subscale	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. RFQ-1	---	.42*	.03	.44*	.10	.24*
2. RFQ-2		---	-.20*	.54*	.70*	-.06
3. RFQ-3			---	-.36*	-.34*	-.32*
4. RFQ-4				---	.48*	.09
5. RFQ-5					---	.35*
6. RFQ-6						---

*p < .01.

Key: RFQ = Religious Formation Questionnaire, RFQ-1 = Commitment After Exploration, RFQ-2 = Religious Exploration/No Commitment, RFQ-3 = Religious Commitment/No Exploration, RFQ-4 = Active Questioning, RFQ-5 = Openness to Change, RFQ-6 = Doubt Is Conducive to Growth.

Table 3.10: Correlations among the four RFQ subscales used in the present study.

RFQ Subscale	1	2	3	4
1. RFQ-1	---	-.26*	.01	.23*
2. RFQ-2		---	-.28*	.13
3. RFQ-3			---	-.33*
4. RFQ-4				---

*p < .01.

Key: RFQ = Religious Formation Questionnaire, RFQ-1 = Commitment After Exploration, RFQ-2 = Religious Exploration Ongoing, RFQ-3 = Religious Commitment/No Exploration, RFQ-4 = Doubt Is Conducive to Growth.

Cronbach alpha coefficients for the four RFQ subscales were as follows: .65 for Commitment After Exploration, .79 for Religious Exploration Ongoing, .74 for Commitment Without Exploration, and .70 for Doubt Is Conducive to Growth.

Further evidence supporting the construct validity of the current version of the RFQ exists in the finding of predictable relationships between the four RFQ subscales and items from the data sheet, which assessed both subjects' and their parents' interest and involvement in religion and spirituality (see Table 4.2). Significant correlations were obtained between subjects' self-assessment of current interest in religion and spirituality and RFQ Commitment After Exploration (r = .38, p < .001), frequency of church attendance and RFQ Commitment After Exploration (r = .22, p < .01), and frequency of religious/spiritual activity in the home and RFQ Commitment After Exploration (r = .29, p < .001).

On the other hand, subjects' current interest in spirituality, frequency of church attendance, and frequency of religious/spiritual activity in the home were significantly negatively correlated with the RFQ subscale Religious Exploration Ongoing (r = -.22, p < .001; r = -.23, p < .001, r = -.21, p < .01, respectively).

As expected, moderate positive correlations were observed between subjects' assessment of mothers' and fathers' current interest in religion and spirituality, frequency of parents' religious/spiritual activity in the home, and the RFQ subscale Commitment Without Exploration (r = .22, p < .001; r = .29, p < .001; r = .29, p < .001, respectively).

Interestingly, respondents' current interest in religion and spirituality was significantly correlated with the RFQ subscale Doubt Is Conducive to Growth (r = .20, p = .002). Appreciation of doubt as a tool for further religious/spiritual growth is also suggested by a significant correlation between RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth and RFQ Commitment After Exploration (r = .24, p < .001). This same attitude toward doubt was not witnessed among those who had made commitments without having explored; as would be expected, this subscale was negatively correlated with RFQ Commitment Without Exploration (r = -.38, p < .001).

Measures of the Parent-Young Adult Relationship

Aseparateness measure. The Psychological Separation Inventory (Hoffman, 1984) is a 138-item self-report questionnaire developed to assess four domains of separation from parents: functional independence, emotional independence, attitudinal independence, and conflictual independence. These four aspects of parent-adolescent independence were drawn from psychoanalytic theory that emphasizes the importance of the adolescent/young adult becoming disentangled from parental controls and less dependent on parents to meet their emotional, attitudinal, and functional needs (Blos, 1967, 1979).

In this study, separateness was measured using the 50-item Conflictual Independence (CI) subscale from the Psychological Separation Inventory. The Conflictual Independence subscale is a measure of an individual's freedom from excessive anger, guilt, resentment, and mistrust of his/her parents. In a recent review of separation and attachment measures, CI scores were found to be (a)

generally uncorrelated with the other three PSI scale scores and (b) relative to these other scales, a more consistent and prominent predictor of (adolescent) adjustment indices (Lopez & Gover, 1993; Rice et al., 1990). Respondents are asked to rate on a 5-point Likert scale how accurately the item statement describes him/her, ranging from not at all true for me (1) to very true for me (5). Higher CI scores reflect a more positive psychological separateness from parents. Rice et al. (1990) suggested that adolescents with high CI scores have more positive feelings about their separation from parents. Lopez et al. (1992) added that higher CI scores highlight a less emotionally reactive parent-young adult relationship. Separate CI scores for the mother-young adult relationship and father-young adult relationship can be computed as half of the items pertain to each parent. Hoffman reported internal consistencies of .88 to .92 (Cronbach alpha), and 2- to 3-week test-retest correlation scales ranged from .85 to .96 for both CI-Mother and CI-Father. Subsequent research using the CI subscales has provided additional evidence of its reliability and validity (Blustein et al., 1991; Lopez, 1991; Lopez et al., 1992). In the present study, Cronbach alpha coefficients for the CI-Mother and CI-Father scales were .93 and .92, respectively.

A connectedness measure. Young adults' perception of connectedness to parents was measured using the 55-item Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ; Kenny, 1987). The PAQ was designed specifically for use with adolescents and young adults. Items were constructed to assess a variety of interpersonal content areas, such as parent availability, understanding, acceptance, respect for

individuality, facilitation of independence, interest in interaction with parents, affect toward parents during visits, student help-seeking behavior in times of stress, and satisfaction with help obtained from parents.

In a subsequent study, Kenny (1990) subjected the PAQ items to a factor analysis and, on the basis of this analysis, developed three distinct scales: Affective Quality of Relationships, Parents as Facilitators of Independence, and Parents as Source of Emotional Support. These scales accounted for 46% of the variance in the total measure. Kenny stated that these factors were consistent with the theoretical focus in the design of the questionnaire. Attachment theory (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bowlby, 1988; Mahler et al., 1975) suggests that there must be an enduring emotional bond that serves as a secure base for providing emotional support and fostering autonomy.

Items in the subscales Parents as Facilitators of Independence, Affective Quality of the Relationship, and Parents as Sources of Emotional Support are responded to using a 5-point Likert scale. High scores are indicative of a close relationship with parents, the kinds of relationships adolescents turn to for support, affirmation, or emotional refueling.

Kenny reported a test-retest reliability over a two-week period to be .82 to .91 for the three scales. Cronbach alpha coefficients were .96 for Affective Quality of the Relationship and .88 for both Parents as Facilitators of Independence and Parents as Sources of Emotional Support. Correlations between the PAQ and social desirability were insignificant. Subsequent research using the PAQ scales has

provided further evidence of its reliability and validity (Kenny, 1988; Kenny & Donaldson, 1991; Lopez & Gover, 1993). In the present study, Cronbach alpha coefficients were as follows: .96 for Affective Quality of the Relationship, .86 for Parents as Facilitators of Independence, and .84 for Parents as Sources of Emotional Support.

Design

This study is descriptive in nature and can be considered to be a correlational field study (Gelso, 1980). It is concerned with the relationship between subjects' perceptions of current parent-young adult relationship characteristics and young adult religious exploration. The independent variables were measures of separateness and connectedness in the parent-young adult relationship, and the dependent variables were scores from the Religious Formation Questionnaire. There were no experimental manipulations and no assignment of subjects to treatments. Scholars interested in the benefits of parent-adolescent relationship patterns to young adult development have not attempted to link such patterns with young adult religious development. In addition, whereas empirical studies examining the role of connectedness and separateness in adolescent and young adult development are on the rise, there have been no attempts to look at the effects of these parent-young adult relationship characteristics on religious development in young adults. This correlational field study represents an attempt to make inferences on theoretical grounds and to test theory-driven hypotheses concerning

the influence of parent-young adult relationship characteristics on religious exploration and commitment.

Research Hypotheses

Separate research hypotheses were developed for each RFQ subscale. Each subscale emphasizes a different quality of religious formation, and the previous research cited in this study has suggested that different relationships with the separateness and connectedness variables may occur. Given the suggestions of theory (e.g., Grotevant & Cooper, 1988; Josselson, 1988), the most adaptive pattern of parent-young adult relationships would be characterized by positive perceptions of connectedness coupled with evidence of separateness from one's mother and father. Therefore, it was expected that students having engaged in religious exploration or in the process of ongoing exploration will experience greater levels of separateness from and connectedness with parents. Those students who have made commitments after exploration will also report higher levels of connectedness. On the other hand, previous research on identity formation (Archer, 1986; Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1982) has suggested that students who make religious commitments without exploring will be more connected to and less separated from parents.

Making hypotheses about students who view doubt as conducive to growth is more difficult. Although theoreticians view doubt as a part of the religious development process, it is unclear whether doubt is used more by those who have made religious commitments and are exploring within those commitments or by

those who continue to explore without having made religious or spiritual commitments. Making this distinction is beyond the scope of this study. However, for those students who consider doubt an ally in their religious/spiritual development, theory suggests they will also report higher levels of separateness and connectedness in their relationships with parents.

The research hypotheses associated with each RFQ subscale are listed below:

Hypothesis 1: Scores on both the separateness and connectedness variables will make significant, positive, unique, and conjoint contributions to RFQ Commitment After Exploration scores above and beyond the effects of students' age.

Hypothesis 2: Scores on both the separateness and connectedness variables will make significant, positive, unique, and conjoint contributions to RFQ Exploration Ongoing scores above and beyond the effects of students' age.

Hypothesis 3: Scores on the separateness variables will make a significant negative contribution to RFQ Commitment Without Exploration scores above and beyond the effects of students' age.

Hypothesis 4: Scores on the connectedness variables will make a significant positive contribution to RFQ Commitment Without Exploration scores above and beyond the effects of students' age and the effects of separateness.

Hypothesis 5: Scores on both the separateness and connectedness variables will make significant, positive, unique, and conjoint contributions to RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth scores above and beyond the effects of students' age.

