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Research Paper



Religious Orientation and Identity Salience: An Exploration of Religious Self in Emerging Adults

Maria Siddiqui¹*, Dr. Chandra Prakash Kapoor²

ABSTRACT

Religion is seen as an important concept in all parts of the world, yet something that is hard to define. The importance of religion seems to have decreased in today's world. The present study aimed at studying the salience of religious identity and understanding how it is related with religious orientation. The study also analysed the qualitative statuses of religious identity and relation of these statuses with religious orientation. The data was collected through quantitative methods—Bell Measures for Religious Identity and Religious Orientation Scale were used. The study made some interesting findings where it was found that half of the individuals in the study did not consider religion as an important domain of their identity. Additionally, the remaining found religion to have a medium level of importance in their lives. Significant relations were seen for religious orientations and salience of religious identity, as well as with religious identity statuses.

Keywords: Religious Identity, Religious Identity Salience, Religious Orientation, Religious Identity Statuses, Emerging Adulthood

enerally, religion is seen as an integral part of an individual's life, especially in India, as it helps Individuals cope with their lives and acts as a lens for them to perceive the world around them. Religion provides ideological, sociological, spiritual and intellectual resources to individuals for development of identity (Furrow, King & White, 2004). According to Erikson (1964, 1965), religion can serve as an important contributor to the process of establishing a secure identity, by explaining existential issues, giving an opportunity to commit to a worldview (set of beliefs offered by religion). However, over the years, the influence of religion in individual's lives have changed. With advancement in almost every sphere of life, like education and the evolution of life the levels of religiousness in people have undergone dramatic changes, especially in younger or emerging adults. Globalisation and Rise of consumerism are two modern challenges for these individuals to figure out what are their beliefs, values and meaning in life (Friedman,1994; Bell 2009). Defining one's identity has become an enigmatic task for these emerging adults. Different domains of their identity like gender, sexuality, class, etc., along with changing societal trends have in turn influenced the importance of religion in their lives

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¹BA(Honours) in Applied Psychology, Vivekananda College (University of Delhi), India

²Assistant Professor, Vivekananda College (University of Delhi), India

^{*}Corresponding Author

for these emerging adults. "People are responding in various and creative ways by adapting, avoiding adopting or attacking their own religious identity and /or the religious identity of others" (Bell, 2009).

It may happen that a person may be a part of a religious group, but may not follow its traditions and beliefs, i.e., may not have internalised the values of their respective religion with their identity. For many, religiousness could be means to an end (extrinsic religiosity) while for others could be end in itself (intrinsic religiosity) (Allport, 1967). Depending upon whether the individual has gone through exploration and commitment a person is likely to be seen as someone with an immature religious identity development because he or she has not yet committed to any religious identity and has not yet explored his or options in a religious realm. On the other hand, a person who has decided to commit himself or herself to a particular religion would be seen as a person with a maturely developed religious identity. Between these two categories of individuals there are individuals who have been actively busy exploring ideas of religion and still to make any kind of commitment (Moratorium) and others have reached to conclusion after exploring and now have come up with personalised meanings of religion (Achieved).

Thus, it becomes a necessity to study the dynamics of religion in emerging adults, especially in the Indian socio-cultural background, where a person is living in a multicultural environment. How do young adults respond to their experience of the changing world? Such a study becomes imperative to understand the subjective experience of religion in the emerging adults, and how much of an impact it has had on their identity.

Theoretical Overview

In this section various theoretical frameworks and concepts related to the study are reviewed. This theoretical overview is divided into five parts. First part deals with the development of religious thinking among emerging adults. Second part focuses on the link between religiosity and identity. Third part focuses on socialisation influences on religiousness in emerging adulthood. Theoretical Link between religion and identity has been reviewed in the fourth part. The last and fifth part establishes conceptual and empirical foundations of religious identity.

Religious Thinking and Reasoning in Emerging Adults

As children move towards adolescence, the ways in which individuals think also takes a turn. In developmental terms, taking Piaget's theory into consideration, this happens when the child moves from concrete to formal operations, which involves moving towards abstract thinking. This abstract thinking can further complicate the adolescent's religious thoughts and concepts, which can further result in different thinking styles for concepts that are hard to explain or define, like religious concepts or existential issues.

Reich (1991) pointed out that there are "many perceived contradictions and paradoxes that characterise religious life" (pg. 87-88; 1989, 1992, 1994). He suggested that *complementary reasoning* (developing rational explanations for perceived contradictions which make the contradiction see more apparent than real) may develop in order to deal with religious contradictions. This reasoning is crucial; however, it may not fully emerge or may not emerge at all, at times.

Another type of thinking could be the "Integrative Complexity", which is defined by two cognitive variables— differentiation, which involves acknowledgement of different

perspectives of an issue, and; integration, which deals with linkages of different perspectives.

Doubts about religion seem to be common in adolescence and are also common in adulthood. Tamminen (1991, 1994) found increased doubts in God's existence in early adolescence among Finnish students. However, research also suggests that the levels of religious doubts as depicted by mass media is exaggerated, for example, in two Canadian studies on university and high school students, the greatest doubts were related not with the existence and importance of religion, but with its perceptions that religion with intolerance and doubts as to why religion seemed to be associated with negative human qualities instead of making people better (Altemeyer and Hunsberger, 1997; Hunsberger, Pratt and Pancer, 2002).

Higher levels of doubt have consistently been moderately or strongly associated with less religiousness, lesser religious fundamentalism and less emphasis of religion in households, and as a result, lesser religious teachings (Altemeyer, 1988; Hunsberger et al., 1993; Hunsberger et al., 1996). Lesser religiousness in turn, has also been associated with some aspects of increased complexity of thoughts about religion (Hunsberger et al., 1993). Religious doubts have been linked with increased psychological distress and decreased feelings of personal well-being in adult Presbyterians (Krause, Ingersoll-Dayton, Ellison and Wulff, 1999).

With so much research indicative towards negative consequences, the question as to why religious doubts are associated with negativity arises. One research by Pargament (1997) claimed that much coping and adjustment benefits are associated with religion. Having doubts decreases a person's religiousness which may distract the person from those religious coping mechanisms, and instill guilt (Krause et al., 1999). From a social cognitive perspective, Festinger's *cognitive dissonance* (1957) may also help in this explanation, where dissonance is sometimes associated with psychological distress and negative affect (for example, Burris, Harmon-Jones, Tarpley, 1997).

Some research has also shed some light on positive associations that may come with religious doubting. Doubt and uncertainty may stimulate cognitive development (for example, Acredolo and O'Connor, 1991). It has also been linked with less prejudice, open-mindedness and flexibility (Batson et al., 1993). Mixed results towards both positive and negative associations with religious doubts makes it difficult to press judgements whether it is good or bad, but it depends on how an individual perceives it.

Hunsberger et al. (2002) investigated ways in which people dealt with religious doubts. One was by reading pro-religious texts and consulting with such people to give them a push towards religion, or consulting people and sources that are in the opposite direction of religion, i.e., non-religious or anti-religious.

Socialisation Influences on Religiosity in Emerging Adults

Earliest studies cite higher levels of religiosity in college students (for example, Allport, Gillespie & Young, 1948) where the importance of religion was more than 50% for both males and females. A small percentage was seen where people believed there was lesser to no influence of religion in their lives. Looking at research in the last 50 years, substantial decrease was found in interests in religion (For example, Bibby, 1987, 1993).

These variations in the studies over the years can be attributed to different socialisation agents that a person has throughout their lives. The impact of these agents is majorly seen during the period of adolescence, after the end of which an individual's identity is formed in a firm manner. There are a number of influences that affect the presence of religiosity—parents, peers, schools, media, and so forth. Cornwall (1988) noted that the socialisation agents that have been studied extensively are focused on parents, church, peers, and education.

