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# When Pastor's Kid Becomes College Student: Identity Development of PKs During College

Janette E. DeLozier  
Taylor University

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WHEN PASTOR'S KID BECOMES COLLEGE STUDENT: IDENTITY  
DEVELOPMENT OF PKs DURING COLLEGE

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A thesis

Presented to

The School of Graduate Studies

Department of Higher Education and Student Development

Taylor University

Upland, Indiana

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in Higher Education and Student Development

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by

Janette E. DeLozier

May 2013

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**Higher Education and Student Development  
Taylor University  
Upland, Indiana**

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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MASTER'S THESIS

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This is to certify that the Thesis of

Janette DeLozier

entitled

When Pastor's Kid Becomes College Student: Identity Development  
of PKs During College

has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for the

Master of Arts degree  
in Higher Education and Student Development

May 2013

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\_\_\_\_\_  
Scott Gaier, Ph.D.                                  Date  
Thesis Supervisor

\_\_\_\_\_  
Tim Herrmann, Ph.D.                              Date  
Member, Thesis Hearing Committee

\_\_\_\_\_  
Connie Lightfoot, Ed.D.                              Date  
Member, Thesis Hearing Committee

\_\_\_\_\_  
Tim Herrmann, Ph.D.                              Date  
Director, M.A. in Higher Education & Student Development

### Abstract

Pastors' kids (PKs) have a very unique childhood experience with certain, inherent challenges, but there has not been any prior research on how this unique background impacts the establishment of their identity when they matriculate into college. The purpose of this study was to investigate the characteristics of and challenges to a healthy identity development that pastors' kids experience during their years in college.

Participants included current undergraduate students who grew up as pastors' kids, and each was interviewed using the phenomenological qualitative methodology. Three primary themes that emerged from the interviews are discussed: the uniqueness of their faith development, the importance of a positive relationship with their father, and both negative and positive aspects of the life of a PK, as well as a discussion of how those themes factor into their identity development during college.

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I owe all of this to my Lord and Savior. It is by His grace and His strength alone that I have been able to make it through this journey, and I look to Him to guide me through the adventures that lie ahead.

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## Table of Contents

Abstract .....	iii
Acknowledgements .....	iv
Chapter 1 Introduction .....	1
Chapter 2 Literature Review .....	5
Pastors’ Kids .....	5
Identity Development in College .....	10
When PK Becomes College Student.....	13
Chapter 3 Methodology .....	15
Research Design.....	15
Context.....	15
Participants.....	16
Procedure .....	16
Instruments / Measures .....	17
Data Explication .....	17
Chapter 4 Results .....	18
Faith Development.....	18
Relationship with Father .....	21
Positive and Negative Aspects of Being a PK .....	25
Chapter 5 Discussion .....	30

Review of the Results .....	30
Implications for Practice .....	35
Implications for Research .....	38
Limitations .....	39
Conclusion .....	39
References .....	40
Appendix A: Initial Participant Contact .....	43
Appendix B: Protocol .....	44



## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Pastors are seen as spiritual leaders not only in their respective congregations, but also, for many, in the local communities. Their services are required as counselors and healers of problems that people are experiencing. Because of this, their families often also face pressure to live up to the social and religious standards that people consider to be the *perfect Christian*, and these pressures come from different areas (Aycock, 2011; Darling, McWey, & Hill, 2006; Lee, 1992; McKown & Sharma, 1992). Consequently, children of the ministry, specifically pastors' kids (abbreviated as PKs), are raised in a "complex social world" (Lee, 1992, p. 15)—circumstances and situations which are unique to them and dissimilar to most other family backgrounds.

For those youths who have grown up in this environment all of their lives, forcing themselves to fit into a mold created by others—which may even include the mold of who their parents are—can create a crisis of identity as they enter adulthood and are expected to make their own decisions in life. With that in consideration, along with other challenges described, "the issue of identity is central to PKs" (Lee, 1992, p. 19).

When PKs matriculate into college, they have to face entirely new challenges, not the least of which is finding a new church (Pastors' Kids' Network, n.d., "College PKs"). While some families involve their older children in a decision to find a new church home and what churches to visit, this is not typical for PKs, as the parent's job determined their church home. For many, entering college is the first time they had to decide which church

to attend or even been part of such a decision. If there is not a church near their college or university that is similar to the ones they grew up in, this can become an even more troubling decision. PKs may never have attended a church regularly in which someone other than their parent is the pastor, and so their family always had an important role in determining the beliefs and core values of the church. This is just one part of the transition into college for PKs and the development of a bigger, and different, identity than that of their childhood.

