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Beyond pragmatism

Ministry transcending entertainment
Individuation and faith development in adolescence and emerging adulthood

Rowan D Lewis

Individuation ... represents the mystery of transformation which governs all creation.

Jolandi Jacobi

Introduction

‘Individuation’ is an overarching theory of human development – a perspective that has been used to describe both the goal of human maturity (the differentiated self-in-relation) as well as the process by which this teleology is approached. Within adolescent development literature, it is most

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commonly used to describe the process of psychosocial formation by which an individual differentiates themselves from the collective and develops an integrated and coherent personality in response to, and in connection with, their social environment. As such, individuation paradoxically describes both a state of being and an iterative process by which one responds to clusters of developmental challenges toward the goal of becoming a differentiated self-in-relation.²

Individuation can equally be traced through the work of faith development research. James Fowler, for example, explicitly uses the term to describe his fourth stage of faith – the individuative-reflective stage. Here one begins ‘to take seriously the burden of responsibility for his or her own commitments, lifestyle, beliefs and attitudes’.³ This perspective is shared by many other theorists, such as Westerhoff, von Hügel, and Powers who similarly describe a process characterised by a growing self-consciousness and critical engagement, such that inherited faith perspectives are increasingly internalised and integrated into an authentic and generative spiritual life.⁴

This article proposes that the notion of iterative individuation helpfully describes the process by which faith is developed and rejected, particularly in regard to the psychosocial stages of early adolescence, mid-adolescence and emerging adulthood.⁵ It is suggested that an essential symmetry exists between faith development and human development, such that powerful insights are gained when faith development is itself understood an iterative process of repeatedly individuating one’s faith in response to increasingly complex socio-cultural and psychological contexts. This article concludes by discussing the implications of this approach church-based ministry and personal discipleship settings.

**Individuation and faith rejection in adolescence and emerging adulthood**

There is a harrowing picture emerging as one commences looking into the nature and process of (Christian) faith development in adolescents and emerging adults. Irrespective of denomination, socio-economic or cultural background, late teens and ‘twentysomethings’ are leaving the church in droves and walking away from their inherited Christian faith. Research emerging in the United States over the last six years identifies this phenomena as ranging from as low as 40 per cent to as high as 84 per cent of those once active in their teen years, but now ‘spiritually disengaged’ in their twenties.⁶ A similar picture has emerged in Australia. As early as 1997, the National Church Life
Survey (NCLS) was highlighting the fact that late teens and twenties were found to be increasingly underrepresented (statistically) in the demographic profile of the church. Similarly, Australia’s largest national survey into youth spirituality – *Spirituality of Generation Y* – reported that: ‘[our research] reveals quite dramatic losses of young members from [various] churches ... while the large increases in ‘No-Religious Identification’ leaves little doubt about the main destination of this exodus.

Returning to the United States, the recent offering by Kinnaman and the Barna Group, *You Lost Me*, outlines six overarching reasons given by emerging adults for their movement away from church and the Christian faith. These reasons critique the church for being: 1) Overprotective; 2) Shallow; 3) Antiscience; 4) Repressive; 5) Exclusive; and 6) providing no legitimising space for Doubt. In the midst of this four-year research project, the Barna Group also released a report summarising their findings on the incidence of significant ‘faith change’. In the report, Kinnaman notes that

Nearly three out of every four [actively Christian] American adults said they have the same religious commitments today as they had during their childhood. That means the most common faith journey that people take is to form spiritual commitments as children and teenagers that typically last for the duration of their life.

The Barna report identified this observation as a positive factor, stating that ‘the study underscores that the spiritual allegiances of childhood are remarkably sustainable in our society’. When one views this data through the lens of individuation, a very different conclusion emerges. Faith and human development (as will be outlined in the following sections) is an iterative process of repeatedly individuating one’s faith in response to increasingly complex socio-cultural and psychological contexts. This recursive cycle of individuation necessarily entails a break from nurturing environments, a searching, questing confrontation with reality followed by a period of reintegration. When assessing the Barna Group’s data from this perspective, the maintenance of ‘childhood allegiances’ into adulthood represents an arresting of development – the process of individuation has effectively ‘stalled’.