Influence of Parents:

Many highly religious parents sanctify their role as parents, as they believe in transmitting their religious beliefs and values to their children, and see this as a sacred duty (Mahoney, Pargament, Murray-Swank, 2003). While studying parenting, many researchers rely on "keeping the faith", i.e., the identification on the part of the child with the family religion as they grow, where it is assumed that this is largely a result of parental influence. Ozorak (1989) noted that parents are especially powerful influences in the religious socialisation processes of their children, however, this was more visible in high school students than in college students, suggesting parental influence may decrease as adolescents start making transitions into adulthood.

Hunsberger (1976) found that greater emphasis of religion in one's childhood home was associated with presence of religiosity in college as well. Other studies have also noted the strong tendency for children raised in familial religious denominations to continue identifying with the same denomination from childhood to adulthood (for example, Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1997; Hadaway, 1980; Bibby, 2001).

While looking at parent-child agreement studies, religious attitudes in particular may see agreements between parent and child than in other life domains like political views or personal adjustment (Bengtson & Troll, 1978). Another study by Dunham (1986) concluded that there was a substantial amount of agreement between child-parent and parent-grandparent in terms of religious attitudes, indicating strong parental influence, and that such agreements may well persist into adulthood as well.

Studies have also been carried out through self-reports. Francis and Gibson (1993) explored parental influence on religious attitudes and practices in secondary school students in Scotland and found that parental influence was important with respect to church attendance and that there was a tendency for this tendency to increase from younger to older age groups.

While considering other aspects in parenting, a number of studies have indicated that the quality of relationships that the children have with their parents serve as an important marker which can impact levels of religiosity in the child. Poor quality of such relationships like lack of closeness can result in religious gaps between parents and children rather than religious differences (Wilson and Sherkat, 1994). Myers (1996) noted that the main determinants of religiosity in children were parental religiosity, the quality of family relationships and traditional family structure.

Parental influences being studied under different societal lenses come to a strong general conclusion— the impact of parental religiosity plays a vital role in the religious development of adolescents. Such influences seen in childhood and adolescence can have a lifetime impact that may well persist as the child transitions into adulthood.

Influence of Peers:

Relatively few studies have investigated the role of peer influences on religiousness. Those who attempted to study these influences found that peer influence on religiosity is weaker in comparison to parental influences. Consistent with some previous research (Bengtson and Troll, 1978), it was noted that parents were more influential for religious beliefs, and that peers' influence was more outside the realms of religion. Erickson (1992) also found that peer influence was relatively unimportant in adolescent religiosity. However, this influence must not be overlooked. Ozorak (1989) concluded that peers do have an influence on adolescent religiousness, but this influence is shadowed by the impact that parents have. King et al. (2002) found that peers as well as family both influence adolescent religiousness.

Peer influences do not have an impact only in childhood or adolescence but may also influence implicit and explicit religious activity in adulthood. Olson (1989) found that in five Baptist Congregations, the quality of friendships served as important predictors of an adult's decision to join or leave a denomination.

The impact of peers in an individual's life is visible from the formation of identity point of view. However, less research has been done in order to see this influence in adolescent religiousness. Most of these researches do indicate some form of influence, but it is still seen to be substandard when it comes to parental influences which are stronger, with more research evidence. Lesser investigations have been done to see possible impacts of peers in adulthood.

Impact of Education:

Early studies indicate that education, especially higher education institutions like colleges tend to liberalise religious beliefs of students. Feldman (1969) concluded that seniors in colleges in comparison to freshmen are less orthodox in their religious orientation and are more skeptical about the existence and influence of a supreme being. This does not mean that this is the case for all students in college, a change can be seen in the opposite direction as well for some individuals (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969). These changes cannot be solely attributable to education. This could be the result of being away from parents in some cases and being under peer influence for the first time. Madsen and Vernon (1983) found that students who were in campus religious groups also tended to increase in religious orthodoxy.

Hunsberger (1978) suggested that by the time students reach college, it is most likely that religious changes have already occurred. This has been supported by other research (Francis, 1982). However, it has been suggested that overall, education has some impact on religiousness of adolescents, either directly or indirectly.

Another interesting finding has been seen in college students along with decreased religiosity, is increased curiosity in spirituality, including developing a meaningful philosophy of life, attaining harmony, equanimity; growing spiritually without being religious.

Looking at parochial school attendance, some studies have concluded that students at parochial schools were more strongly religious in comparison to their public-school counterparts (for example, Greeley, 1967). However, such findings cannot be solely advocated to school attendance, without taking background into account. For example, Francis and Brown (1991) noted that a positive relationship between Roman Catholic school

attendance and positive attitudes towards prayer was the result of influence of home and church rather than school itself. Himmelfarb (1979) argued that church related schools do indeed have a direct positive impact on religiousness of students.

It cannot be ascertained for sure whether it is really the direct impact of such school versus public schools, since it is not easy to separate effects of parochial schools from the effects of family and parents (Benson et al., 1989). It is likely that children who do go to parochial schools already come from a religious household, and schools simply provide them with reinforcement of norms and values that are already being practiced.

General trends towards the concept of religion and being religious are established early on in the life of an individual. Socialisation agents like parents, peers and the kind of education that individuals gain may have a direct or indirect long-term impact, that further determines their levels of religiosity.

Gender and Religiousness

As previously discussed, parents are seen to be the most influential people to have an effect on their child's religiousness. However, there are some findings with respect to how gender also has a role to play in religiosity.

Francis and Gibson (1993) concluded that mothers had more influence on children's religion than fathers overall, but there was also some tendency with respect to stronger same sex influence for both mothers and fathers. Some studies were not consistent with this finding, for example, Kieren and Munro (1987) concluded that fathers were more influential than mothers. However, more and more studies are inclined towards suggesting that mothers have been more influential, perhaps because of the more nurturing role that they may play in the upbringing of their children and may take on more responsibilities of child rearing (Smith and Mackie, 1995). There is also evidence that suggests women are more religious than men (for example, Donelson, 1999), hence have a greater impact on their children.

Even in the presence of large evidence in support of mothers, it is quite possible that fathers too, play a role (Dollahite, 2003; King, 2003). They may serve as role models for their children for continued religiousness or for rejection of religion. Thus, mothers and fathers have different roles to play which may collectively influence the child in different ways or times. One such example is of a study done on more than 400 families in rural areas of Iowa where roles of both mothers and fathers were important for religious transmission to their children (Bao, Whitbeck, Hoyt, and Conger, 1999).

As noted above, women have been typically found to be more religious than men (Donelson, 1999; Francis and Wilcox, 1998); i.e., they attend worship services more often, express stronger agreements with traditional beliefs, and report religion is more important in their lives. Women's attitudes and perceptions towards religion may also be developed at an earlier age (Tamminen and Nurmi, 1995). These differences could be a result of social influences that people catch on during younger years, especially in gender role training, either through sex differences that have implications for religiousness (traits associated with greater religiosity— being nurturing and submissive), or through direct expectations that women should be more religious than men. Similar interpretations have been found (for example, Nelsen and Potvin, 1981), however, these may not be the only possible explanations for gender differences in religion (Miller and Hoffman, 1995).

Religiosity and gender may also have implications for women in other areas of life as well, like career and education. Women from more conservative, traditional backgrounds achieve less post-secondary education than do women with more liberal religious backgrounds, on average. This may indicate some level of gender social inequality that is created by the influence of religion (Keysar and Kosmin, 1995). With respect to perceptions of God, there is also evidence how women and men would react to a male or female God. More skepticism, surprise and criticality were seen in relation to a female God than to a male God (Foster and Babcock, 2001). There is a possibility that such gender differences even in the transmission of religiousness may stem from the developmental years of individuals, something which future research is yet to find out.

Link between Religiosity and Identity

Identity development in a sociocultural set up finds its roots in Erikson's (1968, 1969) theory of psychosocial development. In this, the appearance of a secure identity in adolescence (identity vs. role confusion) is of utmost importance. According to Erikson (1964, 1965), religion can serve as an important contributor to the process of establishing a secure identity, by explaining existential issues, giving an opportunity to commit to a worldview (set of beliefs offered by religion), and so on.