Analysis of Data

To address the preceding hypotheses, a hierarchical regression strategy was used. In hierarchical regression, the researcher chooses the order in which the

independent variables are entered into the regression equation. The order of entry is chosen before the analysis of data and is based on some theoretical rationale. In the present study, such a regression allowed a test of whether the separateness and connectedness variables made separate and/or conjoint contributions to young adult religious formation. Specifically, with the full sample (N = 214), excluding those 14 individuals who indicated that they were more than 30 years old, separate regressions predicting each of the four RFQ scale scores were computed. In constructing the model, students' age was controlled for because age was significantly correlated with each of the dependent variables and uncorrelated with the relationship measures. Next, scores on the CI-Mother and CI-Father scales, the separateness variable, were entered in a block. After the separateness measures, scores from the connectedness variable, PAQ Affective Quality of Attachment, PAQ Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support, and PAQ Parental Fostering of Autonomy, were also entered as a block. Finally, in line with previous research which suggested that gender moderates the relative contributions of separateness and connectedness to psychological growth, the same regression models were run for men and women only if gender differences were noted in the pattern of interrelationships among predictor and criterion variables.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides sample characteristics, as well as an examination of the main measures used in this study. The second section is devoted to the hypotheses associated with each Religious Formation Questionnaire (RFQ) subscale and presents the results of the regression analyses. The rest of the chapter provides results related to the measure developed specifically for this study, the RFQ.

Sample Characteristics

First, sample characteristics are presented using descriptive statistics for the predictor and criterion measures. Next, correlation coefficients between all variables for both the male and female respondents are presented in order to highlight patterns of interrelationships among predictor and criterion variables. Finally, gender differences on all variables are examined using a multivariate analysis of variance procedure.

Descriptions of the predictor variables were obtained by examining means for the separateness (CI) and connectedness (PAQ) scales. Means for male and female subjects were calculated separately because of the importance of gender in

theory and research concerning these relationship characteristics in family relationships (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1988; Kenny & Donaldson, 1991). The average item mean for each scale, on which the range of possible item ratings was from 1 to 5, was used as a way of describing the respondents' overall rating for each scale. Scores on the connectedness scales indicated the following: (a) respondents viewed the affective quality of their relationships with parents as positive (average item mean on the PAQ Affective Quality of Attachment scale was 4.09 for men and 4.12 for women); (b) they viewed their parents as fostering independence (average item mean on the PAQ Parental Fostering of Autonomy scale was 3.97 for men and 3.94 for women); and (c) they viewed their parents as emotionally supportive when needed (average item mean on the PAQ Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support was 3.55 for men and 3.67 for women).

Ratings on the separateness scales indicated that subjects also reported positive psychological separation from their parents. With possible score ranges for both CI-Mother and CI-Father being 0 to 100, respondents viewed their relationships with their mothers ($\underline{M}$ = 82.30) and fathers ($\underline{M}$ = 85.32) as free from excessive guilt, distrust, responsibility, anxiety, inhibition, resentment, and anger.

Ratings on the RFQ scales revealed that subjects were committed after engaging in a period of exploration and were willing to view doubt as important to their ongoing religious and spiritual growth. Once again, with item ratings ranging from 1 to 5, the average item mean on RFQ Commitment After Exploration was 3.33 for men and 3.34 for women; for RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth, the average

item mean was 3.88 for men and 3.87 for women. For RFQ Religious Exploration Ongoing, average item means of 3.12 for men and 3.08 for women revealed a sample that was only moderately engaged in ongoing exploration. Finally, lower item means of 2.30 for men and 2.31 for women on the RFQ Commitment Without Exploration subscale suggest that respondents had not allowed parental or family religious traditions to dictate the nature of their religious exploration and commitments.

The means and standard deviations for male and female respondents and for the combined sample are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.2 presents an intercorrelation matrix between all the variables considered in this study for the full sample. The intercorrelations between the parent-young adult relationship measures were strong and suggest that they may have been assessing similar relationship processes. Affective Quality of Attachment (PAQ-1), in particular, was strongly correlated with Parental Fostering of Autonomy (PAQ-2), Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support (PAQ-3), and Conflictual Independence from mother and father (CI-M and CI-F). However, the correlation was not so high as to present problems of multicollinearity in subsequent analyses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989).

Gender Differences

Gender differences on the measures of interest were evaluated with a two-sample multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). The data indicated that there was no main effect for gender. Contrary to what other investigators have

Table 4.1: Means and standard deviations of male, female, and combined samples on measures of separateness, connectedness, and religious formation.

Measure	Men (n = 83)		Women (n = 145)		Combined (N = 228)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Connectedness (PAQ)						
Affective Quality of Attachment (24 items)	98.16	15.75	98.88	19.41	98.64	18.14
Parental Fostering of Autonomy (14 items)	55.58	7.84	55.16	9.38	55.30	8.93
Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support (14 items)	49.70	8.82	51.38	9.66	50.82	9.43
Separateness (CI)						
CI-Mother (25 items)	83.17	13.30	81.58	16.90	82.30	15.74
CI-Father (25 items)	87.71	12.30	83.23	16.82	85.32	15.77
Religious Formation (RFQ)						
Commitment After Exploration (6 items)	19.98	3.72	20.04	4.02	20.04	3.92
Religious Exploration Ongoing (18 items)	56.16	10.90	55.44	10.62	56.16	10.81
Commitment Without Exploration (6 items)	13.80	4.17	13.86	4.40	13.80	4.31
Doubt Is Conducive to Growth (8 items)	31.04	4.82	30.96	3.95	30.96	4.28

Key: PAQ = Parental Attachment Questionnaire, CI = Conflictual Independence, RFQ = Religious Formation Questionnaire. The possible ranges for the measures were as follows: for Affective Quality of Attachment, 24-120; for Parental Fostering of Autonomy, 14-70; for Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support, 14-70; for CI-Mother, 0-100; for CI-Father, 0-100; for Commitment After Exploration, 6-30; for Religious Exploration Ongoing, 18-90; for Commitment Without Exploration, 6-30; and for Doubt Is Conducive to Growth, 8-40. Scales were scored such that higher scores indicate more of the construct measured.

Table 4.2: Intercorrelation matrix for variables of interest in this study.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. PAQ-1	---	.73***	.81***	.72***	.58***	.09	-.13	.20**	.07	.07	.25***	.25***	.07	.11	.12	.06	.05
2. PAQ-2		---	.51***	.66***	.55***	.03	-.15	-.00	.17	.13	.17**	.12	.08	.06	.09	.13	.11
3. PAQ-3			---	.45***	.46***	.13	-.10	.28***	.08	.04	.26***	.18**	.07	.17**	.08	-.09	-.02
4. CI-M				---	.54***	.00	-.14	.04	.06	.06	.19**	.20**	.05	.12	.07	.04	.11
5. CI-F					---	.01	-.11	.15	.10	.11	.18**	.38***	.15*	.19**	.02	.03	.09
6. RFQ-1						---	-.38***	.00	.16	.38***	.11	.00	.22**	.01	.29***	.22***	.02
7. RFQ-2							---	-.40**	.22**	-.22***	-.12	-.04	-.23***	-.12	-.21**	-.08	.03
8. RFQ-3								---	-.38**	.06	.22***	.29***	.09	.29***	.09	-.18*	-.14
9. RFQ-4									---	.20**	.10	.12	.15*	.17*	.11	.13*	.14*
10. S-Rel.										---	.32***	.22***	.44***	.18**	.32***	.12	.09
11. M-Rel.											---	.61***	.22***	.57***	.36***	-.13	.03
12. F-Rel.												---	.23***	.58***	.19**	-.19*	-.02
13. Fr.-Ch.													---	.22**	.11	-.10	-.01
14. P-Sp.Ac.														---	.33***	-.14	.10
15. S-Sp.Ac.															---	-.03	.11
16. Age																---	.47***
17. Class																	---

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Key: PAQ = Parental Attachment Questionnaire, CI = Conflictual Independence, RFQ = Religious Formation Questionnaire, PAQ-1 = Affective Quality of Attachment, PAQ-2 = Parental Fostering of Autonomy, PAQ-3 = Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support, CI-M = Conflictual Independence From Mother, CI-F = Conflictual Independence From Father, RFQ-1 = Religious Commitment After Exploration, RFQ-2 = Religious Exploration Ongoing, RFQ-3 = Religious Commitment Without Exploration, RFQ-4 = Doubt Is Conducive to Growth, S-Rel. = Subject's Interest in Religion, F-Rel. = Father's Interest in Religion, M-Rel. = Mother's Interest in Religion, Fr.-Ch. = Frequency of Church Attendance, P-Sp.Ac. = Parents' Spiritual Activity, S-Sp.Ac. = Subject's Spiritual Activity, Age = Subject's Age, Class = Subject's Year in School.

demonstrated with respect to connectedness, no significant gender differences were found on the PAQ subscales. Along all three relationship dimensions, men rated their connectedness relationships with parents as positively as did women. The same can be said for the measures of separateness; no significant gender differences were found for conflictual independence from either mother or father.

Correlations. Simple correlation coefficients between the parent-young adult relationship measures and the religious formation variables were computed separately for both the male and female respondents. Table 4.3 presents the Pearson product-moment correlations and the overall pattern of interrelationships among the predictor and criterion variables. The parent-young adult relationship measures were strongly correlated for both women and men in this sample. However, these correlations were not so high as to present problems of multicollinearity in subsequent analyses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989).

Few gender differences were noted in the pattern of correlations between these measures. The model-related predictors were unrelated to RFQ Commitment After Exploration for both men and women. The separateness measure, CI-Father, was positively related to RFQ-Commitment Without Exploration for women. CI-Father was also positively correlated with RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth, but only for men. The other separateness measure, CI-Mother, was negatively related to RFQ Commitment Without Exploration for women only.

Both men and women evidenced significant correlations between the connectedness measures and religious formation scores. Both PAQ Affective

Quality of Attachment and PAQ Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support were positively related to RFQ Commitment Without Exploration for men and women. PAQ Parental Fostering of Autonomy was positively related to RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth for men but not for women.

Table 4.3: Pearson product-moment intercorrelation matrix.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. PAQ-1	---	.64**	.79**	.63**	.64**	-.00	-.17	.24*	.15
2. PAQ-2	.70**	---	.35**	.60**	.51**	.17	-.17	-.06	.33**
3. PAQ-3	.83**	.46**	---	.36**	.47**	-.09	.09	.32**	.15
4. CI-M	.71**	.72**	.42**	---	.52**	.07	-.23*	.00	.06
5. CI-F	.48**	.47**	.40**	.48**	---	.00	-.02	.08	.23*
6. RFQ-1	.07	-.03	.17	-.07	.10	---	-.35**	-.00	.23*
7. RFQ-2	-.16*	-.16*	-.15	-.13	-.17*	-.35**	---	-.35**	-.14
7. RFQ-3	.22*	.04	.31**	.04	.24**	.01	-.35**	---	-.33**
9. RFQ-4	.00	.02	.05	-.06	.01	.29**	-.14	-.27**	---

*$p < .05$. **$p < .001$.