More than thirty years ago, faith development theorists such as Fowler and Westerhoff, proposed the notion of arrested faith maturity in their research. They point out that churches are normally populated in the majority by Christians whose faith represents a conventional synthesis of their surrounding community (Fowler’s third stage of faith), a synthesis
which ordinarily emerged during the teenage years but failed to develop any further. More recently (2007), Clydesdale published the results of a longitudinal study into teen and young adult spirituality spanning the final years of high school and early years of college. Using the metaphor of the ‘lockbox’ he argues that many adolescents ‘stow away’ their religious commitments along with the quaint artefacts of youth before heading off to college. During the lockbox years, faith development is replaced for the true ‘quest’, which is simply to ‘navigate interpersonal relationships and manage everyday life.’

When we bring Clydesdale’s reflections into conversation with the six criticisms identified by Kinnaman (identified above), the picture that emerges is one in which adolescents and emerging adults are struggling to individuate their faith perspectives in the context of church structures. On the one hand, those who experience the church as overprotective, shallow and repressive, do so because they begin to exercise their faith in ways requiring self-conscious critical reflection and an internalised sense of authority – a necessary element within individuation. Unable to find legitimation for their questions and doubts, many leave. On the other hand, those who remain or later return to the church are found to hold the durable religious images and allegiances of childhood. They are effectively unpacked from their lockbox but with no evidence of continuing development. I would argue that we are now observing to a statistically significant degree the failure to nurture faith through the entirety of the individuation cycle. In what follows I will highlight how an understanding of the individuation cycle is imperative if we are to (re)learn the art of accompanying young people toward the individuation of their faith beyond nascent allegiances or through the valley of doubt and faith rejection.

The adolescence and emerging adulthood cycles of individuation
Clark succinctly describes the process of individuation from the perspective of adolescent development. He explains that

The emerging adolescent, embarking on a new journey in development, seeks to assert his or her distinctiveness and move toward an internal locus of control, while at the same time remaining relationally connected as an ongoing member of the family system and the community. While there is no standardized definition of the term, individuation has, for
many, become the central issue of the adolescent process and therefore the overall motivating task of adolescence.\textsuperscript{18}

Understood this way, individuation refers broadly to the lifelong task of progressively establishing one's place in the cosmos paradoxically as one who is both purposely differentiated while being intricately connected. The necessity of nurturing the individuation process across the adolescent period becomes vital as these twin 'modalities' (sometimes referred to simply as 'agency' and 'communion')\textsuperscript{19} become instrumental resources for the teenager to begin to structure their life around the life-patterns, responsibilities and commitments of adult life. For example, identity formation takes place when an evolving sense of distinctiveness (agency) is combined with key relationships of belonging (communion).\textsuperscript{20} Equally, education, mastery and skill acquisition (agency) in conjunction with social capital (communion) provides the opportunity for career and vocation.\textsuperscript{21} Further, ideological commitments (agency) integrated with trusting non-parent relationships (communion) fosters interdependence from family systems.\textsuperscript{22} As Clark observes:

\begin{quote}
The process is about how one sees oneself and thereby relates to others ... When culture affirms that someone has individuated in terms of identity, is willing to take responsibility for his or her life and choices, and has entered interdependently into the community and adult relationships, that person is said to be an adult.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Individuation as an Iterative Cycle of Development}

Individuation has deep roots in a variety of disciplines. Within adolescent development, however, individuation has emerged through the analytical psychological tradition where the work of Jung as significant.\textsuperscript{24} As the perspectives of Jung were subsequently developed and systematised over time, some began to understand the overarching process of individuation in terms of identifiable stages and predictable processes. Erich Neumann,\textsuperscript{25} applying Jungian perspectives to the study of myth and ethnography, describes a four-staged iterative cycle of individuation (punctuated by transitions) that follows the motifs of \textit{pre-consciousness} -> \textit{matriarchy} -> \textit{patriarchy} -> \textit{integration}. His work is cited by many as being seminal in its description of the process of individuation.\textsuperscript{26}
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For Neumann, the process of individuation is sparked by the shock of differentiation and the experience of otherness – primordially imaged by the birth of a child. In birth a stark transition takes place where we are forcibly transferred from pure naive experience to a sudden and shocking experience of separation, neediness and dependence. Without the capacity to adequately respond to this new context, matriarchal environments provide protection and nurturance. Yet, such environments are to some extent false. They are secure subsets of reality that grow elements of communion, but not agency. It takes patriarchal contexts, where protection is withdrawn and the real demands of our context force us to respond with our own resources, for agency to grow. The degree to which we integrate this newfound mastery into constructive relationships of cooperation and compassion is the degree to which we complete the cycle of individuation.