On the same lines, four identity statuses were proposed (Marcia, 1966; Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer, and Orlofsky, 1993), describing the crisis (exploring alternatives) and commitments (deciding or investing in a particular identity) which are apparent in adolescent lives.

Commitment

Crisis	Present	Not Present	
Present	Achieved	Moratorium	
Not Present	Foreclosed	Diffused	

Marcia's Classification of Identity Status based on Crisis and Commitment

According to Waterman (1985), in the initial developmental stages, "foreclosed" and "diffused" statuses are least developed and are relatively immature. The advanced stage of identity would be "achievement" with moratorium being in between, where a person has not committed yet, and is still exploring. A diffused person is likely to be seen as someone with an immature religious identity development because he or she has not yet committed to any religious identity and has not yet explored his or options in a religious realm. On the other hand, someone who is past the area of religious conflicts (through exploration) and has decided to commit himself or herself to a particular religion would be seen as a person with a maturely developed religious identity.

Several studies have indicated that religious commitments tend to be linked with general identity achievement and foreclosure (Markstrom-Adams, Hofstra and Dougher, 1994; Tzuriel, 1984). However, these results are not very clear as many studies relied on self-reports which may not clearly indicate religious commitment (for example, Markstrom, 1999). Another factor was the inability to control gender as a variable may lead to contamination of results (Alberts, 2000). Despite this limitation, there were some studies that found that both genders use identity processes similarly in case of religion (for example, Archer, 1989).

Some studies have also explored the links between religious orientation measures and identity statuses. In a study on college students, Fulton (1997) found that intrinsic orientation scores were linked with identity achievement and extrinsic orientation scores with foreclosure. Hunsberger et al. (2001) found that religious commitment was stronger for people with achieved and foreclosed identities, and weaker for students with diffused or moratorium identities, in a sample of high school and university students. Furthermore, religious crisis was positively correlated with moratorium scores and negatively correlated with foreclosure and diffusion scores (Hunsberger et al., 2001).

Such evidence indicates that the ego identity statuses are relevant to the study of religion, especially for religious development in adolescence.

Further, Renate Ysseldyk, Kimberly Matheson, and Hymie Anisman (2010) examined the nature of religious identity as creating a dominance over other social identities like gender or one's community. Religiosity here was defined partially as a cognitive or emotions acting upon the individual and providing him or her a sense of belongingness and a perception or worldview of their surroundings through a specified lens. This very religiosity serves as a norm, as well as a way of life due to which it shadows other social identities, especially in cases where the religious identity comes under threat, or where the notion of in-group vs out-group is strongly activated. Other advantages that religious identity offers are that of reducing existential anxiety that one may encounter, by leaving a legacy of religion for a person to pass on to their future generations and giving various coping resources to individuals in times of crisis. However, religious identity can also have a negative impact in the form of religious extremism or fundamentalism, where religion leads to intergroup conflicts. In such cases, the intergroup conflicts on the basis of religion focus on capturing the mind of the out-group into accepting the extremists in-group ideologies. It is also likely that conflicts based on religion itself may contribute to fundamentalism where threats to identity may magnify in-group identification and aggression towards out-group.

As religious identity is seen central to the individuals who are highly religious, such centrism was also seen in people who rejected religion altogether, i.e., atheists. Some atheists were also seen identifying with other members of their irreligious group. Like religion, atheists also believed in something, namely naturalistic materialism instead of a higher power. One major difference between atheists and highly religious people was that atheists were less likely to perceive identity threat as central to their well-being, as seen in case of their religious counterparts.

Steward Harrison Oppong (2013) has also explored the concept of religion, concept of identity and the linkage between religion and identity. In the concept of religion, scholars have divided views where they see religion as a source that believes in the limitations of humans and attributes the limitations to the existence of a supreme being (for example, Anih cited Schleremacher, 1978, noted that "Religion is the feeling of man's absolute dependence. This absolute dependence was encouraged by man's sense of inadequate protection, provision, sustenance and supremacy as such he has helped the divine for all those things, he cannot provide for himself"). Proponents see religion as a good force in the society. On the other hand, there are scholars who reject religion altogether and where they see it as a concept that has the ability to exploit people as well as their thinking (for example, Anih (1992) citing Marx (1965) defined religion as "the opium of the people", where he argued that it is more of an exploitative invention, which works like a drug, and

this drug works to becloud man's rationality, thus, thwarting his reasoning ability). Opponents see religion as a force of evil that creates chaos in the society.

The concept of identity, on the other hand, has been studied in two ways — first one dealing with the involuntary dimension of identity (reinforced in early life) and the second one dealing with a transitory and adaptable self as individuals move from one social milieu to another (outside one's primary groups). From here, family and religion, along with other social spheres have been seen as essential aspects that help in identity formation.

When reviewing the link between religion and identity, it was noted that religion has the capacity of creating an environment in which individuals involuntarily accept religion as they may accept the membership of any social group. This, like any other social group, provides a way of life which influences individuals to be a part of that group. It also acknowledged that there exists a correlation between religion and ethnicity, where religion may play a foundational role in formulation of ethnicity, however, it is likely that influence of religion and ethnicity on identity formation in the modern era is not as pervasive as it was before.

The paper also evaluated the insights given by Erikson (1965) with respect to identity formation in youth, where he suggested that "religion provides both, a transcendental viewpoint that helps to forge moral beliefs, and behavioural modus operandi based on ideological platform". This implied that religious beliefs can help youth understand the world from their own unique view by giving them a set of morals and values, which in turn helps in deepening the understanding of events and experiences around them. Relating the limited literature on religion and identity with Marcia's identity statuses, a positive relationship was seen between high identity achievement and high religiousness scores as well as low extrinsic religiousness score, indicating that identity achievement is highly related with internalisation of religious commitment.

With limited research in this area, there are some key researches that do connote that religion does play an important role in formation of identity, depending on various factors like the group and circumstances that were studied.

Daniel Moulin (2013) talks about religion identity and along with that, identity construction and negotiation. It discussed various conceptions of religious identity that have already been studied and throws light on two approaches to study religious identity—one being the psychological conception of identity and the other being the anthropological or cultural conception of identity.

The psychological conception of studies on religious identity focus on Erikson (1968) as the reference and trace it to Marcia's operationalization of Erikson's theory into identity statuses. Marcia encapsulated content from Erikson's theory in which he talked about adolescence being a crucial phase where identity diffusion takes place and as the adolescents grow, they near the phase of commitment to an identity.

Seeing from a religious identity development point of view, Marcia's theory talks about four identity statuses through which individuals progress—foreclosure (choice about identity is made without any exploration), diffusion (no exploration or identity formation), moratorium (exploration takes place but there is no identity formation) and identity achievement (identity is formed after exploration).

Studies done under this Erikson-Marcia framework have been criticised on the accounts where the exterior environment is not given much importance and identity formation is seen solely as the work of the individual; the context in which the development may take place is not deemed necessary. Another criticism to Marcia's theory is that he does not take into account the amount of emphasis that Erikson himself placed on culture and context in identity formation. According to Erikson, the impact of culture is inevitable and indispensable.

When looking at anthropological cultural perspectives, researchers see the roles of symbolic interactionism and cultural processes to see the impact of traditions and religion on people and how these became a part of their identities.

Speaking of Identity Negotiation, where identity is not seen as something fixed at all times, but rather it is seen as a negotiated process as they are constructed across different intersecting conflicting positions and discourses. Same was seen in religious identity discourse where we can say that religious identities interact in different ways and react to different sources of social authority. It posits that religious identity is not fixed in nature, even when it provides the strongest kind of identity for groups as well as individuals. However, there are some aspects of religious identity that are more sensitive and provide ways to adhere to historical and traditional affiliations.