Note: Correlations above the diagonal are for men, and correlations below the diagonal are for women. For men, $n = 83$, and for women, $n = 145$.

Key: PAQ-1 = Affective Quality of Attachment, PAQ-2 = Parental Fostering of Autonomy, PAQ-3 = Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support, CI-M = Conflictual Independence From Mother, CI-F = Conflictual Independence From Father, RFQ-1 = Commitment After Exploration, RFQ-2 = Religious Exploration Ongoing/No Commitment, RFQ-3 = Commitment Without Exploration, RFQ-4 = Doubt Is Conducive to Growth.

The Main Hypotheses

Separate hierarchical regressions for each of the RFQ subscales were run for the full sample (N = 214). With the exception of RFQ Commitment Without Exploration, the initial variable of entry, age, did not make a statistically significant contribution. After controlling for the effects of age, the separateness variables also failed to make statistically significant contributions to scale scores on RFQ Commitment After Exploration, RFQ Exploration Ongoing, RFQ Commitment Without Exploration, and RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth.

After controlling for the effects of age and the block of separateness variables, the connectedness variables did explain statistically significant amounts of variance in scores for the RFQ Commitment After Exploration, RFQ Commitment Without Exploration, and RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth scales.

The nonsignificant results for RFQ Exploration Ongoing will be presented first. Next, the significant results for RFQ Commitment After Exploration, RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth, and RFQ Commitment Without Exploration will be presented. Because moderate gender differences were observed in the pattern of relationships between RFQ Commitment After Exploration and conflictual independence from father (see Table 4.3), the regression for RFQ Commitment Without Exploration will be presented for the full, male, and female samples.

Dependent Variable: RFQ Exploration Ongoing

The hypothesis associated with this RFQ scale predicted that scores on the separateness and connectedness variables would make significant, unique, and

conjoint contributions to Religious Exploration Ongoing/No Commitment scores after controlling for the effects of students' age. Table 4.4 presents a summary of the hierarchical regressions of RFQ Exploration Ongoing/No Commitment scores. For the full sample, neither age nor the blocks of relationship variables made significant contributions to this RFQ subscale.

Table 4.4: Summary of hierarchical regressions of Exploration Ongoing scores.

	R	R^2 Change	F Change	B
Full Sample (N = 214)				
Age	.00	.00	.006	.00
Separateness CI-Mother CI-Father	.09	.01	.850	 -.07 -.00
Connectedness PAQ-1 PAQ-2 PAQ-3	.11	.02	1.050	 .24 -.13 -.21

Key: CI = Conflictual Independence, PAQ = Parental Attachment Questionnaire, PAQ-1 = Affective Quality of Attachment, PAQ-2 = Parental Fostering of Autonomy, and PAQ-3 = Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support.

Dependent Variable: RFQ Commitment After Exploration

It was hypothesized that both the separateness and connectedness variables would make significant, unique, and conjoint contributions to the prediction of the RFQ Commitment After Exploration scores above and beyond the effects of students' age. With regard to the full-sample regression, the initial variable of entry

(age) failed to make a statistically significant contribution to the prediction of RFQ Commitment After Exploration. As indicated in Table 4.5, the block of separateness variables were also nonsignificant. However, the block of connectedness variables significantly predicted commitment after exploration, after controlling for the effects of age and the separateness scores (R^2 change = .07). The connectedness variable, PAQ-3 Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support, significantly and positively predicted scores on the RFQ scale (B = .41).

Table 4.5: Summary of hierarchical regressions of Commitment After Exploration scores.

Variable	R	R^2 Change	F Change	B
Full Sample (N = 214)				
Age	.02	.00	.14	.07
Separateness	.10	.01	.87	
CI-Mother				-.07
CI-Father				.04
Connectedness	.26	.07	3.78*	
PAQ-1				-.21
PAQ-2				.03
PAQ-3				.41

*p < .05.

Key: CI = Conflictual Independence, PAQ = Parental Attachment Questionnaire, PAQ-1 = Affective Quality of Attachment, PAQ-2 = Parental Fostering of Autonomy, and PAQ-3 = Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support.

Dependent Variable: RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth

It was expected that scores on both the separateness and connectedness variables would make significant and conjoint contributions to RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth scores above and beyond the effects of age. The hierarchical regression for the full sample is described in Table 4.6. The variable age did not make a significant contribution to the prediction of this RFQ subscale. The subsequent block of separateness variables were also unsuccessful in predicting RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth.

Table 4.6: Summary of hierarchical regressions of Doubt Is Conducive to Growth scores.

Variable	R	R^2 Change	F Change	B
Full Sample (N = 214)				
Age	.05	.00	.53	.04
Separateness CI-Mother CI-Father	.11	.01	.94	 .01 .08
Connectedness PAQ-1 PAQ-2 PAQ-3	.23	.05	2.75*	 -.38 .29 .24

*p < .05.

Key: CI = Conflictual Independence, PAQ = Parental Attachment Questionnaire, PAQ-1 = Affective Quality of Attachment, PAQ-2 = Parental Fostering of Autonomy, and PAQ-3 = Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support.

As in the regression for RFQ Commitment After Exploration, the connectedness block made a significant contribution to RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth (R^2 change = .05). Unlike the results for RFQ Commitment After Exploration, no single PAQ measure stood out as more predictive of this RFQ scale.

Dependent Variable: RFQ Commitment Without Exploration

With regard to RFQ Commitment Without Exploration, it was expected that the separateness measures would make a negative contribution to making religious commitments without a period of exploration, whereas the block of connectedness measures would make a positive contribution. The results partially support these predictions (see Table 4.6).

Unlike the results observed for the previous RFQ scales, the initial variable entry, students' age, explained significant variance in RFQ Commitment Without Exploration scores (R^2 = .06). With regard to the full-sample regressions, the block of separateness scores failed to significantly predict this outcome variable. A closer examination of the separateness subscales revealed some unexpected results–conflictual independence from father significantly and positively predicted scores on this RFQ subscale (B = .11).

The subsequent entry of the block of connectedness scores made a notable contribution to the overall model in the full sample (R^2 change = .08). A closer examination of the connectedness subscales reveals that, as expected, the subscales measuring relational closeness (PAQ-1) and parents as sources of

Table 4.7: Summary of hierarchical regressions of Commitment Without Exploration scores.

Variable	R	R^2 Change	F Change	B
Full Sample (N = 214)				
Age	.24	.06	12.12**	-.18
Separateness	.29	.02	2.56	
CI-Mother				-.12
CI-Father				.11
Connectedness	.41	.08	5.98**	
PAQ-1				.19
PAQ-2				-.21
PAQ-3				.23
Women (n = 136)				
Age	.21	.04	5.69**	-.17
Separateness	.30	.04	2.74	
CI-Mother				-.12
CI-Father				.16
Connectedness	.41	.07	3.58**	
PAQ-1				.08
PAQ-2				-.15
PAQ-3				.31
Men (n = 78)				
Age	.31	.10	7.08**	-.22
Separateness	.32	.00	.03	
CI-Mother				-.11
CI-Father				.18
Connectedness	.50	.15	3.84*	
PAQ-1				.47
PAQ-2				-.30
PAQ-3				.14

*p < .05. **p < .01.

Key: CI = Conflictual Independence, PAQ = Parental Attachment Questionnaire, PAQ-1 = Affective Quality of Attachment, PAQ-2 = Parental Fostering of Autonomy, and PAQ-3 = Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support.

emotional support (PAQ-3) significantly and positively predicted making religious commitments without exploring (B = .19 and .23, respectively). On the other hand, the connectedness subscale measuring parental fostering of autonomy (PAQ-2) significantly and negatively predicted RFQ Commitment Without Exploration (B = -.21). Overall, the separateness and connectedness variables accounted for 11% of the variance in RFQ Commitment Without Exploration scores in the combined sample.

The separate regressions within each gender group revealed that for both men (R^2 = .25) and women (R^2 = .17) the full model of age plus the parent-young adult relationship measures explained significant variance in the RFQ Commitment Without Exploration scale score. As expected, the connectedness variables accounted for most of the variance in both men's and women's models (R^2 change = .14 and .08, respectively). For both men and women, emotional support from parents and the affective quality of the attachment accounted for substantial contributions to the overall model (B = .61 and .39, respectively). However, men gave a higher weight to the closeness of the relationship with parents (B = .47), whereas women favored the emotional closeness variable (B = .31). Notable is the relative strength of the connectedness variable, Parental Fostering of Autonomy, for both men (B = -.21) and women (B = -.15).

Finally, there were gender-related differences in the relative contributions of the separation component to the prediction of this RFQ subscale. For women, conflictual independence from father made a significant, positive contribution to the overall model (B = .16) for RFQ Commitment Without Exploration. Conflictual

independence from father (B = -.18) did not make a significant contribution to the overall model of religious commitment without exploration for men. In addition, although the overall block of separation variables were statistically nonsignificant for both men and women, separateness approached significance for women (R^2 change = .04, F change = 2.74, p = .06).

Validating the Religious Formation Questionnaire (RFQ)

Post-hoc analyses were conducted to consider the relationship between demographic or subject characteristics and the RFQ subscales. One-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted to determine whether subjects' scores on the RFQ subscales differed with respect to year in school, major, and religious denomination/affiliation. Scheffé follow-up comparisons also were conducted whenever the ANOVAs were statistically significant.

Relationships between subjects' year in school and each of the RFQ subscales were examined. Subjects' year in school was divided into five levels: first year, sophomore, junior, senior, and graduate student. For RFQ Exploration After Commitment, RFQ Exploration Ongoing/No Commitment, and RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth, no group differences were revealed. For RFQ Commitment Without Exploration, the omnibus null hypothesis was rejected (F [4, 219] = 2.76, p < .05). However, Scheffé follow-up comparisons revealed that no two groups were significantly different at the .05 level.