As such, we can see in Neumann’s formulation many of the assumptions, contingencies and structures of the developmental perspective. First is the assumption that without some kind of developmental crisis, humans will remain in the stasis of undifferentiated experience. By this I mean that humans tend not to seek the experience of otherness and will not consciously initiate individuation processes. Second is the element of contingency in our participation with the individuation process – once thrust into a new developmental circumstance we may never wish to leave maternal-protective environments, or instead confront all challenges with the combative assertiveness required by paternal environments rather than the collaborative give-and-take of integrative practices. Finally, Neumann is not presenting a structuralist ‘stairway to maturity’ model but rather an essentially repetitious process where the entirety of the individuation process must be traversed in order to progress in one’s individuation. Edinger, highlighting this iterative nature within Neumann’s paradigm, observes that:

the series of psychological stages here described can be traversed not once but many times in the course of psychic development. These stages are, so to speak, successive way stations that we return to again and again in the course of a spiral journey which takes one over the same course repeatedly but each time on a different level of conscious awareness.27
Cycles of individuation across stages of development

An iteration simply refers to the act of repeating a process. When approached developmentally, each repetition takes on the learning and maturity of the previous series of events thus creating a recursive cyclic movement, potentially toward a desired goal. When human development is viewed in this way, Calrusso, for example, envisions the lifespan being comprised of at least five significant cycles of individuation correlating with the stages of infancy-childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood and late adulthood.28

Margaret Mahler pioneered work into the ‘first individuation’ of infancy, describing how the undifferentiated foetus is birthed into the maternal environment of family where developmental tasks entail the newborn progressively recognising itself as a separate self, distinct from, and yet attached to, its mother.29 As the conditional demands of an increasingly complex social reality take effect, Peter Bios describes the adolescent moving into a period of ‘second individuation’.30 Bios highlights the common pattern of the first and second individuations,31 before noting that the adolescent is now operating at ‘higher levels of differentiation’ where he or she must: successfully renegotiate their differentiation-of-self in relation to not just the mother but the broader family system; develop a mature (post-pubescent) sexual-identity with its concomitant morality; and, commence a modicum of social contribution predicated upon financial independence.32

Since the work of Bios a number of researchers have highlighted the progressive lengthening of the ‘project’ of adolescence.33 Young people in contemporary (and particularly Western) society, are identified as putting off the stable commitments and structures that would signify a departure from adolescence and a movement into the psychological and societal standing of an adult. Jeffrey Arnett first identified this life stage and popularised the term ‘emerging adulthood’.34 He describes emerging adulthood as marked by the psychological experience of being socially authorised to explore one’s identity, to be self-focused and autonomous, as well as able to explore life’s possibilities before structuring one’s life around the young-adult responsibilities of a stable job, marriage and parenthood.35 While Erikson once envisaged such a ‘moratorium’ state to be a short-term gift that families and social groups could bequeath a young person in their attempts to resolve his so-called ‘identity-role confusion crisis’,36 pronounced shifts and changes in the structure of our society have effectively dissolved the element of crisis.
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thus enabling and even authorising late adolescents to remain duratively in this 'emerging adulthood' state.\textsuperscript{37} For Blos, the movement into adulthood takes place when the three commitments outlined above become durative structures and patterns, at which point they allow for a \textit{transformation} into a \textit{integrated} self with an internalised authority source and thus a movement into a new cycle of individuation.\textsuperscript{38} Given that this transition to adulthood has now shifted to much later in life, emerging adulthood has become a newly defined psycho-social life stage, representing a distinctive context and novel set of developmental challenges in which the individuation cycle must also take place.