Chickering (1969), an important identity development theorist, defined *development* in his psychosocial theory of student development (Chickering & Reisser, 1993) as a progression through development tasks or stages connected to issues faced at various points of the lifespan. His theory explained that movement through the stages of life is prompted by sociocultural challenges or expectations, that these challenges create crises, and that growth is determined by a person's ability to navigate those crises. The formation of one's individual identity is a major part of that development and is in fact the "core development issue with which students grapple during their college years" (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2010, p. 68). *Identity* is defined as "a person's domain-general sense of self with reference to groups...or particular content [and] is considered to evolve as part of the cognitively and affectively informed self-system...both informed and regulated by both culture and context" (Renninger, 2009, p. 109).

An identity crisis either can seem like a normal developmental stage of discovering "Who am I?," once away from home and family for the first time, or it may be a more significant time of working through a lot of questions and beliefs about

oneself, depending on personality and background. The loss of these defining environments can feel like the loss of the security of knowing one's identity.

In the midst of this crisis of identity, many pastors' kids may find themselves unsure how to cope or where to turn for guidance. Up until this point, most will have grown up the only one in their relevant context who knows what they have gone through, other than any siblings. Unlike some missionary kids who live on a complex with other families in the same circumstances, there is an inherent aloneness in the position of a PK. Even for those PKs who confide in and choose to work through their experiences with new peer groups and authority figures in college, these people may or may not understand where the PK is coming from or what he or she is going through. When this is the reality of a PK's college experience, some will find themselves alone as they work through these matters of identity.

Although a few studies have been completed relating to pastors' families, specifically focusing on the stresses both the adults and the children face and family dynamics (Lee, 1992; Lee & Balswick, 1989; Moy, 1987; Pond, 2000), the research on children within ministry families is "almost nonexistent;" even the existent studies conducted on PKs are "limited and outdated" (Strange & Sheppard, 2001, p. 54) or not appropriate to be used in research. Lee's work (1992) entitled *PK: Helping Pastors' Kids Through Their Identity Crisis* is currently the leading work on pastors' kids and so is referenced heavily by subsequent works. Studies conducted on PKs focus primarily on their childhood years and do not address what happens when the PK leaves the home to attend college.

Since the college years are already a key phase in the development of a person's identity, it would follow that this would be true for PKs who have suddenly been separated from their primary sources of identity—their family and their home congregation (Lee, 1992). There exists then a need to study the present-day challenges for pastors' kids and how they affect PKs as they matriculate into college. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the process of identity development for pastors' kids during their career in college. In particular, this research is guided by the following questions:

- 1) What are the characteristics of healthy identity development for pastors' kids while in college?
- 2) What are the challenges to a healthy identity development that pastors' kids face in college?

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

This chapter describes the type of environment and typical situations in which pastors' kids grow up, the expectations placed upon them by the church and society, and the frequent relocation that they often experience. It discusses some of the existing theories of identity development which aid in understanding the significant formation that young adults go through during the college years, including faith formation. Finally, it unpacks how these two factors of pastors' kids and college impact each other and the substantial weight of this development on a PK's identity.

#### **Pastors' Kids**

**Definition.** A pastor's kid (PK) is a term used to refer to the child (male or female) of a pastor, preacher, minister, clergyman, or other similar church leader. There are two categories of PKs within the ministry: (1) those who have grown up in or spent the majority of their lives as the child of a minister, and (2) those who came into that role as an older youth or even young adult. While the ways these different scenarios can affect or influence a child can depend on personality and prior home dynamics, generally the first group of individuals will be more strongly ingrained in particular mindsets that come with being a PK and may have a harder time moving past the challenges and habits of their youth (Pastors' Kids' Network, n.d.).

**Expectations from the congregation and society.** A universal challenge that pastors' kids experience is that of trying to live up to the expectations placed upon them

by the congregation and society at large. According to McCown and Sharma (1992), “a pastor’s child is expected to be a ‘perfect child’” (p. 31). They also asserted that:

The social expectations upon pastors and their families may reflect higher standards than those for other individuals . . . This conflict between religious expectations and prevailing social norms may be imposed by the religious community as well as by family members’ internalized expectations of themselves. Children within pastoral families are not immune to such pressures. Pastors’ children [are] thought to face greater pressures than other children. (pp. 31-32)

Bayer, Kent, and Dutton (1972) also agreed that in “the public mind, the children of clergymen are stereotyped to a greater extent than are the offspring of almost any other professional group” (p. 708).