Similar analyses were conducted, with college major as the grouping variable. There were five groups of the major variable: natural sciences, health sciences, education, social sciences, and humanities. For RFQ Exploration After Commitment

and RFQ Exploration Ongoing/No Commitment, the null hypothesis suggesting no group differences was accepted. For RFQ Commitment Without Exploration and RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth, the omnibus null was rejected (F [4, 219] = 4.70, $p < .01$; F [4, 219] = 4.66, $p < .01$, respectively). Once again, the Scheffé multiple-comparison procedure was run to determine significant differences between groups. With respect to RFQ Commitment Without Exploration, at the .05 level, the social sciences and humanities majors scored significantly lower than both the natural sciences and business majors. In other words, social science and humanities majors declared less of a tendency to make religious commitments without exploring than did business and natural science majors. A similar group difference was noted with the RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth subscale. Social sciences and humanities majors scored significantly higher than business majors, indicating more of a willingness to view doubt as an ally in their religious/spiritual development.

Finally, ANOVAs were conducted to determine whether RFQ subscales were related to subjects' religious denominations/affiliations. The religious denomination variable had six groups: Mainline Protestant, Fundamentalist Evangelical, Christian Reformed, Free Methodist, Catholic, and Nondenominational. No group differences were observed for RFQ Exploration After Commitment, RFQ Exploration Ongoing/No Commitment, and RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth. Religious affiliation did not account for significant differences among the scores for each of these RFQ subscales. Religious affiliation had an influence on RFQ Commitment

Without Exploration, as the omnibus null was rejected (F [6, 218] = 2.79, $p < .05$). However, no two groups were significantly different at the .05 level.

To demonstrate further evidence for the construct validity of the current version of the RFQ, simple correlations were computed between the four RFQ subscales and items from the demographic questionnaire that assessed both subjects' and their parents' interest and involvement in religion and spirituality. It was expected that the more interested and involved respondents were with religion, the more they would report religious commitments after a period of exploration. In fact, moderate positive correlations were observed between subjects' self-assessment of current interest in religion and spirituality and RFQ Commitment After Exploration (r = .38, $p < .001$), frequency of church attendance and RFQ Commitment After Exploration (r = .23, $p < .001$), and frequency of subjects' religious/spiritual activity in the home and RFQ Commitment After Exploration (r = .33, $p < .001$).

On the other hand, for students engaged in ongoing religious exploration, it was expected that (a) their current interest in spirituality, (b) frequency of church attendance, and (c) frequency of religious/spiritual activity in the home would be unrelated to or negatively correlated with RFQ Religious Exploration Ongoing. In fact, a, b, and c were significantly negatively correlated to the RFQ subscale Religious Exploration Ongoing (r = -.22, $p < .001$; r = -.22, $p < .001$; and r = -.21, $p < .01$, respectively).

It would also make sense that higher parental interest in and involvement with religion and spirituality would be found among those respondents who reported

making commitments without having explored. Indeed, moderate positive correlations were observed between subjects' assessment of (a) mother's and (b) father's current interest in religion and spirituality and (c) frequency of parents' religious/spiritual activity in the home with the RFQ subscale Commitment Without Exploration (r = .22, p < .001; r = .29, p < .001; and r = .29, p < .001, respectively). Notable are the lack of significant correlations between the group of self-interest measures, subjects' interest in and involvement with religion/spirituality, frequency of church attendance, and frequency of subjects' religious/spiritual activity in the home.

Respondents' current interest in religion and spirituality and frequency of church attendance were significantly correlated with the RFQ subscale Doubt Is Conducive to Growth (r = .20, p < .002 and r = .15, p < .05, respectively). Appreciation of doubt as a tool for further religious/spiritual growth is also suggested by a significant correlation between RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth and RFQ Commitment After Exploration (r = .24, p < .001). However, this same attitude toward doubt was not witnessed among those who had made commitments without having explored. As would be expected, this subscale was negatively correlated with RFQ Commitment Without Exploration (r = -.38, p < .001).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The first section of this chapter presents a summary of the study. Next, a review and discussion of the major findings in this study are presented. In addition, results associated with the RFQ are discussed, with an emphasis on presenting evidence for the construct validity of this instrument. Finally, limitations of the study and implications for future research are discussed.

Summary of the Study

A growing body of theory and research has made a strong case for the beneficial effects of characteristics of separateness and connectedness in the parent-young adult relationship on a number of young adult developmental tasks and psychological adjustment variables. This body of knowledge, much of which integrates psychoanalytic, object relations, attachment, and family systems theory, is becoming a dominant paradigm in understanding not only early childhood development but development across the life span. Definitions of human growth and development, once dominated by autonomy themes, now recognize the importance of ongoing relationships or attachments. According to this paradigm, demands to be both independent and to belong are experienced at full volume, especially during

times of developmental change or transition, such as late adolescence or young adulthood.

Researchers have found that parent-young adult relationships that manage to balance the maintenance of emotional closeness and support with an encouragement of psychological separation foster young adult competence and development within such domains as identity formation, ego development, adjustment to college, and career decision making. However, absent from this list of young adult development tasks or outcomes has been a measure of young adult religious development.

According to theorists interested in religious development through the life span, the period of adolescence and young adulthood is often a time for reevaluating childhood religious beliefs and practices. Research on religious development is sparse, and studies that exist have suggested a variety of assumptions concerning the course of religious development during adolescence and young adulthood. Some studies have suggested that during this period individuals become less religious than their parents or move away from their childhood religious affiliations altogether (Asa, 1994; Caplovitz & Sherrow, 1977; Feldman, 1969; Hauser, 1981; Hunsburger, 1978; Spilka, Hood, & Gorsuch, 1985). Other research has indicated that adolescence is a time when religious values and beliefs are transformed but not abandoned--individuals maintain their religious spiritual sentiments but faith, religion, and spirituality take on new and qualitatively different meanings (Allport, 1950; Elkind, 1964; Fowler, 1981, 1984; Hill, 1986; Parker, 1985; Parks, 1986; Potvin &

Lee, 1982). Finally, psychologists interested in religious development agree that adolescence and young adulthood seem to bear witness to more religious conversions than at other times during the life span (Spilka et al., 1985). Religion, as Erikson (1958) suggested, provides a source of ideologies for those who seek identities.

In the present investigation of the effects of parents on young adult religious formation, the separateness/connectedness model of the parent-young adult relationship was put to another test. Separateness, connectedness, and religious formation were operationalized using the Conflictual Independence (CI) subscale from the Psychological Separation Inventory (Hoffman, 1984), the Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ) (Kenny, 1987), and the Religious Formation Questionnaire (RFQ), which was developed for this study. Conflictual Independence measured the extent to which subjects described relationships with parents as free of guilt, excessive anger, and resentment. The PAQ assessed subjects' perceptions of the quality of the emotionally close relationship with parents, the parental role in encouraging independence, and the perception of parents as sources of emotional support.

The RFQ assessed the presence of attitudes and behaviors that reflected levels of exploration and commitment toward religion and spirituality. The four RFQ subscales measured the extent to which subjects (a) made religious commitments after exploring, (b) considered themselves involved with ongoing religious

exploration, (c) made commitments without engaging in a period of exploration, and (d) viewed doubt as a positive tool in their ongoing religious development.

A sample of 228 religiously affiliated college students was obtained from colleges and universities in western Michigan. These students were asked to complete and anonymously return a data sheet, the CI, the PAQ, and the RFQ. The subjects were told that they were participating in a study on religious development and family relationships.

After the data were collected, a hierarchical regression strategy was used with 214 subjects to test whether the separateness and connectedness variables made separate and/or conjoint contributions to young adult religious exploration. Fourteen subjects were excluded from the main analyses because they indicated on the data sheet that they were more than 30 years of age. Because gender differences were observed in previous research using the CI and the PAQ, MANOVA was used to determine whether there were differences in these measures of separation and connection. In addition, the pattern of relationships between the predictor and criterion variables was observed for men and women. If gender differences were noted, separate regressions predicting each of the four RFQ subscales were computed for the combined, male, and female samples.

Review and Discussion of the Main Findings

The highly favorable descriptions of parental relationships reported by the college students in this study contribute to an increasing body of research suggesting that young adults achieve independence from their family of origin

without sacrificing an affective closeness (Blustein et al., 1991; Kenny, 1990; Kenny & Donaldson, 1991; Rice & Whaley, 1994). Close relationships with parents need not be labeled as dependence or indicative of independence unrealized. Many of these students described positive affect toward parents, continued to view their parents as sources of practical and emotional support, and perceived their parents as encouraging independence. Likewise, students acknowledged positive feelings about separating from their parents as they reported freedom from excessive anger, guilt, resentment, and distrust of their parents.

Unlike previous research evidence on the nature of psychological separation-individuation in late adolescence (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1988; Kenny, 1987, 1990, 1991; Lopez et al., 1992), no gender differences were noted in this study. Contrary to evidence suggesting that women are closer to their parents than men, the men in this study described equally positive connections with their parents as did the women. Both men and women in this study also described similar freedom from conflictual entanglements with their parents.

There were also no significant gender differences in the way separateness and connectedness contributed to the religious formation measures. Recent theory on women's psychological development assumes that, relative to men, relationship variables contribute more to positive functioning and development. The results of this study suggest that relationship factors are no more or no less crucial in women's religious development than they are in men's. This conclusion is made tentatively, however, due to limitations of this study that will be discussed later.

Previous research has provided an empirical link between parent-young adult relationships that provide a balance of separateness and connectedness and young adult developmental processes, including identity and career exploration, openness to change, tolerance of ambiguity in the career decision-making process, and willingness to doubt. Based on the results of this study, however, these same conclusions cannot be drawn for similar processes within the religious domain.

The separate hierarchical regressions suggested that connectedness with parents plays more of a role in young adult religious formation than separateness from parents. After controlling for the effects of age and the block of separateness variables, the block of connectedness variables accounted for significant variance in the RFQ Commitment After Exploration, RFQ Commitment Without Exploration, and RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth scale scores. On the other hand, characteristics of separateness did not contribute to respondents' tendency to make religious commitments with or without a period of exploration, to report the presence of ongoing religious exploration, or to view doubt as playing a positive role in their religious development. The lack of significant findings may be due to measurement problems with the RFQ, the relative homogeneity of the sample, and other limitations of the study that will be discussed later.