\textbf{Cycles of individuation within stages of development}

The cycle of individuation can also describe the process by which a young person responds to a particular developmental task (within a developmental life stage). Take, for example, establishing peer friendships during adolescence. Clark's research identifies the pubescent teenager as first comprising their friendship clusters, somewhat unconsciously, with individuals of a similar self-concept, worldview and social status. This composition creates a protective sphere within which the adolescent is able to find safety and support in order to navigate and interpret the broader social environment.\textsuperscript{39} The echoes of the maternal-containment phase of stage two is apparent. At this early stage Clark describes the willingness of the adolescent to 'subordinate their own personal convictions, loyalties and norms to the will of the collective,'\textsuperscript{40} which in Bakan's terms is an act of \textit{communion}. However, for the early to mid adolescent to continue this process of peer group individuation, their growing sense self will need to be differentiated and asserted within the collective – an act of \textit{agency}. This process is well described by a comment from a late-adolescent male as part of Clark's study:

\begin{quote}
In ninth grade, I felt that having a lot of friends and being accepted were the most important things. I even conformed to their desires and dyed my hair pink, dressed somewhat punkish, and went to parties with rock music, smoking, and other activities. After a while, I realised that this was not me. It wasn't until eleventh grade that I broke away from that destructive group of friends and chose to hang out with others. My group of friends wasn't as big, but at least they were more like me.\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}
This comment captures well in narrative form the cyclic movement individuation. While it may be suggested that any appearance of a final integrative stage of individuation is still highly immature and egocentric when compared to any Jungian sense of an integrated 'Self', this is exactly the nature of iterative development. The earliest cycles are necessarily immature and lacking the complex subtlety of latter-life development. With each successive iteration the individual becomes more mature and the degree of individuation more complex.

**Faith development as iterative individuation**

I have so far shown that individuation usefully describes not only an understanding of human development and maturity but that this process takes place in an iterative manner where the individuation cycle reoccurs repetitively across the lifespan in increasingly mature forms. Attention now turns to the way this iterative cycle informs our understanding of faith development.

When summarising the development of faith, many theorists tend to focus their descriptions upon successive stages of maturity that emerge across the lifespan. I want to describe something different – the insights gained when faith development is viewed through the lens of an iterative cycle of individuation. To do this I will use Westerhoff’s faith development perspectives.42

Informed by Fowler’s perspectives,43 Westerhoff’s model describes an ‘expansion of faith’ via an accumulation of four faithing ‘styles’ that he labels experienced, affiliative, searching and owned.44 While Westerhoff’s approach is not grounded in Jungian theory and nor are Jungian scholars cited in his work,45 there remain similarities in the structures apparent in the fourfold phases/styles of each of approach. According to Westerhoff, the primary manner of faithing is that of immediate undifferentiated experience where our narrative, behaviour and meaning making systems are uncritically engaged by our environment. When this style is present, one is simply engaged in faith with others. As one seeks to deliberately understand and interact with this way of life it becomes responsive to maternal environments because it is driven by the needs of acceptance, belonging and containment. This affiliative style of faith transforms naive experience into active participation in the community’s movements of socialisation. Despite a growing awareness, the self-identification with institutions and the community’s collective
faith expression remains quite high and one’s faith is essentially responsive, malleable and conforming in nature.

I identified earlier the potential for faith development to be arrested at this stage or style. Westerhoff observes this as well, noting that the continuation of discipleship into chronological adulthood may represent no more than ‘institutional incorporation’ of individuals who can operationalise the required faith using just these two styles. Jungian perspectives similarly observe this reality, describing the ‘puer aeternus’ (Latin for ‘eternal boy’, or the feminine puella aeterna) as the individual who overly prolongs their reliance upon maternal nurturing and containing environments. Stein, reflecting on Neumann’s process of individuation, claims that

The church ... is a classic nurturing, containing institution that feeds its ‘children’ the bread of heaven ... the underlying attitude is: ‘I am here to help you.’ Nurturers are providers, helpers, sustainers. This attitude on the part of the nurturer, in turn, creates or inspires a corresponding attitude in the recipient of nurturance. Nurturers conjure children, and children attach themselves to nurturers. The recipient’s attitude is one of radical dependence upon the perceived nurturer.

From these two perspective we can discern an essential challenge facing the church. As it rightly goes about its maternal function of nurturing faith through containment and belonging, one is left pondering what resource it has to assist people once their faithing needs extend beyond nurturance?