*Stereotypes of PKs.* There are two stereotypes associated with the PK—the perfectly behaved saint and the defiant rebel. As is true with all stereotypes, neither of them is fair or entirely accurate, describing only opposite dispositional extremes. The former, more positive stereotype of the saint is the “idea that PKs are academically superior, highly motivated, possess firm moral values, and demonstrate a commitment to serve mankind” (Bayer et al., 1972, p. 708). Sometimes this stereotype includes the assumption that the pastor’s child is super-spiritual or knows as much about the Bible or theology as does the pastor, as if he or she automatically absorbs this knowledge simply by living with a Bible scholar. Aycock (2011) quoted a PK who reminisced that “Sunday-school teachers looked to me to explain biblical passages, as though they thought

hermeneutics was hereditary . . . Kids at school would see me coming, cover their mouths, and say, ‘Oops! I can’t cuss around you.’” (p. 176).

The negative stereotype of the rebel, on the other hand, is the “assumption that PKs will rebel against their parents, reject the family’s religion, and will indulge in ‘wild’ behavior” (Bayer et al., 1972, p. 708). Unfortunately, there have been examples of this type of behavior from PKs serving to reinforce the stereotype in people’s minds; these examples range from the historical figures of Malcolm X and Aaron Burr to the contemporary Katy Perry.

**Expectations from the parents.** Sometimes the parents also contribute to the moral and behavioral expectations set upon the child, adding to the unfair pressures they feel. Sometimes this is due to ignorance in how such expectations affect the child and other times it comes from the parents’ fear of who might be watching. Not unlike their children, clergy parents are not inherently perfect simply as a result of their ministerial profession. Some pastors do, however, try very hard to maintain “the public image of saintliness”—being a perfect parent or a perfect pastor—through their children (Lee, 1992, p. 127). Parents wishing to keep this external view may become highly secretive about internal family conflicts or problems, refusing to let the outside world see that they were not perfect.

However, even when the parents do make a strong effort to shield their children from congregational or societal expectations, as well as their own, the expectations are still present and perceived. Children can still see and understand the higher standards to which they are being held, but they are not so much of a burden for children whose

parents intentionally make time for them and meaningfully involve them in their lives (Lee, 1992).

*Implications of these expectations.* One of the most difficult aspects of the expectations that people have of PKs is the child having to ensure that he or she is never the cause of the parent(s) being criticized or fired. This pressure is based on the idea that the pastor's ministry and sustainability in that ministry depend on the child's behavior (Aycock, 2011; Lee, 1992). It is true that a child's behavior, whether good or bad, can reflect on the parents, but only to a certain extent. A parent should not be held entirely responsible for their child's choices or lifestyle, especially if the child is an adult, living outside the family home (Lee, 1992).

Another implication, as Lee (1992) stated, is that "even in the best of situations, having people continually superimposing stereotypes on you can create some identity confusion" (p. 77). So PKs will have some questions of identity to work through in the later years of childhood and into adulthood. The college years, as is discussed later, are a crucial time for these questions to come to the forefront.

**Life in the public view.** There are two commonly-used terms to describe the kind of existence that many pastors' families feel that they live, which are "living in a glass house" and "the fishbowl syndrome," which essentially mean the same thing (Lee, 1992, p. 31). These descriptions refer to a feeling of constantly being watched—both observed and judged—by their congregations. Similar to the reality of people wanting to know everything about the daily lives of celebrities (e.g., movie stars or politicians), church members often seem to have a curiosity about the doings of their pastor's family, to find out more about their lives than people would about any other family in the



congregation (Lee, 1992; Stevenson, 1982; Strange & Sheppard, 2001). At times this is perceived as mere idle curiosity, while at others it comes across as an unwarranted intrusion of privacy (Lee, 1992).

**Frequent relocation and its effect on peer groups.** “Another experience common to pastors’ children that sets them off from most of their peers is frequent moving” (Lee, 1992, p. 160). While some pastors and their families stay in one area with the same congregation for many years, many pastors are prone to relocating much more often. This aspect of PKs’ lives has a strong impact on their peer groups and where they look for affirmation of identity (Lee, 1992; Pond, 2000). This is especially, though not exclusively, the case during adolescence when friendships shape a very significant part of a person’s life.

During this crucial time of growing and developing into their own person, adolescents find emotional support in their close relationships, both family and friends. As Baril, Julien, Chartrand, and Dubé (2009) suggested, “friendships heighten individual well-being . . . By providing support, friendship facilitates adaptation to difficult life events and chronic stress” (p. 161). With this in mind, if an adolescent PK relocates frequently, it can become “impossible to establish a stable peer network that can be relied on to support the PKs’ identity-building explorations” (Lee, 1992, p. 161). This can easily be compared to the experiences of “military brats” and missionary kids, whose families tend to move quite often. The PK’s close friends, however, will often be connected to the church, which could further jeopardize their social network if the pastor’s family and the congregation did not part well. Strange and Sheppard (2001)

added, “The PK may begin to feel isolated as a result of not having a reliable, confidential social network” (p. 54).