A closer examination of the specific connectedness subscale scores revealed that students' perceptions of emotional closeness with their parents and their parents as sources of emotional support were predictive of religious formation scores on both of the scales measuring religious commitment (RFQ Commitment After

Exploration and RFQ Commitment Without Exploration). These findings suggest that the secure, close relationship with parents promotes making religious or spiritual commitments but is unrelated to religious exploration. Indeed, the absence of a significant relationship between connectedness measures and RFQ Religious Exploration Ongoing would support this conclusion.

Contrary to predictions, conflictual independence from father made a positive contribution to the overall model of religious commitment without exploration for the women in this sample. Female students who reported making religious commitments without a period of exploration also reported relationships with father that were free of excessive anger, guilt, and/or resentment. Conflictual independence from mother did not play as important a role in explaining variance in the RFQ Commitment Without Exploration scores for either men or women. This result runs counter to research suggesting that positive feelings about separation from parents would allow for exploration beyond family norms and traditions before ideological commitments are made (Blustein & Palladino, 1991; Hoffman, 1984). This finding suggests that, for women, positive feelings about separation from father contribute to adopting these norms without engaging in a period of questioning or exploration of alternatives.

On the other hand, the close relationship with parents and the perception of parents as providers of emotional support were significantly and positively related to RFQ Religious Commitment Without Exploration for the full, male, and female

samples. Students who made religious commitments without a period of exploration reported feeling supported by as well as affectively close to their parents.

The relationship between subjects' perceptions of close emotional ties to their parents and making religious/spiritual commitments without exploring is similar to evidence reported in the literature on adolescent and young adult identity formation. In general, individuals who make identity commitments without exploring report close ties to parents (Josselson, 1987, 1988; Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1982). For example, in a study relating identity formation and parent-young adult relationships, Campbell et al. (1984) found that young adults who have made identity-related commitments without engaging in a period of exploration experience particularly close relationships with their parents. According to the authors, these young adults may be reluctant to test the family's comfortable stability and strong mutual attachments. Furthermore, the authors reasoned, these students may be responding to a rapprochement crisis or "regressive pull" by foregoing exploration and its implicit separation message for the emotional security of the connectedness at home.

Contrasting with the positive contributions that were made by perceptions of the close relationship with parents and the parental role in providing emotional support, the PAQ subscale Parental Fostering of Autonomy was negatively related to RFQ Religious Commitment Without Exploration (se Table 4.3) in the full, male, and female samples. In other words, parents of young adults who have made commitments without engaging in a period of exploration have not encouraged

independence and autonomy for their young adult children. Ironically, the results associated with this connectedness subscale may aid in understanding the role that separateness plays in the religious exploration and commitment of this particular sample of young adults.

Attachment theory suggests that an emotionally close and supportive relationship with parents provides a secure home base for the child's autonomy seeking. In a model of a secure attachment relationship, the parents are viewed as emotionally available, understanding, tolerant of differences, and facilitating independence. In constructing the PAQ so that the measure was true to the attachment theories of Bowlby (1988) and Ainsworth et al. (1978), Kenny (1987, 1990) developed items that assessed both relational characteristics of closeness and connection as well as autonomy and independence. The PAQ Parental Fostering of Autonomy subscale, in particular, was defined as parental encouragement for exploration of ideas and opinions outside of the home. In responding to items from this subscale, young adults reveal to what extent their parents have provided freedom to experiment and learn things on their own. This subscale assesses parents' role in encouraging their children to make their own decisions and to respect and defend these decisions even if they are in conflict with their parents. Young adult responses to these items also reveal to what extent parents are perceived to have imposed their values upon them and to have tried to control their lives.

In a recent review of self-report measures of separation and connection, Lopez and Gover (1993) suggested that the PAQ Parental Fostering of Autonomy subscale may be more a measure of separateness than connectedness, despite its presence on an "attachment" questionnaire. If PAQ Parental Fostering of Autonomy is more of a separateness variable, then the finding summarized above would suggest that a negative relationship exists between this aspect of separation from parents and young adult religious exploration. In other words, the more students report a tendency to have made religious commitments without exploring, the less parents are perceived to have encouraged autonomy or independence. This conclusion, in part, supports the original hypotheses concerning the contribution of separateness to making religious commitments without exploring.

An interesting portrait of parent-young adult relationships emerges from this finding: affectively close, emotionally supportive, conflict-free relationships in which parents discourage exploration of norms and conventions outside of the home. A similar profile is found in the well-known longitudinal research of Baumrind (1987, 1991). In her most recent account of parenting styles during adolescence, she added a new pattern to the familiar authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and rejecting-neglecting styles. Once a subgroup of the larger authoritarian style developed in her childhood studies, she called this new pattern the nonauthoritarian directive parenting style. According to Baumrind, this traditional parenting style is defined by parents who are less sanctioning of adolescent/young adult exploration outside of the family norms, but they also manage to maintain strong mutual

attachments among family members. Parents from traditional families were viewed as restrictive by their adolescent children but also emotionally supportive. In addition, family relationships in traditional homes manifested as little problem behavior and a minimum of family disorganization and conflict as the optimal authoritative parenting style.

At face value, the nonauthoritarian directive parenting style combines characteristics of connectedness and separateness assessed in this study and, more pointedly, reflects the type of relationship revealed in the findings associated with the RFQ Exploration Without Commitment subscale. From these findings it can be inferred that in this sample of religiously affiliated college students, there are individuals who live in homes where parents provide clear and consistent guidelines concerning their children's exploratory behaviors outside of the home. These guidelines, although perceived to be restrictive, seem to be communicated without the emotional conflict or dependence experienced in homes where parents are perceived to be both restrictive and intrusive. Mutual care and concern is also experienced in these homes, even with parents who exercise more overt control.

It must be remembered that, by and large, the young adults responding in this study reported positive perceptions of connectedness and separateness in their relationships with parents. Parenting styles such as the nonauthoritarian-directive parenting style reported in Baumrind's studies can only be inferred--no conclusions can be drawn concerning the extent to which this style is typical of this sample.

Bearing in mind this caveat, there are implications to consider for our work with students who may be reared in these traditional or nonauthoritative directive homes.

First of all, the strengths present in these families cannot be denied. They have managed to create close mutual attachments in an atmosphere devoid of intense or excessive conflict and without sacrificing a sense of family convention or tradition. Clear guidelines and norms are communicated, and there is an expectation that all family members will comply with these norms. Commentators of adolescent and young adult development have suggested that in times of social instability, families may need to assert as much control as they can provide (Baumrind, 1987, 1991; Elkind, 1989). In addition, research has suggested that families, such as these traditional families, are also as effective as the authoritative styles in guarding against the dangers associated with risk-taking behaviors such as drug and alcohol use.

In a recent study exploring the relationship between religious devoutness in college students and emotional adjustment and psychological separation from parents, Richards (1991) warned against automatically assuming weakness in such family relationships. As in the present study, Richards also found his religiously devout subjects to be somewhat psychologically dependent on their parents. Citing the research of Rice et al. (1990), Richards claimed that no empirical link existed between greater degrees of attitudinal, functional, and emotional dependence and measures of psychological adjustment. Greater degrees of so-called psychological dependence may be an asset to these college students, according to Richards. For

example, with respect to progress in the career development process, greater degrees of attitudinal dependence on father appeared to be beneficial for young adult males (Blustein et al., 1991).

Recent research in identity formation in general, and women's identity formation in particular, has also challenged the notion that people who make identity commitments without exploring are bound to pay for it later with an emotionally tumultuous identity crisis. Josselson (1987), in her study of women's identity formation, found healthy adaptation among women who forego exploration in favor of the stability and security of identification with and commitment to family norms and traditions. These women, according to Josselson, may have adopted a style based on tradition and connection that was rooted in their need for security and stability. Psychological development occurred as a result of taking in rather than repudiating aspects of their beloved parents. What is more, Josselson's longitudinal tracking revealed her foreclosed subjects stayed foreclosed and were relatively healthy at adolescence, young adulthood, and into middle age. In fact, for women and men, what correlated most with indices of psychological health and well being was making identity commitments, either as a result of or in the absence of exploration.

The literature also reveals some downsides to the parenting style that discourages autonomy while maintaining close relationships and freedom from excessive conflict. Compared to young adults from homes that combine close relationships, clear expectations, conflictual independence, and a nurturing of autonomy, Baumrind noted less individuation and autonomy, and more of an

external locus of control among adolescents from traditional homes. The ability to make commitments to "courses of thought and action that depart from early, more stable and secure patterns" (p. 61) was "somewhat lacking" in these nonauthoritarian-directive homes. Josselson (1987) also noted that people who have engaged in exploration are capable of "more original and individualized choices, forging creative modes of living that are open to surprise and change" (p. 169).

Such religious or identity exploration may also be a double-edged sword for the young adults from these traditional homes. Exploration and its vicissitudes validates a sense of becoming an adult for some young people, but it also can feel like giving up the security and the comfort of the attachments at home. According to theory, becoming adult requires a deidealization of parents, where parents are less figures or roles and more persons with strengths and weaknesses. This deidealization process provides young adults with opportunities for the development of greater separateness. However, this intrapsychic movement may also arouse internal conflict and feelings of depression, inferiority, shame, guilt, and rage. Often these feelings may compromise separateness gains; individuals in the midst of a "rapprochement crisis" are often caught desiring to continue their growth project but are fearful that carrying on may sacrifice the close, supportive relationship with parents. For some young adults the sacrifice is too much; if growth and development means the repudiation of crucial relationships, it hardly seems worth it.

Both the traditional families described in Baumrind's work and the relationship pattern described here seem particularly vulnerable to this type of rapprochement crisis. Young adults who choose to test the outer boundaries of their families' conventions and norms put themselves and their families at risk. For traditional families, the presence of an exploring child may cause parents to tighten the boundaries around their child and become even more restrictive. This heightened restrictiveness may also be accompanied by parental intrusiveness, where parents no longer trust their child and find themselves being more officious and legalistic in their attempts to control their child. The traditional family system may also view the presence of an exploring young adult as a threat to the close mutual attachments and conflict-free atmosphere in the home. When these traditions and values are called into question by one family member, it may feel to other family members like an attack on the family itself. Strong family processes that have worked for the family in the past are discarded now that a member is challenging these conventions.