Although religious identities are constructed through social contexts and individuals, this is done by individuals who draw from various things in their environment through already existing symbols and traditions and incorporate meaning to those symbols in different ways. Identity negotiation is when a person wishes to understand oneself and be recognised in a particular way whilst being a part of a system of representation. This identity negotiation contributes to the construction of religious identity where a person may fully or partially accept and present the elements of a religious tradition with his or her beliefs, actions, and worldview.

Religious Orientation

Religious Orientation has mostly been talked about in the sense of Intrinsic and Extrinsic typology, but various terms have been used to define it-- with some people using religious orientation and intrinsic-extrinsic separately, or calling it intrinsic-extrinsic religiosity, and so on. When defining what exactly is religious orientation, it has been seen that Allport himself has used it differently in several contexts. No single definition has been grounded in properly defining what it actually means, thus, religious orientation is open to different views and perspectives. However, after seeing various writings on this topic, Hunt and King (1971: 340) concluded that Allport's definition of Intrinsic-Extrinsic religious orientation showed "a clear progression towards viewing the phenomena as types of motivation" (motives associated with religious beliefs and practices).

Concentrating on the words "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" which have been widely used and continue to be used in psychology of religion, Hunt and King (1971) concluded from Allport's writings that Intrinsic dimension is particularly ill-defined by multiplicity of diverse meanings, whereas Extrinsic dimension is comparatively well-defined as an instrumental motivation for religious involvement. For purpose of research, intrinsic orientation measures religious commitment and extrinsic orientation measures what is known as a utilitarian or selfish motivation.

Despite the shortcomings in clear definitions, Allport and Ross' work is still widely cited by researchers in the area of religion. The essential distinction that they stressed upon — intrinsic and extrinsic — has been used in order to see how individuals approach religion and what religiosity may mean to them. It has been commonly seen that extrinsic orientation describes a pattern of involvement in religion where an individual may use religion for personal gains. Religion here becomes a tool for achievement of goals in certain spheres of life, like social acceptance. Intrinsic orientation towards religion, on the other hand, is seen where people view religion as a whole, in its totality. Religion for these individuals shape their world views and has a role to play in every single aspect of their lives. People tend to adapt the teachings and morals of their religion into their day to day lives. In different words, "the extrinsically motivated individual uses his religion, [and] the intrinsically motivated lives his" (Allport and Ross, 1967, p. 434).

Conceptual Foundation for Religious Identity

Identity can be seen as the self that has multiple levels of processing. Religious identity can be seen as an important aspect in the lives of those whose ways of seeing the world around them and ways of living are influenced by their religious practices. For such individuals, their religious identity is a source for them where they feel free and active.

Religious identity constitutes qualitative and quantitative properties. When we say religious identity is quantitative, it means that the levels of importance of the religious identity is not constant, rather, it's importance may rise or fall, and that such changes may be expressed or maybe unknown. When we say religious identity is qualitative, it means that one's relationship with other outside religious others is varied.

Looking at the multidimensional approach to religious identity, Erikson saw identity as something which is a need rooted in genes but expressed through varied social interactions. One such important social interaction that children have is through the styles of their parents. Similarly, when we speak of religious identity, it is neurologically rooted and constructed through social interactions that have epigenetic needs in order to form a coherent self.

Implicit and Explicit Aspects of Religious Identity:

Berman (1975) understood identity as something that is constantly explicit, however, Erikson's life served as an example of how identity can fall in terms of importance. Erikson (1946) negotiated the meaning of ego synthesis as an operating process in the less conscious ego identity, which was different from expressed identity. He offers a description of an identity that is stable across time than one which is rigid and incapable of change, and it operates on conscious and subconscious self-processes. According to him, religious identity is something that may be expressed with certain degrees of salience in line with culture, which can be different from internal patterns of the religious identity.

Internal identity works on cognitive processing that motifs or experiences are not retrieved consciously. These could be subconscious motivations which lie in the past, present or future which influences memory. This can indicate a clear role for implicit religious identity which might be full of implicit memories. In case of external religious identity, cultural expectations or the motivation to gain social approval may play a role to construct the frameworks of identity. Religious identity operates in unique ways, depending upon the domains in which it is expressed, not only on the implicit side where it is subconsciously

synthesised, but also varying explicitly where salience of identity depends upon social approval in different social contexts.

Religious Identity Formation:

The formation of a religious identity was given keeping in mind the statuses given by Marcia, based on Erikson's psychosocial model. Erikson believed that each of his stages were a balance between two variables, for example, identity commitment was something which was not rigid but stable in nature. Taking an example of a child, who goes through several identifications prior to adolescence and then goes through the stage of moratorium where he or she has to make decisions. Once the decision is made, it results in an integrated sense of self. This stage is similar to Marcia's Identity Foreclosure. However, this stage may come early for those who lack choices or make early commitments. This model of religious identity formation based on Marcia's stages posits that religious identity may be integrated through different levels of intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity.

Religious Identity Diffusion:

This stage describes not only adolescents who have not yet decided who they are, but also includes adults who are disinterested in religion or those who are extrinsically motivated towards their religion. In this regard, there is lack of commitment towards religion, and there is no crisis with respect to lack of commitment towards religion.

Religious Identity Foreclosure:

This stage is reflective of those individuals who have committed to a religion and its set of beliefs and traditions. Foreclosure here refers to the absence of any role confusion. These individuals have a strong desire for conformity and lack flexibility. Overall, these individuals tend to be authoritarian and need the approval from peers. According to Kroger, foreclosed individuals can become defensive about their faith correlated with conventional moral reasoning. They are also the most approval seeking individuals (Kroger, 2004).

Religious Identity Moratorium:

Individuals in this stage are religious seekers who are open to more than one religious' identity. They do not show commitment to a single religious tradition and may either feel anxious with respect to their religious identity. Clinically speaking, they may be individuals who feel greater stress and their religious identity may be in flux for long periods of time.

Religious Identity Integration:

In this stage, the very word "integration" describes the process of religious identity formation where a person gets to reflect upon his or her belief systems and then integrate it with their coherent self in a better manner than the word "achievement". Here, the individual makes commitment with their religious identity and has a strong sense of autonomy and self-esteem, while remaining flexible with their traditions.

Speaking of transcendence, identity can be seen as one domain that can be drawn away from an individual and his environment to an unseen cosmic force, causing the self to transcend. In this scenario, identity can be seen as potentially 'triangulated' as it is the balance between self and the other (environment) and the third Other when self is transcending. This however does not necessarily mean that all religious identities have transcendental experiences.

Religious Identity in a Socio-Political Realm:

It is seen that young adults usually try to break out or break away from family groups and often form groups that are characterised by radical commitments. Without proper identity integration, the strongly held grip on identity commitment can feel threatened or insecure. Any other group that has made stable attachments with identity can be seen as threats. In combining evolutionary psychological concepts of kin selection and adolescent mating and grouping behaviours with Erikson's epigenetic psychosocial model, we may have a powerful explanatory tool for occurrences of religious violence rooted in identity needs gone awry (Bell, 2009).

Models of Religious Identity Development

Although there exist many models of different dimensions of identity, very few models have emerged in the area of religious identity. Peek (2005) has come up with a model through exploring the formation of Muslim identity of second-generation young adults (through qualitative methods) settled in USA, and how being a minority at the place they lived in impacted their religious identity to dominate over all other social identities. The researcher began with the demographics of USA and how Islam is slowly yet visibly growing religion in the USA. She also noted the fact how the dimension of religion has been left out or overlooked by many researchers when conducting research on identity (for example, Cerulo, 1997).

Highlighting immigrant religion, certain factors played a role as to why religion identity comes to forefront at a new place; by providing relief to people who come to an alienated country and in an attempt to resolve adjustment issues (Kurien, 1998; Rayaprol, 1997), religious membership provides access to various non-religious material like community networks, by exhibiting the values of traditions that were once taken for granted in an increasingly multicultural set up. Religion also tends to ease the tension that was caused by incongruent immigration (Feher, 1998; Yang, 1999) and helps in overcoming social isolation (Kwon, 2000).