**A lack of professional care.** Although some denominations or churches do provide counseling or similar services for their pastors, it seems to be more often the case that the pastor or pastor’s family is overlooked when it comes to helping them work through major issues in their lives (e.g., identity development). “Although a majority of denominations are providing some form of referral service for counseling and therapy, only 43% are providing some form of actual counseling and therapy services for their clergy and/or families” (Strange & Sheppard, 2001, p. 54). Morris and Blanton (1994) specifically noted that very few denominations assist clergy children in making adjustments (social, emotional, etc.) as a result of relocation, already shown to have a key impact on identity. While this type of professional help could be a great support to both pastors and their families, perhaps especially to the pastors’ children as they are figuring out who they are, it sadly is not a salient resource for them.

### **Identity Development in College**

**Definitions and theories.** The concept of identity is very broad as it contains several aspects of what makes up a person, such as social environment, strengths and weaknesses, sense of belonging, faith or spirituality, and so on. Lee (1992) defined identity as “an internal sense of sameness, a feeling of continuity between past and present” (p. 19). According to Hindman (2002), the young adult years and specifically “college can be the catalyst for intense growth, reflection, and exploration. Such exploration can be both liberating and disconcerting” (p. 165).

Many theorists have attempted to describe this process of self-exploration, although no one theory is complete without the insight of others. One of the stages of Erikson's theory of identity development (1968) as related to college students is "intimacy versus isolation" in which stage one develops a "sense of self." According to his theory (Marcia, 1966, 1976, 1980), activities and factors that promote identity achievement are: experimentation with varied roles, decision-making, meaningful achievement, freedom from excessive anxiety, and time for reflection and introspection. This stage of identity development describes well what may be a major factor in a PK's formation of identity, that of coming to separate their sense of self from others' perceptions or expectations. Jung (1982) agreed that "the developing and nurturing of persons, a feature common to all human communities, has a distinctive emphasis in the academy [or college/university], wherein persons are encouraged to become truth-seekers" (p. 292).

Chickering (1969) described seven vectors of development as a framework to understand the developmental path specific to college students, with the understanding that this looks a little different in each individual case. His theory primarily addressed the development of a person's identity. The seven vectors, as listed, are: 1) achieving competence, 2) managing emotions, 3) developing autonomy, 4) establishing identity, 5) freeing interpersonal relationships, 6) developing purpose, and 7) developing integrity. Vectors three, four, and seven are relevant to the present study.

The third vector, developing autonomy, describes the process of a young adult becoming more independent and less reliant on the life choices and approval of parents or other authority figures. However, it also emphasizes the need for recognition of

interdependence on others. The fourth vector, establishing identity, defines identity as a “solid sense of self;” it is probably the most crucial, as it “depends in part on growth along the competence, emotions, and autonomy vectors, and development on this vector fosters and facilitates changes along the remaining three” (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991, p. 21). Establishing one’s identity is a stage of the whole journey, yet it is also one that does not come to a fixed end at one point, but rather is a continual process. Finally, the seventh vector, developing integrity, continues this path as it reviews values from earlier life phases, chooses to accept or reject them based on suitability to the newly-established identity, and then brings coherence and clarification to the whole of the person (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Since identity is so important to PKs (Lee, 1992), these vectors are applicable as they enter college because they can no longer rely on their parents or churches for full approval or support; they have to realize who they really are—not who society or the congregation says they are—and then begin to make their life choices based on that established identity.

**Faith development.** One aspect within identity development, that of faith development, has been defined as the internalization of religious beliefs from an externally-based, rigid knowledge, after those beliefs are carefully questioned and examined (Ryan, Rigby, & King, 1993). It is also described as a “series of ‘transforming moments’” (Beers, 2003, p. 25), and gradual, uncomfortable movement between stages (Fowler, 1994). One theorist designed what is described as:

a theoretical model of a detailed process in which students at a Christian liberal arts university develop mature spirituality through a process of critical commitment. This process involves movement from a position of dogmatic or

skeptical beliefs, which are often extrinsically based, to a more mature faith that is rooted in intrinsic openness to critical questioning. (Welch & Mellberg, 2008, p. 144)

As noted, identity is a complicated concept with many aspects, but faith is a significant part of that. It may be especially so for PKs, for whom the matter of faith or religion has been such a major part of their family identity.