The challenge to counselors, educators, and others who work regularly with such young adults and their families is complicated. Professionals must guard against a bias toward separateness and autonomy seeking. As crucial as developing autonomy is toward becoming adult, gains in this direction are not to be confused with the repudiation of family ties and the close relationship with parents. The strengths inferred from these nonauthoritarian directive families have already been noted. On some level, these families already know what it is like to be mutually

supportive and affectively available. The challenge for the young adult explorer in this family may be to find a way to share this journey and maintain these close connections. Mental health professionals may want to build on the family strengths and encourage the existing emotional connections while building opportunities for family members to clearly communicate emerging differences. Training in enabling communication/listening skills such as empathy, acceptance, the willingness to take responsibility for expressing disagreements, and joint problem-solving abilities may help traditional families who are strained by the presence of an exploring young adult.

Review and Discussion of Post-Hoc Analyses Related to the RFQ

Several post-hoc analyses underlined both strengths and weaknesses of the RFQ. RFQ Commitment Without Exploration seemed to be the most robust of the four subscales in terms of yielding significant results. In addition to the results associated with the main research questions, subjects' year in school, academic major, and religious denominational affiliation influenced scores on RFQ Commitment Without Exploration. Of the different classes, first- and second-year students reported a greater tendency to have made religious commitments without exploring, whereas juniors and seniors were less likely to have made commitments without exploring. This result is not surprising, given that previous research has suggested that identity develops progressively over the college years. This finding is also in line with research on the influence of college in general on measures of young adult religiosity (Feldman, 1969; Hunsburger, 1978).

Subjects' declared academic major also correlated with a tendency to make commitments without exploring. Students who declared themselves social science and humanities majors were least likely to make religious commitments without engaging in a period of exploration. Follow-up comparisons indicated that those students majoring in business and the natural sciences were more likely to make religious/spiritual commitments without exploring than social science and humanities majors. This finding is in line with research evidence, which suggests that certain fields of study were more likely to lead to a weakening of belief than others or that a weakening of belief will lead students to study in one field over another. Hoge and Keeter (1976) reported more loss of religious belief in humanities and social studies majors, with less loss in chemistry, physics, and engineering majors. In discussing their results, however, these same researchers questioned whether stability of religious belief was more a function of events before coming to college, such as sex-role training, religious education, childhood church attendance, or a tendency toward dogmatism.

Subjects' declared denominational affiliation was also related to whether or not students made religious commitments without exploring. An examination of group means suggests that those students representing the more traditional religious denominations, such as Catholic and Mainline Protestant, were more likely to declare religious commitments without exploring than students who were Fundamentalist, Evangelical, Free Methodist, or nondenominational.

This result is harder to interpret due to the surprising paucity of research on the effects of denominational affiliation on young adult religious development and commitment. It is notable that the more traditional religious denominations, such as Mainline Protestant and Catholic, use infant baptism to seal individuals as church members and/or spiritual heirs of the promises of Christianity (i.e., salvation from sin, eternal life in God's Kingdom, and so on). The other religious groups emphasize the need for an individual to make a thoughtful and autonomous decision to believe in the claims of Christianity. Within these traditions, individuals who declare their faith and belief are then baptized into the church. Generally, this decision comes in late childhood or during or after the adolescent years, when individuals are believed to be capable of understanding the implications of such a decision.

This difference may affect the way in which subjects from both groups view the concept of religious exploration and commitment. Members of traditional churches may assume that they were "committed" since infancy, making exploration unnecessary. On the other hand, members of the latter group may have been raised in religious homes and have attended the same denomination since childhood, but the group norm dictates that the decision to commit or have faith is left up to the individual. For these students, it may be that a form of exploration occurs before declaring their intention to believe in or commit to Christianity. This conclusion is purely speculative--further research on the nature of young adult religious development needs to address this and other issues.

Also contributing to the evidence for the validity of the RFQ Commitment Without Exploration subscale were correlations between the subscale and students' assessments of their own and their parents' interest in and involvement with religion and spirituality. Students who were likely to make commitments without exploring also reported their parents to be interested in religion and frequently engaged in religious and spiritual activity in the home. This finding is in line with what appears to be the only conclusive research evidence on the religious development of young adults, namely, the enduring effects on young adult religious development of parental religious beliefs and practices (Potvin & Sloan, 1985). As suggested by the results of this study, previous research evidence supports the conclusion that the presence of more religiously interested and involved parents has a positive effect on the maintenance of the religious belief and commitment of young adults.

The other RFQ subscales were not as useful in revealing relationships with either parent-young adult relationship measures, subject demographics, or subjects' assessment of their own and their parents' interest in and involvement with religion/spirituality. Still, some interesting results did occur for each subscale and are discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

Means for the RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth subscale were not significantly different for the various class groups or religious denominations. However, significant differences were noted between the various major groups. Similar to the finding for the RFQ Commitment Without Exploration subscale, subjects who declared themselves a social science and/or humanities major were

more likely to view doubt as a positive tool in their religious/spiritual development, especially when compared to business majors. Causal direction cannot be determined by the existing data. The results did not reveal whether students reported more of a willingness to view doubt as an ally in their spiritual development as a result of experiences as a social science/humanities major or whether this tendency to embrace doubt led them to choose social science/humanities majors in the first place. For this sample of religiously affiliated young adults, one implication seems warranted: on these college campuses, there are students who are engaged in a process of religious development that includes a willingness to explore, question, and grapple with knowledge and experience that may provoke doubt and uncertainty. In addition, some programs and majors may elicit more of this process than others. Indeed, this is probably no surprise to the teachers and other professionals who participate in such programs. These may be the programs that introduce diverse and opposing opinions, programs that challenge dualistic young adult world views and develop world views that embrace both commitment to one's ideas, beliefs, and values, as well as tolerance of and a desire to learn from others (Kneflekamp & Slepitza, 1978; Perry, 1969).

The construct validity of the RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth subscale was also supported by significant associations between it and the subjects' assessments of their own religious interest and involvement. The more subjects are interested in and involved with religion/spirituality, the more likely they are to look favorably upon doubt as helpful in their religious development. The same associations were not

observed between subjects' favorable view of doubt and assessments of parental religious attitudes and behaviors.

In what appears to be a related finding, positive associations were also observed between subjects making religious and identity commitments after exploring and having a favorable view of doubt. Allport (1950) believed that faith is developed in the "workshop of doubt." This finding also suggests that religious/spiritual doubt is a tool for religious development. However, doubt may be more of an ally to individuals who through previous engagement in a process of exploration have learned to trust the religious formation process and its attendant uncertainties and ambiguities. The commitments demonstrated in the lives of these individuals bear witness to the efficacy of the process.

Indeed, this previous exploratory period may have contributed to a tolerance of and appreciation for doubt not found in those individuals who have either made commitments without exploring or who are involved in ongoing exploration. Results indicated a strong negative association between RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth and RFQ Religious Commitment Without Exploration. RFQ Religious Exploration Ongoing was also unrelated to RFQ Doubt Is Conducive to Growth. Future research needs to be undertaken to explore whether there are relationships between religious exploration in general and a positive attitude toward doubt.

RFQ Commitment After Exploration and RFQ Religious Exploration Ongoing were not able to differentiate between groups of classes, academic majors, or religious denominational affiliations. However, as expected, subject age was related

to subjects' report of making religious commitments after engaging in a period of exploration. The older the subjects, the more likely they were to have reported making commitments after exploring. Also, RFQ Religious Commitment After Exploration was related to subjects' reported interest in and involvement with religion/spirituality.

Somewhat surprising was the lack of significant associations between RFQ Religious Commitment After Exploration and indices of parent interest in and involvement with religion. Previous research would suggest that parental beliefs and attitudes would influence students who have made religious commitments after exploring, especially among this group of students who came from religious home environments. Perhaps for these students who had made religious commitments after exploring, their current religious/spiritual commitments were not as guided by childhood religious practices or what and how their parents continued to practice. As already noted, this was not the case for the committed but unexplored students. These students had joined with their parents and continued to practice within their family's religious traditions.

RFQ Religious Exploration Ongoing revealed significant negative relationships with assessments of subjects' level of interest and involvement in religion and spirituality. Once again, it is hard to interpret this finding, given the limited information gathered for each respondent. This finding may reveal some of the ambiguity and ambivalence reported by researchers who have described those who are uncommitted and currently exploring among other identity-related domains

(Archer, 1989; Marcia, 1980; Stephen, Fraser, & Marcia, 1992; Waterman, 1982). Are uncommitted but exploring students continuing to explore, but from a distance? For these religiously affiliated students, is it easier to explore when one is less interested and involved? The data did reveal that for those presently exploring, frequency of church attendance was lower than for those who had made religious commitments with or without a period of exploration. However, the data did not reveal whether these exploring students were attending other religious meetings or groups. The presence of other exploratory attitudes and behaviors, such as reading religious/spiritual materials, engaging in informal discussions with peers, and engaging in a regular pattern of prayer or mediation, also cannot be deduced from the data. In short, it is beyond the scope of this study to know whether these religiously exploring students were "trying on different hats," may have been involved in an emotionally and cognitively chaotic religious identity crisis, or in what ways they were involved in a religious exploration process.

It would also be helpful to know whether the lower level of student interest and involvement among uncommitted but exploring students generalizes to identity domains other than religion. Are students who are uncommitted and exploring with respect to religion/spirituality also exploring and uncommitted with respect to career, interpersonal relationships, and/or sex roles and standards of sexual behavior, or does one or a cluster of such domains have precedence in young adult development?

Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

Subjects for this study were not selected randomly, so caution in generalizing the results is necessary. Despite the presence of differences within this large group of religiously affiliated young adults, all of the student respondents professed a Christian orientation. In addition, most of the students came from small liberal arts colleges. Finally, most of the sample came from homes where religious conventions were observed and came to college declaring themselves religiously committed.

The study needs to be repeated with young adults from other religious faiths and with more students who attend larger, nonreligious colleges and universities. Further research of this kind also needs to be done with students who come to college from homes where religion did not play such a central role in the family system. In addition, research that identifies subjects who come from homes where religious traditions were not observed and experience a religious/spiritual conversion after coming to college may further enlighten the role that separateness and connectedness play in young adult religious formation.

The study was correlational in nature, so causal inferences have not been demonstrated. Making more definitive conclusions about the effects of parent-young adult relationships on young adult religious formation will require more longitudinal designs. Research that assesses students before they leave home for college, throughout their college years, and afterwards may provide the opportunity to observe the way in which family, individual, and institutional factors contribute uniquely and conjointly to the religious development of college students.