Through conduction of interviews, a *model of Muslim religious identity development* was theorized, which consisted of three stages of religious identity development—religion as an ascribed identity, religion as a chosen identity, and religion as a declared identity. As noted by the researcher, "as the participants moved through each of the stages, their faith became more intense and their religious practice increased, as did their identification with the religion of Islam and the individual characteristic of being Muslim" (Peek, 2005).

In the first stage where religion is an ascribed identity, individuals are young children who blindly follow what their parents are following and have seen examples of their parents and those in their community. Many individuals at this point were not able to comprehend the belief system provided by their religion and did not understand its importance. They chose to follow it because their families stressed on its importance and because it provided them a pattern of authority and cooperation. This is the stage where the individuals are not self-reflective about their identities.

In the next stage where religion is adopted as a chosen identity, individuals go through a reflective stage where they start to think in a more concrete manner. As they mature, individuals see their religion not as an ascribed identity, but as an identity they chose. Here, individuals contemplate more about their lives and the role of their religion and re-examine their identities. This stage also serves as a transition stage where people leave for higher

education, away from family where there is no one to give them religious instructions like their parents gave them. Individuals get more time to reflect and observe as to how their religion impacts them and to what extent it answers many existential questions that come to their minds. Along with the space that they get, their new peer groups play a strong role in reinforcing or constructing certain aspects of their identities. Some individuals also turn to their religious organisations when they feel that the knowledge, they are gaining at home is not enough. This need to learn more about their religion also rises from the realisation that they are minorities in their new place.

The third stage of the theorized model is that of religion as a declared identity, which in this case, comes as a response to the aftermath of 9/11 attacks. Individuals noted that their religious identities became even more powerful and salient during this time. Another factor that contributed to the religion identity becoming more pronounced was the negative stereotype that was attached in the aftermath of the attacks and how Muslims were scrutinised more by the American people. People learnt more and more about their religion and incorporated its teachings into their daily lives. Because the students believed that their religion was now viewed negatively by many of their fellow citizens, they felt a need to both explain and demonstrate their faith more strongly than before. Many of the participants remarked that if they could just show people what a "good Muslim" and the "true Islam" were, some of the stereotyping and antipathy would end (Peek, 2005). Many participants in the study also admitted that the events of the attack brought the people of this religion even closer to God and others of the same religion. Even through stereotyping many were compelled to change at least one visible attribute that gave away their religious identity, individuals in the study were determined to not change that and wear that attribute even more proudly, and to help others understand their religion in its true form.

The explanation for the last stage of the model (religion as declared identity) can be given through two theories – Portes and Rumbaut's (2001, 1996) concept of *reactive ethnicity*, where they described that defensive identities and solidarity among people of the same group grows even more when the minority group is confronted with the majoritarian population; Smith's (1998) theory of *subcultural identity formation*, which stated that as long as the perception of a threat remains, personal identities and group solidarity will likely continue to be strong.

It can be concluded that stronger religious identity requires a heightened sense of reflection and self-awareness, which eventually evolves into an achieved identity. The researcher however, stressed on the fact that this model of religious identity development is not a universal model.

Present Study

The present study was undertaken to understand the dynamics of religion in emerging adulthood (16-25 years). The salience or levels of importance of religiosity varies with respect to how individuals express their religious identity in different conditions. Social approval bias plays an important role. Depending on the prevailing religious environment, individuals are more or less likely to talk about their religious identity. Whether religious identity will be expressed or not also depends on the religious orientation of individuals.

Religious identity has qualitative property as well which are expressed in terms of religious identity statuses i.e. Religious identity diffusion, religious identity foreclosure, religious identity moratorium and religious identity achievement. In these religious identity statuses,

an individual's relationship with the religious world is fundamentally different. Further religious identity may be related to different levels of religiosity i.e. intrinsic and extrinsic (Bell, 2009).

Within this context the study explores the following objectives.

- To explore the salience or expression (explicit and implicit) of religious identity.
- To understand how salience of religious identity is related with religious orientation (extrinsic and intrinsic).
- To analyse the qualitative statuses of religious identity (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement).
- To examine the relation between different religious identity statuses and religious orientation (extrinsic and intrinsic).

METHODOLOGY

The approach used for the research was quantitative. Various questionnaires were combined into a single questionnaire in order to collect the data.

Sample

The sample consisted of 105 participants —75 females and 30 males. The age range of the participants was 16 to 25 years (adolescents to younger adults). Most of the participants were students with an average of 15 years of education. Out of 105, only 1 participant was married, and the rest were unmarried. Most of the participants belonged to urban areas, with people coming from metropolitan areas (57), city (34), small towns (9) and villages (5). Most of the participants belonged to or currently resided in Delhi, or outside Delhi (Chennai, Lucknow, Odisha, and so on). The participants came from various religious backgrounds, namely Hinduism (70), Islam (18), Sikhism (5), Christianity (2). Around 10 participants identified with either Atheism or other religions like Jainism, Buddhism and Meitei (Manipuri religion). Among these, 103 participants belonged to their respective religion since birth and 2 participants had converted. These participants either lived with their parents (78), in rented accommodations (17) or in hostels (10). When asked about group memberships, 56 participants belonged to religious groups, 28 participants belonged to cultural groups, 15 participants belonged to religious groups and 6 participants belonged to political groups. The sample characteristics are shown in the table below.

Table 2.1- Sample Characteristics

Sample Characteristics	Percentage of Sample
Gender:	
Females:	72.4
Males:	27.6
Marital Status:	
Married:	1
Unmarried:	99
Area:	
Metropolitan Area:	54.3
City:	32.4
Small Town:	8.6
Village:	4.8
Religion:	
Hinduism:	66.7

Religious Orientation and Identity Salience: An Exploration of Religious Self in Emerging Adults

Sample Characteristics	Percentage of Sample
Islam:	17.1
Sikhism:	4.8
Christianity:	1.9
Others:	9.5
Religious Background:	
By Birth:	98.1
Convert:	1.9
Accommodation:	
With Parents:	74.3
Rented Accommodation:	16.2
Hostel:	9.5
Membership of Groups:	
Social:	53.3
Cultural:	26.7
Religious:	14.3
Political:	5.7

Measures Used:

Bell Measures for Religious Identity: Religious Identity Salience Measure (RISa): The measure consists of two parts divided in two parts — Part I (A) and Part I (B). In Part I (A), the participants were asked to write down their first thoughts/ answers that came to their mind ten points in words or small sentences, which explained their identity. They were asked not to use any contact information and imagine as if they were meeting someone whom they have never met before, who has not seen them and who has no information about them. Here, the implicit salience in the particular domain of religious identity is being measured, where religion may be mentioned as someone's part of identity without being prompted to do so.

In Part I (B), participants were asked to consider the following ten realms of their identity — profession, gender/sexuality, personality/personal characteristics (like extrovert, optimistic, angry etc.), religion, hobby/games (like, is it important for you that you are a good player), education (like, what educational level you have), caste or cultural region (like, Bihar, North East, South India etc.), political/ideological inclination/orientation, relationship status/family/friends, and age (how much of an important role does your age play in your identity). The participants were asked to read and rank these realms from 1 to 10, assigning 1 to the most important realm and 10 to the least important realm. In this part, the explicit religious identity salience of the participants is being measured, where they were asked to rank religion as a domain of identity.

This measure would be able to detail implicit/explicit patterns of difference per each identity domain (Bell, 2009). The construct validity is not extensively supported and may only be achieved through the logic and face validity of the research design; the RISa is not constructed along developmental principles (Bell, 2009).