**Healthy identity development.** So what does healthy identity development look like? It should involve a continued process, not remaining stuck in one phase of life or development, but continually moving forward. According to Marcia (1966), a person frequently starts out in a stage of foreclosure (no crisis / commitment), only and unquestioningly adopting values and goals from parental figures. A person should move from that stage to identity achievement (crisis / commitment), in which one has faced a crisis of identity, worked through questions, and come to confidence and resolution (Evans et al., 2010). This is similar to the fifth stage of Erikson's (1959, 1980) eight stages of identity development, called identity versus identity diffusion (or confusion), in which "adolescents begin to develop their core sense of self, values, beliefs, and goals . . . . They may struggle with role confusion as they delineate between how others see them versus how they view themselves" (Evans et al., 2010, p. 50). Subsequently, a healthy process of identity development would seem to involve achieving that sense of personal, inner congruence between the different aspects of one's identity.

### **When PK Becomes College Student**

Tinto (1987) designed a model of students' departure from an institution, and the first part of his model discusses the three "pre-entry attributes" that students bring into a

higher education institution with them: family background, skills and abilities, and prior schooling. This conceptual framework speaks to the principle of “baggage” or prior experiences that shape how a person views the world and interprets interactions with other people, and which have great bearing on a person’s experiences in a new situation. This is generally true for every student entering higher education. For the PK, the first of Tinto’s pre-entry attributes—family background—is likely to be the most relevant, so focusing on it particularly highlights the PK’s situation of entering college.

The crux of Tinto’s model is “institutional experiences,” referring to both the academic and social systems. The life experiences and characteristics that students bring into college and the experiences they have while in college will together, along with the goals and commitments that they and the institution have, shape what they take with them out of college (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991).

As Erikson (1968), Chickering (1969), Jung (1982), and Tinto (1987) all say in different ways, the process of forming one’s identity is ongoing, but the college years are a major phase of this formation. What college students bring with them into college impacts what their experience is like in college, including the experience of figuring out and working through their individual identity. It is clear that while pastors’ kids experience a similar process of identity development to all other college students, the unique background and experiences from their past shape how they enter this process.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology**

#### **Research Design**

The present study utilized a qualitative phenomenological design. Phenomenology is a type of qualitative research which “seeks to understand a person’s perspectives as [they] experience and understand an event” (Leedy, 1997, p. 161). The design fit this study well because it allowed participants’ individual and personal stories to be told. “A researcher applying phenomenology is concerned with the lived experiences of the people” (Groenewald, 2004, p. 5). Thus, the essence of the participants’ experiences was to be heard and understood through the results of the research. As Baxter Magolda stated, “Students seldom have the opportunity to tell their stories...[yet] students telling stories benefits both the students and those wishing to learn more about them” (as quoted in Blimling, Whitt, & Associates 1999, p. 107).

#### **Context**

The research for this study was conducted at a coeducational, interdenominational, Christian liberal arts college in the Midwest. At the time of the study, the institution had an undergraduate population of approximately 2,000 students, the majority of whom were traditionally-aged and lived in campus housing. There was a minor gender imbalance, with just over half of the students being female (56%). Approximately five percent of the students were classified as pastors’ kids.

## **Participants**

This study investigated the experiences of traditional pastors' kids (PKs) as college students. The participants in this study included nine PKs aged 18 to 24 years old, and currently enrolled as undergraduates. In order to fully understand the experiences of the participants (and therefore, some of what they brought into college), their backgrounds were described. Out of nine participants, five were females and four were males. Three were freshman and four seniors; the remaining included one sophomore and one junior. All participants had been pastors' kids for the majority of their lives and for all, their father served as the pastor. Three of the participants came from churches with membership or regular attendance numbers being one thousand people or higher, and five came from churches of three hundred people or smaller. Five had been part of at least two churches (and so made at least one move) while growing up, prior to college; the highest number of churches represented by a single participant was six. The other four participants had grown up in a single church.

## **Procedure**

As Groenewald (2004) explained, in phenomenological research, the phenomenon or experience being researched determines the method and procedure, as they have to be compatible. This study was primarily completed through one-on-one interviews with each participant, which is a common form of data collection in phenomenological research (Groenewald, 2004; Wimpenny & Gass, 2000). A pilot interview was held prior to interviews with the actual participants in order to aid in developing the protocol. The latter participants were identified by purposive sampling with the aid of the University Relations office at the research institution, after Institutional Review Board (IRB)



approval. A request to participate in the study was sent via email (see Appendix A), and those who agreed reviewed and signed the research participant consent form. This provided them with a brief explanation of the research, as well as the voluntary nature of their participation, the potential risk and benefits to them of the research, and the study's commitment to protect their confidentiality (Groenewald, 2004). The interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded, and member checked. In addition, to protect the identity of the participants, each participant was assigned an alias.

### **Instruments / Measures**

Each interview was intended to last approximately one hour. It was semi-structured, utilizing protocol questions (see Appendix B), allowing for the freedom to respond to a participant's comments or ask for clarification. These questions were structured to answer the research question by attempting to gauge how much processing participants had already done about their background as a PK and how that had impacted their growth in college and to elicit participants' feelings about the form of their own identity development in college.