The correlational statistics reported are significant but not particularly large. In some of these cases, the relationships are hard to interpret and may or may not be meaningful. For example, correlations between the RFQ subscales and measures of subjects' and parents' interest in religion and spirituality, although significant and in the expected direction, were not that high. Further research providing similar collaborative support is needed in order to accept the conclusions drawn in this study.

The measures used in this study are based on self-report and need to be interpreted with caution. This limitation extends to the measures of separation and connection, despite their favorable psychometric properties. The report of other family members' perceptions of separation and connection, the use of behavioral indices, and defining and observing characteristics of separation and connection within the family will aid in understanding the relationships among these variables in future research.

The relationship variables (PAQ and CI) were also highly intercorrelated for this subject group. Of concern is whether the PAQ and CI scales were measuring more than one construct. To determine whether these relationship measures were clustering together in a way that highlights both a separateness and connectedness distinction, a factor analysis was conducted on the PAQ and CI scale scores. This post-hoc analysis revealed that a single factor explained some 65% of the variance--a relationship factor emerged, but it remained unclear as to what this factor was measuring. The factor analysis revealed that for this sample, scales from the CI and

PAQ clustered together and did not provide a clear distinction between separateness and connectedness in the parent-young adult relationship. In the present study, therefore, results were interpreted by observing the effects of the separate PAQ and CI subscales. Aside from highlighting the efficacy of measuring more diverse samples, researchers using separateness and connectedness scales such as the PAQ and CI should factor analyze these scales and determine whether "separateness" and "connectedness" factors do emerge. If distinct and theoretically consistent separateness and connectedness scales emerge, researchers can insert these new variables into their regression equations.

A related issue may involve the need to find more sensitive measures of separation and connection for use in future studies. For this sample in particular, where positive feelings about separation from mother and father are indicated by the relative lack of intense emotional conflict, measures are needed that tap parental encouragement of autonomy, attitudinal and ideological independence, and exploration beyond the "stable and secure patterns" established during childhood and adolescence.

Other investigators have operationalized characteristics of separateness and connectedness in the parent-young adult relationship by observing interaction samples and communication patterns. The pioneering studies of Grotevant and Cooper (1985, 1986, 1988) and Hauser et al. (1991) are prime examples of this type of research. Adapting these research designs would enable future researchers to look for effects on young adult religious development of relationships where the

young adult child is encouraged to develop and express differing points of view in an atmosphere of mutual respect and warmth. Behavioral measures of separation and connection, taken in as natural a setting as possible, would also address many of the concerns posed about the limitations of self-report measures such as those used in this study.

Parent-young adult relationship scores were also negatively skewed in this data set, making it difficult to obtain substantial estimates of variance in these relationship variables. Most likely, this reduced the power of the statistical tests and probably underestimated the magnitude of the various relationships. Once again, this limitation highlights the wisdom of gathering data from more diverse samples.

The number of insignificant results may also be related to limitations associated with the RFQ. It was determined that the reliability estimates for each of the RFQ subscales were high enough to continue with this study. However, more work needs to be done to make this a more reliable instrument. Future research should test new items by adding them to the four subscales and resubmitting the RFQ to new and more diverse samples. A factor analysis can be undertaken to see whether these items cluster around the four subscales and/or hold together in a manner consistent with current understandings of the nature of religious development or young adult development in other domains.

At present, religious formation as defined by the RFQ is too diffuse, and the absence of findings may be associated with the ambiguity that surrounds this construct. Future efforts at validation of the RFQ would be aided by examining the

relationships between the different RFQ subscales and assessments of decision making, problem solving, tolerance of ambiguity, tendency to foreclose, and other processes that relate with exploration and commitment in general. Future research might also help to identify or differentiate between those who are "trying on different hats" and/or involved in a religious identity crisis.

Simple but important questions about young adult religious development need to be asked and answered before further revisions of the RFQ are undertaken. More information needs to be gathered about the nature and relative importance of religious exploration and commitment during the young adult years. Within a religiously affiliated sample, young adults are likely to say they value religious exploration and growth. Ironically, many of the religious denominational traditions represented in this study were born out of questioning established religious norms. It is reasonable to assume that the mandate to explore and to question, rooted in the beginnings of many of the mainline religious denominations represented in this study, is also familiar to the college students who participated. What is more, the mission and purpose statements of many institutions of Christian higher education talk liberally about the integration of faith and learning and the desire that students grow as a result of their coming to college. These institutions were established to nurture a sense of intellectual inquisitiveness and development within the faiths of their students. Individuals from the religious traditions represented in this study are familiar with and embrace such concepts as "growing in your faith" and "becoming spiritually mature." Spiritual complacency or the attitude of religious or spiritual

stagnation is strongly discouraged within the ethos created by these religious traditions, and many so-called Christian colleges intentionally address this mandate to grow and develop spiritually.

However, such religious exploration and commitment may look different than exploration and commitment within other identity-related domains such as career, interpersonal relationships, or gender roles. For example, the press for making mature religious commitments may not be as critical to college students as the press to make career or relationship commitments. For many young adults, religious or spiritual "crises" may not occur as a result of going to college or entering young adulthood. Whereas college may be the backdrop for global "crises" in the career or interpersonal domains, religious exploration and commitment may be affected by other experiences or at other times. Religious identity formation may be more crucial during those Eriksonian stages associated with the child-bearing, midlife, and mature years. Indeed, popular polling data support such an inference (Gallup, 1989). There is an intuitive link between the virtues associated with many religious/spiritual traditions and the virtues attending the Eriksonian stages associated with young adulthood, midlife, and the mature years--namely, love, care, and wisdom. In addition, the questions that emerge as a result of having children or caring for someone or something outside of oneself, making lifestyle value changes at midlife, and reevaluating one's life and approaching death may precipitate the types of "crises" associated with religious exploration and commitment.

APPENDIX

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT FOR RESEARCH
AND DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN • 48824-1046

March 5, 1993

TO: Mr. Dan Wilcox
1532 Spencer
Lansing, MI 48915

RE:	IRB #:	93-093
	TITLE:	SEPARATENESS AND CONNECTEDNESS IN THE PARENT-YOUNG ADULT RELATIONSHIP: PROVIDING A CONTEXT FOR YOUNG ADULT RELIGIOUS EXPLORATION
	REVISION REQUESTED:	N/A
	CATEGORY:	1-C
	APPROVAL DATE:	03/04/1993

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project including any revision listed above.

UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to continue a project beyond one year must seek updated certification. Request for renewed approval must be accompanied by all four of the following mandatory assurances.

1. The human subjects protocol is the same as in previous studies.
2. There have been no ill effects suffered by the subjects due to their participation in the study.
3. There have been no complaints by the subjects or their representatives related to their participation in the study.
4. There has not been a change in the research environment nor new information which would indicate greater risk to human subjects than that assumed when the protocol was initially reviewed and approved.

There is a maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for complete review.

UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. Investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly of any problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects during the course of the work.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us at (517) 355-2180 or FAX (517) 336-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:pjm

cc: Dr. John Powell

Participant Consent Form

My name is Dan Wilcox, and I am working towards my Ph.D. in counseling psychology. I hope you will agree to participate in this investigation of religious development and family relationships.

In order to participate, you are being asked to complete questionnaires containing items regarding general information about yourself, your family relationships, and your approach to religion and spirituality. It should take approximately 35 minutes of your time.

All responses to these items will be anonymous. Please don't put your name on any of these forms. Of course, your participation is entirely voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all or to refuse to answer certain of the questions. Though your participation would be extremely helpful to this research, there will be no way for anyone to know whether you participate or not.

You indicate your voluntary agreement to participate by completing and returning these questionnaires.

Finally, while no direct benefit to you can be expected from filling out these questionnaires, I hope that responding to the items will create some interest. If you have any questions or concerns about your participation in this study, please feel free to contact Dan Wilcox at (517) 482-6152.

Once again, thank you for participating in this research and for helping me to complete my degree!

Data Sheet

1. ____ Male ____ Female 2. Age: _____

3. Year in School (check) ___ Fr ___ So ___ Jr ___ Sr ___Grad

4. College Major: _____

5. Are you living at your parent's home at this time? ____Yes ____No

6. Your religious affiliation (denomination) _____

7. Religious affiliation of your parents:

   Father: _____

   Mother:_____

8. What is the degree of your current interest in religion/spirituality ? (check one)

   ____ not interested
   ____ slightly interested
   ____ moderately interested
   ____ very interested

9. What is the degree of your parents current interest in religion/spirituality? (check one)

Mother:	Father:	
_____	_____	not interested
_____	_____	slightly interested
_____	_____	moderately interested
_____	_____	very interested

10. How frequently do you attend church or synagogue? (check one)

____ rarely or never
____ occasionally (3-5 times a year)
____ once a month
____ once a week
____ more than once a week

11. Have you had a religious/spiritual conversion experience (ie. been "born again", committed to a religious position that was previously unknown or inadequately understood, etc.)?

____ Yes ____ No If yes, at what age? _____

12. How often did you see your father and mother go to church or synagogue, pray, read the Bible or engage in other religious activity?

____ never or rarely _____ sometimes ____ often

13. How often did you engage in private religious behaviors (prayer, contemplation, reading, etc) at home during your adolescent years?

____ never or rarely _____ sometimes ____ often

14. Who/what were most important influences in your religious development? (Check the top three)

____ peers or friends
____ pastors
____ teachers
____ parents
____ sibling
____ books/readings
____ formal religious education (confirmation, Sunday school)
____ worship service
____ prayer/meditation

PAQ

The following pages contain statements that describe family relationships and the kinds of feelings and experiences frequently reported by adolescents and young adults. Using the scale below, please respond to each item by placing the appropriate number in the space provided next to each item that best describes your parents, your relationship with your parents and your relationship with them. Please provide a single rating to describe your parents and your relationship with them. If only one of your parents are living, or if your parents are divorced, respond with reference to your living parent or the parent towards whom you feel closer.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at All	Somewhat	A Moderate Amount	Quite A Bit	Very Much

In general my parents....