Bell Measures for Religious Identity: Religious Identity Status Measure (RISt): This measure is a 28-item inventory, which consists of 5 items per religious identity status along with 2 items per global identity status. The participants were asked to respond to each item with a response that appropriately suited them – strongly disagree, moderately disagree,

slightly disagree, slightly agree, moderately agree, and strongly agree. The RISt has convergent validity with already established items in the EOMEIS-II (Adams, 1998). This measure was designed to test overall identity formation in relation to Marcia's theory of identity statuses. Among these, questions 1, 5, 15, 22, and 26 measure Religious Identity Diffusion (RID) and questions 3 and 18 measure Global Identity Diffusion (GID); questions 4, 14, 16, 21, and 28 measure Religious Identity Foreclosure (RIF), and questions 12 and 24 measure Global Identity Foreclosure (GIF); questions 7, 9, 13, 17, and 23 measure Religious Identity Moratorium (RIM) and questions 8 and 10 measure Global Identity Moratorium (GIM); questions 2, 11, 19, 20, and 25 measure Religious Identity Integration/ Achievement (RII) and questions 6 and 27 measure Global Identity Integration (GII).

Allport and Ross Religious Orientation Scale (1967): One of the most used scales of religious orientation, this scale consists of 20 items divided into 2 subscales —Intrinsic Orientation Subscale which has 9 items and Extrinsic Orientation Subscale which has 11 items. The respondents are asked to answer the questions by choosing the most appropriate answer according to them on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from Strongly Disagree and Strongly Agree. The Religious Orientation Scale has demonstrated good psychometric properties, with high internal consistency for both subscales (Hill & Hood, 1999). It was also noted that the intrinsic subscale has been found to be more internally consistent than the extrinsic subscale, with $\alpha > .80$ and $\alpha > .70$, respectively. Furthermore, each scale has been found to be generally valid however, with respect to reliability, the intrinsic scale tends to perform more strongly given the "relatively high internal consistency and breadth of item content" (Hill & Hood, 1999, p.148). Questions 1, 2, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, and 20, are a part of Extrinsic Orientation Subscale, whereas questions 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, and 17 are a part of Intrinsic Orientation Subscale.

Procedure

Informed consent was taken from participants before the collection of data. The questionnaires (Religious Identity Salience Measure, Religious Identity Status Measure, and Religious Orientation Scale) were combined in a single form with clear instructions and data was collected via Microsoft Forms. After the data was collected, it was compiled and analyzed.

Data Analysis

The data was analyzed by using SPSS (24 version). The frequencies and percentages were calculated for Bell Measures for Religious Identity: Religious Identity Salience Measure (Parts I-A and I-B). The correlations were calculated between Bell Measures for Religious Identity: Religious Identity Status Measure (RISt) and Allport and Ross Religious Orientation Scale—first, the correlations were calculated for Implicit and Explicit salience with Intrinsic and Extrinsic Orientation subscales, second, the correlations were calculated for religious salience scales and religious orientation scales with each of the religious identity statuses (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement or integration).

RESULTS

As mentioned earlier, the study explores the expression or salience of religious identity and understanding how this salience is related to religious orientation. Additionally, the qualitative statuses of religious identity were analysed and along with seeing how these statuses may be related with religious orientation.

The results of the study are as follows:

Religious Identity Salience (RISa):

Implicit Salience – Part I (A):

This measure required coding of responses and looking for content that could be considered religious in nature, like believing in God, being a Hindu/Muslim/Sikh/Christian, being religious, etc. Out of 105, 91 participants (86.7 percent) did not mention any religious content in describing themselves. A total of 14 participants (13.3 percent) ranked some religious content in this measure. Table 1 shows the ranks assigned implicitly to religion by the participants. Out of the participants who did rank religion, 4 participants (3.8 percent) placed religion on Rank 1, 3 participants (2.9 percent) placed religion on Rank 3, 2 participants each placed religion on Ranks 4 and 5 (1.9 percent each), and 1 participant each placed religion on Rank 2, 9 and 10 (1 percent each).

Table 3.1: Ranks Implicitly Assigned to Religion

•	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Rank 1	4	3.8	3.8
Rank 2	1	1.0	1.0
Rank 3	3	2.9	2.9
Rank 4	2	1.9	1.9
Rank 5	2	1.9	1.9
Rank 9	1	1.0	1.0
Rank 10	1	1.0	1.0
No Rank	91	86.7	86.7
Total	105	100.0	100.0

The graphs show the frequency and percentage of the implicit ranks assigned to religion.

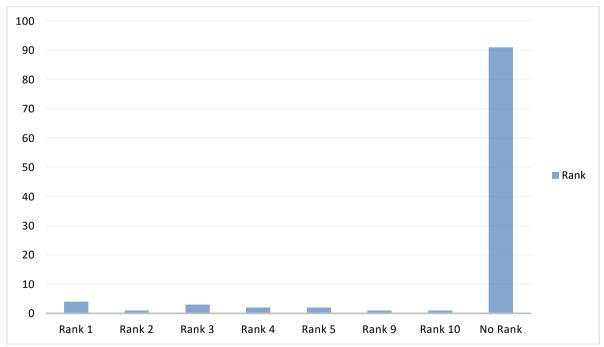


Figure 3.1: Frequency Chart for Ranks Implicitly Assigned to Religion

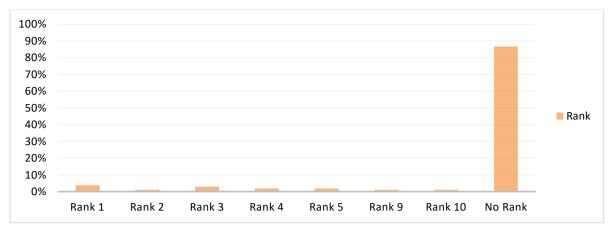


Figure 3.2: Percentage of Ranks Implicitly Assigned to Religion

Explicit Salience – Part I (B):

This part of the measure asked the participants to rank 10 domains of identity (which included religion as a domain), already mentioned earlier. Out of 105 participants, maximum number of participants (32) placed religion on Rank 9 (30.5 percent). Around 22 participants placed religion on Rank 10 (21 percent), 12 participants placed religion on Rank 8 (11.4 percent), 9 participants each placed religion on Rank 6 and 7 (8.6 percent each), 7 participants placed religion on Rank 5 (6.7 percent), 6 participants chose Rank 4 for religion (5.7 percent), Rank 1 and 3 for religion was chosen by 3 participants each (2.9 percent each), and 2 participants placed religion on Rank 2 (1.9 percent).

Table 3.2: Ranks Explicitly Assigned to Religion

Tuble 3.2. Runks Explicitly Assigned to Religion							
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent				
Rank 1	3	2.9	2.9				
Rank 2	2	1.9	1.9				
Rank 3	3	2.9	2.9				
Rank 4	6	5.7	5.7				
Rank 5	7	6.7	6.7				
Rank 6	9	8.6	8.6				
Rank 7	9	8.6	8.6				
Rank 8	12	11.4	11.4				
Rank 9	32	30.5	30.5				
Rank 10	22	21.0	21				
Total	105	100.0	100.0				

The graphs show the frequency and percentage of the explicit ranks assigned to religion.

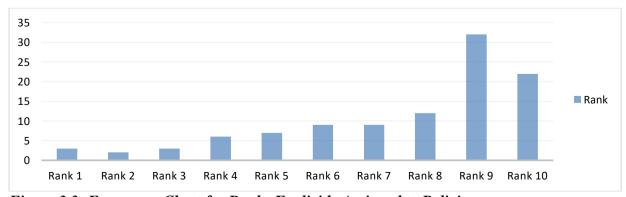


Figure 3.3: Frequency Chart for Ranks Explicitly Assigned to Religion

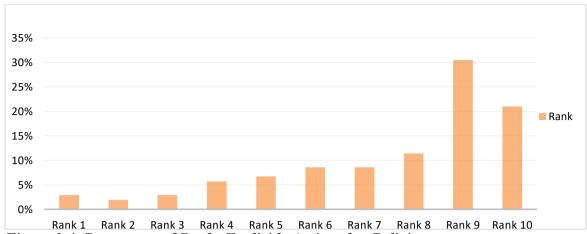


Figure 3.4: Percentage of Ranks Explicitly Assigned to Religion

The results show that not ranking religion on the implicit measure decreases the ranking of religion on the explicit measure. Slightly more than half of the sample (51.5 percent) showed lower explicit rankings (Rank 9 and 10), indicating that religion is not considered as an important domain in their identity. However, out of 86.7 percent who had not ranked religion in the implicit measures, only 51.5 percent showed lesser to no importance of religion. Remaining 35.2 percent of the sample (37 participants) showed medium levels of importance of religion in their identity, as they gave a slightly higher ranking to religion in the explicit measure but did not mention any religious content in the implicit measure.