### **Data Explicitation**

Finally, the findings from the interviews were compiled and analyzed to find overarching themes. The term *explicitation* is being used in place of *analysis* because, as Hycner (1999) explained, "analysis usually means a 'breaking into parts' and therefore often means a loss of the whole phenomenon...[whereas 'explicitation' implies an]...investigation of the constituents of the phenomenon while keeping the context of the whole" (p. 161).

## **Chapter 4**

### **Results**

The results of this study are presented in the major themes that emerged from the interviews conducted with the nine participants. Through the phenomenological approach, the participants were given space to express the essence of their experiences and the forming of their identity. Three major themes are discussed below—the faith development of PKs, their relationship with their fathers, and the positive and negative aspects of their experiences, along with corresponding sub-themes. Sub-themes are underlying issues that were not discussed directly but emerged in several participant interviews. It should be noted that while not all participants experienced the exact same circumstances and emotions, there were a number of general similarities.

#### **Faith Development**

As noted earlier, faith development is an aspect of identity formation that may be more noteworthy in the life of pastors' kids, due to how much of their lives is spent in and around ministry. Six out of nine participants discussed the development of their faith and learning to take ownership of it. For many of them, it was a key maturing process which began in high school. Coming to college was a further catalyst for spiritual growth. One of the participants, Trent, said:

I think the biggest thing was for me to come here and to take time to educate myself and think about my faith on a personal level. It's not that I had my parents' faith, it's that everything I learned, I learned from them. And now that I'm

here... talking with people who have different beliefs, not hugely different, we just think different ways. And it's been a lot for me to understand and refine where I come from and what I believe.

Abby also reflected on how coming to college forced her to take some ownership of her faith, as she could no longer rely on her parents for everything:

I think a lot of it was coming to college and realizing that, you know, I am an individual, I am my own person. And especially – I have to – find my own identity in Christ – because being a pastor's kid, you're always in the church... So it's automatically assumed you have a relationship with Christ. It's solid and it's great – eh, not really. So I think it's been... good to be away from my parents and – to realize that, you know, I do have my own identity in Christ, it's no longer part of my parents'.

Adam said he felt like it took him longer to come to the point of faith ownership due to his strong spiritual foundation:

It was really easy to piggyback off my parents' faith and like, 'cause I've always been in a really strong Christian home and it's – just something that we do as a family... And it took – me being able to own it and – I've definitely come to a place where it is my own faith and I know that... I think it took me a little bit longer than maybe other people – to be myself – have my own faith... it seemed like for a long time it was just – going through the motions and doing what I knew I was supposed to be doing, and I think it – was because I was a pastor's kid... So that was like a big part of my identity.

For all of the participants, leaving their parents' homes for college encouraged reflection and questioning which resulted in the strengthening of their convictions and faith.

Approximately half of the participants (five) mentioned finding or having found their identity in their father being a pastor, and four participants commented on learning to find their identity in God instead of in their family or in other aspects of their lives. This seemed to be the main aspect to their faith development. Haley said, "I have made my identity – a lot of different things growing up. One of them was my dad being a pastor of a big church...it's still hard to not find my identity in that." She continued by speaking of the long journey she had been on in an effort to find her true identity:

God was just stripping away my identity in the things...that I wasn't supposed to have my identity in. And, uh...I guess just as I've gotten older I've...realized what I've been finding my identity in that was faulty, and have been trying to strip that away, but also realizing that it's a lot harder than it sounds...just finding your identity in God, that's really hard when He's not tangibly there and this stuff is... I guess I've always held on pretty tightly to my identity in other things and so the only way that I've been able to get to not do that is when God [allows] me to go through – really difficult times...[He] continues this process until I finally—find my identity in Him alone. And...not let anything else define me.

Bethany spoke of encouragement she had recently received to consider herself as more than part of her family's ministry and how that statement provided startling insight:

My counselor was talking to me and she was just like, 'I feel like you kind of view your life as an extension of your dad's ministry and that you're just kind of a

part of him; you need to start viewing your life as a completely separate person... You can choose to not be a part of that.'

Haley found some resolution in where to look for the definition of her identity, saying, "I can't be finding myself by what other people think is cool... even though they all applaud me for doing that. But I don't want my applause from them, I want my applause from God." Bethany also spoke with a tone of resolution:

I'm not defined – as a pastor's kid. You know, that's definitely a part of me but not my definition... first and foremost, I'm not the daughter of a pastor, I'm the daughter of a King. And that's kind of how I've looked at my life for a while now is just that – I'm a daughter of a man, but I'm also a daughter of a great God.