_____ 1) are persons I can count on to provide emotional support when I feel troubled.

_____ 2) support my goals and interests.

_____ 3) live in a different world.

_____ 4) understand my problems and concerns.

_____ 5) respect my privacy.

_____ 6) restrict my freedom or independence.

_____ 7) are available to give me advice or guidance when I need it.

_____ 8) take my opinions seriously.

_____ 9) encourage me to make my own decisions.

_____ 10) are critical of what I can do.

_____ 11) impose their ideas and values on me.

_____ 12) have given me as much attention as I have wanted.

_____ 13) are persons to whom I can express differences of opinion on important matters.

_____ 14) have no idea what I am feeling or thinking.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at All	Somewhat	A Moderate Amount	Quite A Bit	Very Much

_____ 15) have provided me with the freedom to experiment and learn things on my own.

_____ 16) are too busy or otherwise involved to help me.

_____ 17) have trust and confidence in me.

_____ 18) try to control my life.

_____ 19) protect me from danger and difficulty.

_____ 20) ignore what I have to say.

_____ 21) are sensitive to my feelings and needs.

_____ 22) are disappointed in me.

_____ 23) give me advice whether or not I want it.

_____ 24) respect my judgement and decisions, even if different from what they would want.

_____ 25) do things for me, which I could do for myself.

_____ 26) are persons whose expectations I feel obligated to meet.

_____ 27) treat me like a younger child.

During recent visits or time spent together, my parents were persons..

_____ 28) I looked forward to seeing.

_____ 29) with whom I argued.

_____ 30) with whom I felt relaxed and comfortable.

_____ 31) who made me angry.

_____ 32) I wanted to be with all of the time.

_____ 33) towards whom I felt cold and distant.

_____ 34) who got on my nerves.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at All	Somewhat	A Moderate Amount	Quite A Bit	Very Much

During recent visits or time spent together, my parents were persons..

_____ 35) who aroused feelings of guilt and anxiety.

_____ 36) to whom I enjoyed telling about the things I have done and learned.

_____ 37) for whom I felt feelings of love.

_____ 38) I tried to ignore.

_____ 39) to whom I confided my most personal thoughts and feelings.

_____ 40) whose company I enjoyed.

_____ 41) I avoided telling about my experiences.

Following time spent together, I leave my parents...

_____ 42) with warm and positive feelings.

_____ 43) feeling let down and disappointed by my family.

When I have a serious problem or an important decision to make...

_____ 44) I look to my family for support, encouragement, and/or guidance.

_____ 45) I seek help from a professional, such as a therapist, college counselor, or clergy.

_____ 46) I think about how my family might respond and what they might say.

_____ 47) I work it out on my own, without help or discussion with others.

_____ 48) I discuss the matter with a friend.

_____ 49) I know that my family will know what to do.

_____ 50) I contact my family if I am not able to resolve the situation after talking it over with my friends.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at All	Somewhat	A Moderate Amount	Quite A Bit	Very Much

When I go to my parents for help...

_____ 51) I feel more confident in my ability to handle the problems on my own.

_____ 52) I continue to feel unsure of myself.

_____ 53) I feel that I would have obtained more understanding and comfort from a friend.

_____ 54) I feel confident that things will work out as long as I follow my parents advice.

_____ 55) I am disappointed with their response.

RFQ

Instructions: Please read each item and indicate to what extent it reflects your own thoughts and feelings. If a statement has more than one part, indicate your reaction to the statement as a whole. Using the scale below, place the appropriate number next to the item in the space provided.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree		Agree	Strongly Agree

_____ 1. I'm very sure what religion means to me, and I don't feel a need to look any further.

_____ 2. I am not confused about religion and spirituality, and I don't expect my views to change much in the future.

_____ 3. I have a strong belief in God, but I continue to have questions and continue to search for greater understanding.

_____ 4. I find exploring my spirituality when I have doubts strengthens it.

_____ 5. It might be said I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.

_____ 6. I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to my world.

_____ 7. My spiritual development has emerged out of a growing sense of personal identity.

_____ 8. Doubts and questions confuse me and hinder my spiritual development. I prefer to be doubt-free.

_____ 9. I've never really questioned my religion. If it is right for my parents, it must be right for me.

_____ 10. Questions are more important to my religious experience than are answers.

_____ 11. It is better for a person's religious beliefs to be firm and free of doubt.

_____ 12. Education has led me to question some of the teachings of my church or synagogue and family.

_____ 13. I am satisfied with my spirituality; I don't expect my spiritual beliefs and attitudes to change in the next few years.

_____ 14. I attend the same church or synagogue my family always attended, and I've never really questioned why.

_____ 15. A person would never develop mature religious beliefs without doubt, exploration, or questioning.

_____ 16. My spiritual beliefs and practices are pretty much the same today as they were a few years ago.

_____ 17. I try not to read too much about spiritual issues or harbor too many doubts; I like to be sure about what I believe.

_____ 18. With regard to religion, I'm not at the point where I'm ready to commit to one thing; I'm more open-minded in everything at the moment.

_____ 19. I'm looking around and seeing a lot of different ways of being religious or spiritual. Many of these ways interest me, but I'm not ready to make a definite decision.

_____ 20. At times I find myself wondering, "Just what do I believe?" I even find myself questioning my own religious upbringing and traditions.

_____ 21. At times, perhaps during a worship service or chapel, I wonder, "Do I really believe what I am reading or saying?"

_____ 22. Even though I have firm religious or spiritual convictions, there are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.

_____ 23. Sometimes I wish I weren't so vague when it comes to my religious beliefs, but I am still forming my opinions.

_____ 24. I'm presently questioning parts of my spirituality that I used to take for granted or believed because I was told to believe.

_____ 25. God wasn't very important to me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life.

_____ 26. I find religious doubts upsetting and not conducive to my spiritual development.

_____ 27. My religious attitudes and practices may change in the future.

_____ 28. I've gone through a period of serious questioning about faith and can now say that I understand what I believe as an individual.

_____ 29. A person's spirituality is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I believe.

_____ 30. I am still trying to decide what spirituality means to me and how I want to practice my spirituality.

_____ 31. After considerable thought, I've developed my own views on religion and spirituality and don't believe anyone will likely change my perspective.

_____ 32. My parents know what is best for me in terms of involvement in religion and spirituality.

_____ 33. Discussions with teachers or friends will not change my religious beliefs and practices.

_____ 34. I guess I am pretty much like my parents when it comes to religion. I follow what they do in terms of my own religious practices.

_____ 35. My own views on religion and spirituality were taught to me by my parents and family, and I really don't see a need to question what they taught me.

_____ 36. It took me awhile to figure it out, but now I really know myself and what I want spiritually.

_____ 37. In my own spiritual and religious development, I find myself engaging in lots of discussions with others and some self-exploration.

_____ 38. There are many reasons for making religious and/or spiritual commitments, but I have chosen my spiritual orientation on the basis of certain values and beliefs I have personally examined.

PSI

Instructions: The following list of statements describes aspects of students' relationships with both their mother and father. Imagine a scale ranging from 1 to 5 that tells how well each statement applies to you. In the space next to the statement, please enter a number from 1 to 5. If the statement does not apply enter "1". Please be completely honest. Your answers are entirely confidential and will be useful only if they accurately describe you.

Not at all true of me	A little bit true of me	Moderately true of me	Quite a bit true of me	Very true of me
1	2	3	4	5

_____ 1. Sometimes my mother is a burden to me.

_____ 2. I feel like I am constantly at war with my mother.

_____ 3. I blame my mother for many of the problems that I have.

_____ 4. I wish I could trust my mother more.

_____ 5. I have to be careful not to hurt my mother's feelings.

_____ 6. I sometimes feel like I'm being punished by my mother.

_____ 7. I wish my mother wasn't so overprotective.

_____ 8. I wish my mother wouldn't try to manipulate me.

_____ 9. I wish my mother wouldn't try to make fun of me.

_____ 10. I feel that I have obligations to my mother that I wish I didn't have.

_____ 11. My mother expects too much of me.

_____ 12. I wish I could stop lying to my mother.

_____ 13. I often wish that my mother would treat me more like an adult.

_____ 14. I am often angry at my mother.

_____ 15. I hate it when my mother makes suggestions about what I do.

_____ 16. Even when my mother has a good idea I refuse to listen to it because she made it.

_____ 17. I wish my mother wouldn't try to get me to take sides with her.

_____ 18. I argue with my mother over little things.

Not at all true of me	A little bit true of me	Moderately true of me	Quite a bit true of me	Very true of me
1	2	3	4	5

_____ 19. My mother is sometimes a source of embarrassment to me.

_____ 20. I am sometimes ashamed of my mother.

_____ 21. I get angry when my mother criticizes me.

_____ 22. When I don't write my mother often enough I feel guilty.

_____ 23. I feel uncomfortable keeping things from my mother.

_____ 24. I often have to make decisions for my mother.

_____ 25. I sometimes resent it when my mother tells me what to do.

_____ 26. Sometimes my father is a burden to me.

_____ 27. I feel like I am constantly at war with my father.

_____ 28. I blame my father for many of the problems that I have.

_____ 29. I wish I could trust my father more.

_____ 30 I have to be careful not to hurt my father's feelings.

_____ 31. I sometimes feel like I'm being punished by my father.

_____ 32. I wish my father wasn't so overprotective.

_____ 33. I wish my father wouldn't try to manipulate me.

_____ 34. I wish my father wouldn't try to make fun of me.

_____ 35. I feel that I have obligations to my father that I wish I didn't have.

_____ 36. My father expects too much of me.

_____ 37. I wish I could stop lying to my father.

_____ 38. I often wish that my father would treat me more like an adult.

_____ 39. I am often angry at my father.

_____ 40. I hate it when my father makes suggestions about what I do.

Not at all true of me	A little bit true of me	Moderately true of me	Quite a bit true of me	Very true of me
1	2	3	4	5

_____ 41. Even when my father has a good idea I refuse to listen to it because he made it.

_____ 42. I wish my father wouldn't try to get me to take sides with him.

_____ 43. I argue with my father over little things.

_____ 44. My father is sometimes a source of embarrassment to me.

_____ 45. I am sometimes ashamed of my father.

_____ 46. I get angry when my father criticize me.

_____ 47. When I don't write my father often enough I feel guilty.

_____ 48. I feel uncomfortable keeping things from my father.

_____ 49. I often have to make decisions for my father.

_____ 50. I sometimes resent it when my father tells me what to do.

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