Religious Salience and Religious Orientation:

Table 3.3: Correlation Table for Religious Salience (Implicit and Explicit) and Religious Orientation

Variables	Implicit	Explicit	EOS	IOS
Implicit	1	181	010	.129
Explicit		1	.085	416**
EOS			1	.452**
IOS				1

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The table shows significant negative correlations between Explicit Salience and Intrinsic Orientation (IOS), perhaps indicating that increased intrinsic religiosity, explicit salience may decrease, or vice versa. Significant correlations were also found between Extrinsic and Intrinsic Orientation subscales (EOS and IOS).

Religious Identity Statuses (RISt) and Religious Salience and Orientation:

Table 3.4: Correlation Table for Religious and Global Identity Diffusion (RID and GID)

Variables	Implicit	Explicit	EOS	IOS	RID	GID
Implicit	1	181	010	.129	189	068
Explicit		1	.085		.539**	.102
EOS			1	.452**	.015	.052
IOS				1	448**	140
RID					1	.245*
GID						1

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

The table shows significant correlations between Explicit Salience and Religious Identity Diffusion (RID), thus indicting that with increased diffusion, explicit salience may increase. A negative significant correlation was found between Intrinsic Orientation and Religious Identity Diffusion (RID), indicating that people in a diffused stage may not have internalised their religion yet.

Table 3.5: Correlation Table for Religious and Global Identity Foreclosure (RIF and GIF)

GII)						
Variables	Implicit	Explicit	EOS	IOS	RIF	GIF
Implicit	1	181	010	.129	.187	.050
Explicit		1	.085	416**	231 [*]	089
EOS			1	.452**	.379**	.147
IOS				1	.510**	.114
RIF					1	.354**
GIF						1

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The table shows negative significant correlations between Explicit Salience and Religious *Identity Foreclosure (RIF)*, indicating that people in the foreclosure stage may not explicitly display religiosity. Significant correlations were also found between Religious Identity Foreclosure (RIF) and Extrinsic and Intrinsic Orientation (EOS and IOS), which shows that people with foreclosed religious identities may be both intrinsically and extrinsically motivated to practice religiosity, depending upon their situations.

Table 3.6: Correlation Table for Religious and Global Identity Moratorium (RIM and GIM)

Variables	Implicit	Explicit	EOS	IOS	RIM	GIM
<i>Implicit</i>	1	181	010	.129	203**	123
Explicit		1	.085	416**	.258**	033
EOS			1	.452**	.193*	.274**
IOS				1	142	.114
RIM					1	.504**
GIM						1

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The table shows negative correlations between Implicit Salience and Religious Identity Moratorium (RIM), indicating that people who have not yet committed to a specific religion and are still exploring their alternatives have not internalised any religious beliefs yet. Significant correlation was found between Explicit Salience and Religious Identity Moratorium (RIM), showing that people in the moratorium stage may explicitly show their religiosity while still exploring their alternatives. Significant correlations were also found between Extrinsic Orientation (EOS) and Religious Identity Moratorium (RIM) and Global *Identity Moratorium (GIM)*, indicating that people in the moratorium stage may use religion only in some spheres of life, and may be extrinsically motivated to do so.

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

(MII ana GI	1)					
Variables	Implicit	Explicit	EOS	IOS	RII	GII
Implicit	1	181	010	.129	.129	.052
Explicit		1	.085	416**	089	.097
EOS			1	.452**	.025	096
IOS				1	.235*	.004
RII					1	.332**
CII						1

Table 3.7: Correlation Table for Religious and Global Identity Integration/Achievement (DII and CII)

The table shows significant correlations between *Intrinsic Orientation and Religious Identity* Integration/Achievement (RII), indicating that people who have resolved their religious crises and have committed to their religion wholly after actively exploring it, are in the integration stage of their religious identity development, and thus, are intrinsically motivated towards their religion.

Overall, the sample which consisted of emerging adults, lies in the stages of moratorium and foreclosure. While half of the sample does not see religion as something important in their identity (lesser to no influence; diffused stage), the rest either have a foreclosed religious identity (committed to their religion without exploration) or religious identities in the stage of moratorium (exploring various religious beliefs with no current solidified commitments to a particular set of beliefs).

DISCUSSION

The present study is aimed at exploring the salience or expression of religious identity and to understand how this salience of religious identity is related with religious orientation (extrinsic and intrinsic). Furthermore, the study analyses the qualitative statuses of religious identity along the lines of Marcia's theory and examines the relation between different religious identity statuses and religious orientation.

Salience of Religious Identity

According to Erikson (1946), the ego synthesis of an individual is the operating process of the less conscious ego identity, which is different from the identity that is expressed. He sometimes referred to this inner identity as a preconscious identity that one is aware of it sometimes. Keeping this in mind, religious identity may be explicitly expressed with a certain degree of salience that may be different from implicit religious identity processes.

When asked to write ten things about themselves, individuals were unaware that their implicit salience in religious identity was being measured. The result of this would be referred to as implicit religious identity salience, to see whether they would speak of religious parts of their identity when they are not prompted to do so. According to the findings of this study, 86.7 percent of individuals did not include any religious content while describing themselves, while the remaining 13.3 percent mentioned religious content as a part of their identity.

When the individuals were asked to rank the given domains from most to least important realm of their identity, it was found that maximum individuals had placed religion on the 9th

^{**} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

^{*} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

and 10th rank (around 31 percent and 21 percent respectively). This could indicate that half of the individuals in the study did not include religion as a part of their identity, either implicitly or explicitly. These people are less likely to face distress with respect to religious beliefs.

However, some individuals did not include religion when not prompted, yet, they ranked religion as fairly important, with an average of 6th rank. This may indicate a medium level of importance of religion for people. Another factor that may come into play could be the social approval bias (for when people may respond in a different manner privately and in front of an audience). This could mean that the percentage of people who ranked on implicit religious identity salience have a lesser need for social approval (Bell, 2009), whereas those who ranked religion only in explicit salience may be seeking social approval. A final concern with respect to low implicit rankers could be that people may not feel comfortable to share their religious beliefs with people whom they have never met. Many people, in my personal experience as I have observed, are not very comfortable about knowing someone's religion at first, and tend to avoid talking about it, fearing misperceptions or judgement; while others who are already religious may want to share the things or traditions about their religion.

The findings of both implicit and explicit salience indicated that people may fall into identity patterns where their salience may be separated for various motivations.

Relation of Religious Identity Salience with Religious Orientation

Allport and Ross (1967) conceptualised two religious' orientations— intrinsic and extrinsic. It is believed that individuals high on intrinsic religiosity shape their lives around their religious beliefs, whereas those who are high on extrinsic religiosity utilise the values of their religion for specific purposes in order to achieve their goals. Initially it was believed that these were related, but analysis by Feagin (1964) showed that these were unrelated factors.

The findings of the current study shows that there is a negative significant correlation between explicit salience and intrinsic orientation subscale (IOS), which indicates that people high on intrinsic religiosity may not explicitly showcase their salience in front of others, or people high on explicit salience may use religion as a tool for achieving goals in life and may even bend their religious beliefs according to what the situation may demand. However, Bell (2009) concluded that religious identity may be integrated by varying levels of both intrinsic and extrinsic religiosity. There is also a chance that some individuals who primarily practice extrinsic religiosity, who have explicitly salient religious identities predict or point towards identity foreclosure or diffusion at the surface level. They may have made a religious commitment without reflections, thus becoming susceptible to differences in levels of religious identity salience.