The movement into the adapting-adjusting paternal stage of individuation is reflected in Westerhoff’s searching style. Here the movement toward a fully expanded faith comes through a commitment made on the other side of questioning, doubt and experimentation. With the needs of containment, socialisation and belonging met the individual needs to, as it were, ‘break’ the container they have been given precisely because their faithing style, at this point, represents belief and action based on the beliefs and actions of others. Here, a conspiracy of developmental challenges highlight that it has been our faith community that has been interpreting what such-and-such verse means, our teacher’s have been explaining what such-and-such theology implies, our friends and family have been resolving apparent contradictions between faith, life, science and love on our behalf. Thus the maternal stage
can at best result in a faith in the faith of others leading Westerhoff to assert the necessity of doubt, critical judgement, experimentation and tentative expressions of authentic commitment that allow the individual to differentiate their own sense of self and faith from that of their womb of faith. From a Jungian perspective, this heroic movement to ‘slay the dragon’ represents a departure from the puer aeternus and is necessary for the development of weltanschauung – a personal philosophy of life:

which, in Jung’s view, can only be built up in freedom of choice by a man who has learnt to distinguish between what has been inculcated into him and what he has won through his own experience and insights.50

Significantly, Westerhoff insists that the needs of the previous two styles remain present and important as this new style is introduced. Searchers continue to need spiritual experience, containment and belonging as the necessary ecosystem and support structure in which to search well. This tumultuous faith style is, however, often too difficult for the faith community to facilitate. Consequently, the searching individual frequently finds themselves isolated and variously labelled as a ‘lost sheep’, ‘prodigal son’ or simply ‘backslider’. To those who have never seriously expressed faith in this manner, searchers are the ones considered to have fallen away, even though in Westerhoff’s (and individuation’s) paradigm, they have expanded their faith styles and taken a step closer to maturity.

The fourth and final style of faith – owned faith – is an integrating style of faith that can only be authentically expressed on the basis of incorporating the previous three. Here the individual is able to authentically express differentiated faith in the context of a faith community. Not in response to naive experience, nor because of the community’s authority structures and belonging systems, but rather as an expression of internalised commitments that one has found to be true and real. That this expression is experiential, expressed and oriented in community, and after (or in the context of) critical reflection, highlights these previous styles as still present and important to this fully expanded and multi-styled faith.

The interrelationship of faith and human development
The preceding discussion identifies an essential symmetry between both human (psycho-social) development and faith development when approached
through the lens of iterative individuation. While we might consider these as distinguishable processes, they are interrelated and complex.

This apparent interrelationship is clearly visible in the challenges of individuation facing adolescents and emerging adults. For example, sociological research into the religious lives of teens and twenties has highlighted early adolescence (13–15 year olds) and ‘emerging adulthood’ (18–24) as being two distinct periods where the incidence of Christian faith rejection are higher than any other identifiable life stage. It is apparent that these two periods correlate with high points of psycho-social transition. Early adolescence spans the beginning of puberty by which adolescence is initiated cotermi­nously with the movement out of the relative containment of primary school and into high school. Emerging adulthood spans the movement out of high school and into the institutions of adult society including higher education, career and vocation, financial independence and so on. These two periods represent a pronounced clustering of developmental challenges requiring a concerted individuation response. It should therefore be no surprise that the presence of doubt, questioning, experimentation, challenging authority and seeking independence in relation to faith should also be present during this time as these young people seek to make sense of their faith and find meaning in the context of this challenging life stage.

Looking more closely at the emerging adult experience, I have already canvassed Kinnaman’s and Clydesdale’s research into faith rejection. When viewed in the terms employed within this article, it becomes apparent that as emerging adults are moving through the entirety of the individuation cycle in all other areas of their life (usually with the blessing and encouragement of peers, social groups, further education and the media), their faith individuation repeatedly encounters the faith community’s failure to authenticate a movement beyond Stage 2 containment. This leaves the emerging adult at an impasse to either remain in this foreclosed environment (with a lockbox faith) or commence their hero’s quest away from their faith community and without their blessing.