Even in finding some resolution to their identity, participants expressed that faith development as an aspect of identity development is an ongoing process that is never truly complete (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991).

### **Relationship with Father**

Several of the participants talked about their relationship with their father and the role that it played in their lives. Although a few participants spoke broadly of their parents, more focused particularly on their father and the impact he had on them. As will be shown later, this impacts not only the relationship between a father and his children, but, for PKs, it also has the potential to make their experience a much better one than it might be otherwise.

**Father as spiritual leader.** Five participants spoke of the spiritual influence their dad had in their lives and how meaningful that was for them. Trent said:

Growing up I had a really solid, spiritual base to go off of. My dad, you know, he was the guy in the pulpit up there but he was also the one driving me home. So we heard a lot of his teachings and his beliefs at church and outside of and he's basically the foremost spiritual guide in my life.

Adam also spoke very appreciatively of his dad in a similar way:

I would never say he's my pastor, 'cause he was always my dad and he knew that and that was always his first – goal to be my dad, both in church and out of church... I still see him as a really awesome spiritual leader in my life. And just especially over these last couple years I've really grown a lot closer to him and been able to – appreciate his wisdom and stuff like that.

**Father as role model.** Four participants spoke of their dad as an important role model. Although role model may seem to go hand-in-hand with the role of spiritual leader, it emerged as a separate distinction for some participants. Holly said, "I'm realizing that I've always thought of my dad as a – really strong role model and authority figure, and I've always really respected him and I still do." Recently-married, Steven agreed when he expressed a desire to be the kind of father that his dad is: "So I think, I mean, just having that strong fatherly influence in my life...in a couple years I might be a dad and – I want to be a dad like my dad was." Two spoke specifically of their dad being a role model through his position of being a pastor. Trent said:

I think having my dad as a pastor has given me an example to look towards. My dad's a very personable person...And I look at that and try to find ways to emulate that care that he has for other people.

Adam said, “Overall [growing up as a PK has] definitely been positive because my dad’s great and I really look up to him.”

**Minor themes.** Two other themes emerged in this aspect of the relationship with the father that are minor due to infrequency of appearance, as only a few participants mentioned them; nevertheless, these themes appeared important to the participants and, therefore, worth discussing.

***Learning to disagree with father.*** Three participants related a process of learning to disagree with their parents on certain things and becoming okay with that. Considering that the father has a major role in the PK’s life, it was not easy for the participants to openly admit that they had reached disagreement with their father on certain issues. So for Bethany, it had been a significant aspect of growing up:

Sometimes I don’t like my dad and that’s okay, and sometimes I don’t agree with him and I don’t have to feel bad about that. I can be my own person and I can decide for myself what I think and I think I need to respect him but at the same time, making decisions for myself that will affect me... So that’s one thing that’s kind of shaped my identity as far as – I don’t agree with my parents on a lot of things... I haven’t really talked to them at all about the churches that I’ve been visiting. Not that they’re bad, it’s just not a conversation that I want to engage in yet...for me, I look at life more like a gray area, where my parents are more black and white.

The other two described an easier process that had not negatively impacted their relationships with their fathers. Holly spoke of how she had been working through

discovering more that there's – what I see as a lack of knowledge and a lack of diversity – in his life. And really thinking through what that means for his faith and our relationship, and what that will look like in the future... I think it's been a positive process. There aren't any hurt feelings or anything between my dad and I. At this point more of, okay, we're on different paths and we've both acknowledged that now... [For me, it is] sorting through what are my parents' good intentions but lack knowledge, and what is truth and – what do I want my life to be centered around, and what kind of decisions am I going to make based on those values?

*Importance of being present.* The topic of the importance of the father being present in a PK's life was also only addressed by two participants; however, it seemed significant and a noteworthy concern. For Steven, his father's presence shaped him positively:

Most of my life I really enjoyed [being a PK] because my dad would go to the church in the morning and we were homeschooled so we were at home all day. My dad would go to the church in the morning, he would come back in the afternoon and he would be there all afternoon...he spent a lot of time with us growing up, so I really liked that.

As noted previously, Steven hoped to model for his own children in the future the kind of father he had. Katie, however, wished that her parents had been more active in working through difficult circumstances together as a family, and she offered advice to other parents of PKs:



Pastors, [a] pastoral husband/wife pair, just need to watch how much their kids know and don't know, and be asking them questions about it 'cause my mom didn't know that these women were being rude to me—you know, 'cause what was I going to say as a kid?... So I think that just being more mindful, for pastor parents to – be more protective of their kids—not just keeping them from the situation but talk[ing] them through it.

Katie spoke more of unintentional neglect from ignorance, rather than parental absence. While it is important for all parents to be actively involved in their children's lives, the PK's family life is shaped so much by the public role in a church making parental support even more necessary. When major events occur within the church that affect the pastor's family, the parents need to be present, intentionally helping their children process what happened and their experience of it.