Statuses of Religious Identity

Erikson's identity formation processes were carried forward by Marcia in his Identity Statuses (Marcia, 1966). These statuses were used for measuring the level of religious identity development in emerging adults.

The findings show some relation between religious identity statuses and religious salience. A significant correlation was found between explicit salience and Religious Identity Diffusion (RID), indicating that people in the diffused stage of identity development may be

religious explicitly in terms of attending and participating in religious gatherings, mainly because they are a part of their said religion, and have not entirely committed or explored their religious identity.

A negative significant correlation was found between explicit salience and religious identity foreclosure (RIF), indicating that people with foreclosed religious identities may not be explicitly religious. One factor that could come into play is how is religious identity expressed in different cultures. Some people actively express their religious identity while others may not do so.

A negative significant correlation was found between implicit salience and religious identity moratorium (RIM), indicating that people in the moratorium stage are still exploring their alternatives and have not yet committed to a single identity, thus, not having internalised a set of religious beliefs yet. A positive significant correlation was found between explicit salience and religious identity moratorium (RIM), showing that people in this stage may openly try to be involved in not just one, but various religious activities of different religions and may have not committed to a single religion.

No significant correlations were found between religious salience (implicit and explicit) and Religious Identity Integration (RII). One reason for this could be the fact that majority of the individuals in the study still lie in foreclosure, diffusion and moratorium stages. Very few individuals actively explore and then commit to their beliefs. Some may accept a set of beliefs because their family have taught them to do so, while some do not wish to be associated with religion at all. A much larger group of people would be needed to study the relations between religious identity integration and religious orientations.

Relation Between Religious Identity Statuses and Religious Orientation

While seeing relations between the religious identity statuses and religious orientation, it was found that a negative significant correlation exists between Religious Identity Diffusion (RID) and Intrinsic Orientation. This indicates that with increased identity diffusion, a person's intrinsic orientation may decrease. This finding is in line with previous research where it was found among a group of Canadian adolescents that adolescents in the diffused category were low in identity commitment and high in religious doubt (Hunsberger, Pratt & Pancer, 2009). People in the diffused stage have not yet internalised their religion. They are neither in a crisis nor have they committed themselves to a set of religious beliefs.

Religious Identity Foreclosure (RIF) was found to have moderate significant correlations with both Intrinsic and Extrinsic Orientation. One explanation for this could be the fact that people have internalised their religious identity without exploration and are willing to follow it without much thinking. For them, intrinsic and extrinsic orientation may be the same, for they have a strong desire for conformity, and they lack flexibility. One reason as to why individuals foreclose on a religious identity could be explained by the influence their parents may have on their religious development. As mentioned earlier, parents play an important role in the development of an adolescent's religious identity with the kind of religious training that they are given, along with the religious atmosphere that may prevail in their households. Similar influence of peers in this regard may also contribute to a foreclosed religious identity.

Religious Identity Moratorium (RIM) and Global Identity Moratorium (GIM) both were found to be significantly correlated with extrinsic orientation, which may indicate that a

person who is in a stage of exploration and has not yet committed to a set of religious beliefs may use religion in specific spheres of life only. These people are open to different religious identities and may remain so for long durations of time. They may be religiously involved in order to gain something from such participation, like social approval.

Lastly, Religious Identity Integration (RII) was significantly correlated with Intrinsic Orientation (IOS), indicating that people who have integrated their religious beliefs, resolved crises related to their religion, and have wholly committed to their religion are people who have high intrinsic orientation, and they allow their religion to shape their lives actively. This finding is consistent with one by Fulton (1997) in which it was found that intrinsic religiosity was positively associated that identity achievement.

Overall, the findings of the religious identity statuses are in line with each other. The individuals in the study majorly showed that emerging adults have either developed foreclosed identities through their socialising agents like parents and peers. Some have developed diffused identities where they have not explored nor committed to a single religion, and do not see religion as a part of their identity. Lastly, individuals are also in the stage of moratorium where they have experienced religious crises and are still exploring other alternatives that can be adopted into their identity. According to the age range of the individuals (16-25 years), somewhere the results also showcase two identity stages of development from Erikson's psychosocial stages— Identity vs. Role Confusion (ages 12-18) and Intimacy vs. Isolation (18 above, till 40). These stages may well play a role in how a person might still be in search of their identity (identity vs. role confusion) or may not see the very domain of religious identity as important, rather focusing on building relationships with others (intimacy vs. isolation) without the involvement of religion altogether.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the study indicate that a large part of the individuals does not include religion as a part of their identity with respect to salience of religious identity, while others may have a medium level of importance of religion in their lives. The role of social approval bias can also be traced. People may fall into identity patterns where the expression of their identity may depend upon their underlying motivations. While seeing the relation of religious identity salience with religious orientation, it was found that a negative link exists between explicit salience and intrinsic orientation, indicating that people high on explicit salience may not have internalised their religious values and may use religion merely as a tool for personal gains.

In analysing the statuses of religious identity along the lines of Marcia's theory, a significant link was found between explicit salience and religious identity diffusion, indicating that people in diffused stage of identity formation may be religious explicitly in terms of attending and participating in religious gatherings, only because they belong to a particular religion. A negative link seems to exist between explicit salience and religious identity foreclosure showing that people with foreclosed religious identities may not show their religiosity explicitly. A negative relation was also seen between implicit salience and religious identity moratorium showing that people are still exploring their identities and have not yet committed to a single set of religious beliefs, hence not having internalised those beliefs. A significant relation was seen however, between explicit salience and religious identity moratorium, indicating that people in this stage may openly try to be involved in various religious activities. No links were found between religious salience and religious identity integration.

Lastly, when seeing the relations between religious identity statuses and religious orientation, it was found that a negative relation exists between religious identity diffusion and intrinsic orientation, showing that with increased diffusion, an individual may not have internalised their religious values. Religious identity foreclosure had significant relations with both intrinsic and extrinsic orientation, indicating that people may have internalised their religious identity without any exploration, which could be a result of parental and peer influences. Religious identity moratorium and global identity moratorium were found to be significantly linked with extrinsic orientation, which could show that an individual who is currently in a stage of exploration may use religion only in specific spheres of life only. Religious identity integration (achievement) was seen to have links with intrinsic orientation, showing that people who have explored their alternatives and then committed to their religion have allowed for their religion to actively shape their lives and perceptions of world.

Limitations, Future Considerations and Implications

Although the research has made some interesting findings by exploring the religious identity development along the lines of Marcia's theory, the research has a few limitations of its own. Firstly, there was an oversampling of females in the study (n=75), and college students and males and high school students were under sampled. Furthermore, religious oversampling was seen with a majority of data involving people belonging to Hinduism (n=69). Other religious backgrounds like Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism etc., were not studied much. Secondly, no significant differences were found with respect to age, education and gender. A much larger sample size perhaps would be able to study this, consisting of fair ratios with respect to the same.

Further research is needed in this area. The theory of Identity Statuses in the area of religion research is fairly new. The measures used apart from Religious Orientation Scale need more research in order to test their reliability and validity. Besides, much of the research in the area of religious identity is focused on western countries and on people who have migrated to such countries. Cultural differences may play a key role in establishing how religious identity is formed in different cultures, along with increasing or decreasing levels of religiosity in one's lifetime. Additionally, more research is required in studying the impact of gender and education on religiosity and religious identity development.

The findings of the present study has contributed to the available literature, by being one of the few to place a reputed identity theory in not only a religious context but also in an Indian socio-cultural background where a personal is placed in a multicultural set up. The findings have also helped the researcher understand the significance of religious identity in the present times, and the importance that religion holds for people in the same age bracket as that of the researcher. Religion, even today, is seen as an important concept one's life, especially in a heated political atmosphere, or by governing an individual's lifestyle.

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Conflict of Interest

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