Discipleship implications: Rethinking approaches to child, youth and family ministry

As a general principle, the discipleship implications of approaching faith development from the perspective of iterative individuation entails extending and deepening discipleship practices, such that young people can be helpfully
accompanied throughout the entirety of the individuation cycle rather than simply through the primary and secondary phases. I turn briefly now to this very practical imperative by examining some discipleship responses that focus upon lifespan transition points in the context of children’s, youth and young adult ministry.\textsuperscript{52}

The previous section highlighted the two distinctive individuation periods of early adolescence and emerging adulthood as high points in faith rejection. Colloquially referred to as dropping-off/checking-out (DOCO) moments, a great challenge facing child, youth and ‘young adult’ ministry is that the transitions into each new ministry structure (if such a tripartite structure exists at a church) takes place at the same ages as the DOCO years. It is common to coterminously leave children’s ministry at the same time one leaves primary school, and thus be faced with the double complexity of navigating the new social domains of the high school and youth group. Similarly the movement into young adult ministry is usually signalled by the movement into post-high school life.\textsuperscript{53}

A two-fold response to this circumstance is starting to develop within the church and research community. First, for this and many other reasons, approaching youth ministry as whole-church (inter-generation) ministry becomes vital. This approach argues that we can no longer afford to remain with the ‘one-eared Mickey Mouse model’ of youth ministry\textsuperscript{54} where the faith of adolescents is nurtured in a parallel universe of teen-led small groups, friday night youth group and Sunday night youth services. Numerous studies in the last decade or so have highlighted that this apparent move to outsource discipleship to those who are younger and cooler than those in the ‘mainstream’ adult church has had a devastating effect upon youth discipleship.\textsuperscript{55} Resources leading the way in reconfiguring youth ministry to be whole-of-church ministry include Exemplary Youth Ministry,\textsuperscript{56} Think Orange,\textsuperscript{57} Fuller’s Sticky Faith research and resources,\textsuperscript{58} as well as Faith Inkubators.\textsuperscript{59}

Second is the need to rethink the interrelationships between child, youth and young adult ministry in order to avoid a three-eared Mickey Mouse approach. In such a model, ministry structures operate in parallel with each other and consequently fail to take an integrated approach to discipleship that spans from the cradle through to young adulthood and beyond. At a structural level, a more coordinated approach might shift the age attended to by each ministry away from DOCO periods is a simple first step. The
'reach-down' strategy, for example, deliberately overlaps the youth ministry downwards into children's ministry assisting those in their final year(s) to establish relationships and gain experience in the youth group before their transition into high school. The same can be done for the youth and young adult transition.

Yet beyond this realisation is the promise of developing pathways and discipleship cultures that are developmental by their very nature. More than a coordinated 'discipleship production line' where one graduates from one course or leadership development program to the next, this approach seeks to create discipleship opportunities around developmental milestones and transition points such that spiritual practices are utilised toward faith and human development. In the same way that ancient initiation cultures waited till the boy (or girl) showed via their behaviour and communal engagement that they were ready to become a man (or she, a woman), so faith communities can craft their own rites of passage, rituals and supportive structures in ways that enable tailored responses to young people's developmental needs. For example, a church may wish to make sure that young people have a 'natural' relational connection with a non-parent adult before they enter the DOCO age assisting their social capital through this period of transition. Equally, they may wish to create new rituals and rites of passage, beyond that of baptism and confirmation, that can engage and intertwine the narratives of the young person and their faith community at significant developmental milestones.  

**Conclusion**

I have argued that a critical way to understand the development of faith across the lifespan is using the process of iterative individuation. That is, faith development itself follows a pattern reflective of psychosocial individuation that takes place in progressively maturing and complex cyclical patterns within developmental life stages for the purposes of responding to developmental tasks. The fourfold movement of this cycle has been delineated and shown to be present, not only at multiple points across the lifespan, but also as the process required to negotiate specific developmental challenges of a life stage, such as the development of constructive peer group relationships. Current research into Christian faith rejection highlights the difficulty the church has had in authenticating and accompanying faith development throughout the entirety of the individuation cycle, because it commonly
arrests development at the nurturing phase and views as illegitimate any movement into a reflective/critical approach to faith.

Finally, I have highlighted the necessity of nurturing faith throughout the individuation cycle and offered practical applications in relation to whole-church (intergenerational) youth ministry and an integrated pathway of discipleship that spans critical transition points and responds with creative ritual to recognisable developmental milestones.

Endnotes

4. See, for example: JH Westerhoff, Will our children have faith?, Seabury, New York, 1976; F von Hügel, The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and Her Friends – 2 Volumes, JM Dent and sons, 1923; and BP Powers, Growing faith, Broadman Press, Nashville, 1982. It should also be noted that the term ‘faith’ in the usage of these authors often refers to a broad approach to spirituality that reflects an increasingly conscious way of life lived in relation to that which is perceived to be ultimate. See JW Fowler, Faithful change: The personal and public challenges of postmodern life, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1996, p. 56, or Westerhoff, Will our children have faith?, ch. 4.

7. Although, the NCLS were making some initial observations as early as 1987 – see for example P Kaldor, Who goes where? Who doesn't care?, Lancer, Sydney, 1987.


11. Kinnaman's / Barna Group's term for this group is the 'Mosaics'. See Kinnaman, You Lost Me, p. 247 (ePub).


13. The study identified major 'faith change' in the following way: 'Respondents to the same study were also asked if they had ever 'changed to a different faith or significantly changed their faith views' or if they were 'the same faith today as they were as a child.' Barna Group, 'Do Americans Change Faiths?,' 2010, http://www.barna.org/faith-spirituality/412-do-americans-change-faiths (accessed 1 March 2012).

14. Barna, Do Americans Change Faiths?

15. Barna, Do Americans Change Faiths?

17. T Clydesdale, *The first year out: Understanding American teens after high school*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2007, pp.4, 27ff. It is noted that Clydesdale does not specifically utilise individuation theory in his research. His conclusions however describe a process of an arrested individuation process using many related concepts and metaphors.


19. The concept of ‘Agency’ and ‘Communion’ as individuation was first proposed by Bakan. See *The duality of existence: Isolation and communion in western man*, Boston, 1966, pp. 14–15).


31. 'what is in infancy a hatching from the symbiotic membrane to become an individuated toddler, becomes in adolescence the shedding of family dependencies, the loosening of infantile object ties in order to become a member of society at large, or simply of the adult world.' Blos, *Adolescent passage*, p. 142.


34. Arnett, *Emerging adulthood*.


41. Clark, *Hurt 2.0*, p. 67

42. Westerhoff, *Will our children have faith?*.

43. Westerhoff acknowledges the influence of Fowler but also highlights the distinction of his own model. ‘Since we began communicating however, I have proceeded in directions for which only I can be held responsible.’ See Westerhoff, *Will our children have faith?*, p. 89.

44. While noting the limitations of Westerhoff’s model (see for example, JR Estep, ‘Developmental Theories: Foe, Friend, or Folly?’, in JR Estep & JH Kim (eds) *Christian Formation: Integrating Theology and Human Development*, B&H Academic, Nashville, 2010, p. 56), it is being employed here because it offers a helpful heuristic that synthesises many other faith development theories.

45. Westerhoff did, however, cite Jung in much later work surrounding spiritual styles, though the use of ‘style’ in this work did not relate to faith development theory per sé, but to personality types. See JH Westerhoff, *Spiritual life: The foundation for preaching and teaching*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, 1994, p. 60ff.

46. Westerhoff, *Will our children have faith?*, p. 100.
47. Westerhoff, *Will our children have faith?*, p. 38.
52. It is noted that ministry to the life stage that has become known as 'emerging adulthood' has traditionally been referred to as young adult ministry. If emerging adulthood continues to take hold in the academic literature, one would assume that our ministry titles may have to be renamed as well. For the purposes of this section, I will use emerging adult-young adult ministry interchangeably to refer to the same life stage – that being beyond high school and before becoming established as a young family.
53. This has led a number of researchers to highlight that a common perception amongst emerging adults is that as they have graduated from high school they also have graduated from faith school, thus seeing little relevance to church life. See for example Smith's notion of 'Religious Congregations are Elementary Schools of Morals' in Smith, *Souls in transition*, p. 149.
54. The metaphor of the 'one-eared Mickey Mouse' was first coined by S Cummings-Bond, 'The One-Eared Mickey Mouse', *Youth Worker*, Fall, 1989, pp. 76–78.
55. Clark highlights that we now minister among young people who feel 'systemically abandoned' by the adult generation and suffer the loss of social capital when they need it most. See Clark, *Hurt 2.0*, chapter 2.
60. For practical examples of this approach, see Brad Griffin, 'Through the zone: Creating rites of passage in your church,' 2006, http://fulleryouthinstitute.
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