### **Positive and Negative Aspects of Being a PK**

Almost all of the participants (eight out of nine) stated that they considered having grown up as a pastor's kid to have been an overall positive experience, and they were eager to share their experiences. However, the majority agreed that there was also a negative side to being a PK. There are two positive and two negative aspects discussed, as well as the impact of stereotypes.

**Positive—Connection to church family.** The most prevalent positive aspect that emerged from six participants was the feeling of connection to their home church, like that of a big family. Haley said, "I had – a huge family growing up. I mean...my church family." Adam agreed: "I felt like part of the church and got to know a lot of people through my dad being a pastor and everything." Holly commented on the perks she

received as a PK: “There’s a lot of rewards from coming from that kind of background and a lot of extra attention, I guess. And extra gifts, extra prayers. Lots of people, I think, more willing to open up their lives and their homes, to me in particular, than other kids.”

**Positive—Influential parents.** Another positive aspect for five participants was the influence of their fathers. As Brandon said, “My parents have been the most influential people in my life.” Adam agreed when he spoke of his dad’s goal to always be a father first and then a pastor. As the participants stated that part of what made their experience as a PK positive was their strong relationship with their father, it was evident that, at least for over half the participants, this relationship had great potential to shape and enhance their role as a PK.

**Negative—Publicity of their lives.** On the other hand, four participants discussed a leading negative aspect of their background relating to how public their lives felt. Although this was addressed by fewer than half of the participants, the ones who mentioned it related this as a major part of their lives. Holly put it this way: “Extra attention is not always a good thing...[there was] always an awareness that people were watching me more closely than other kids my age.” Bethany said, “If I was to like screw up in any way...people would know about it.” Using a term mentioned in the literature on PKs (Lee, 1992; Lee & Balswick, 1989; Pond, 2000), Brandon agreed: “Sometimes I feel like I’m in a fishbowl...people are watching.”

Two of these four participants mentioned how much of a transition entering college had been for them, due to suddenly losing that publicity and having to learn how to stay involved. Holly continued her previous thought saying, “People would know my name before I even knew who they were, so that was definitely a switch coming [to

college]. So going to churches in the area and being [just] another college student, it was really good for me as well, but definitely a switch in learning how to be connected when I'm not necessarily the center of attention or expected to be everywhere all the time.” Steven said, “I think that that's been big coming to college and – kind of feeling like I'm not a PK anymore 'cause not everyone knows me because of my dad.”

**Negative—Pressure to be perfect.** Along with living in the public eye, there five participants also relayed the issue of living up to others' expectations, whether or not those expectations were explicitly stated. Bethany stated:

It's an unsaid pressure on us to be perfect... It's just always been there and, I mean, my parents have told me multiple times 'You don't have to feel like you have to be perfect,' you know, but you do. That's just kind of the reality of it.

Adam discussed his inner struggle to figure out who he really was and live with integrity:

Being a PK...I've always had this thought that I have to be perfect and – had to put on this mask so that everyone knew or thought that I was perfect, because I felt like I had to be... And then also just like the little jokes that people, like, 'Oh you're a PK, you shouldn't be doing that.' ...So that all developed into – a struggle to really be myself around people. And I – would – live in two different worlds, wherever I was, I was whoever they wanted me to be.

Dealing with external expectations impacted the way PKs develop friendships at college too, as seen through Bethany's experience. For her, it was a welcome relief to meet people who had no connection to her family or her church and so did not have higher expectations of her than others her age: “These new friends that I've made here at

college, they don't know my family at all and that's been one of the greatest things - that I don't have to perform for my friends."

**Positive and negative stereotypes of PKs.** Four participants spoke of a knowledge of the common stereotypes of pastors' kids and how those stereotypes impacted (or in one case, did not impact) them. Haley discussed her process of learning to work past others' interpretations of her behavior:

Because they all thought I was goody-two-shoes, I wanted to prove to them that I wasn't. So I started, like, sophomore year – of high school, rebelling in my own way ...just doing stupid things...it was just my own form of rebellion. But I got a lot of pride in when I'd tell people those things and they'd be like, 'I can't believe you're doing that! I thought you were goody-two-shoes' and I'd be like, 'No, I'm not. I'm just like you!' And so I had to really work through finding my pride in that.

Trent, on the other hand, said that he had not felt any increased expectations on him as the pastor's son: "There wasn't, you know, a stigma attached to me or anything like that."

In summary, the results highlighted three major themes from the lives of pastors' kids relating to their experiences of growing up and how these impacted them in college. The first theme was the uniqueness of their faith development, with the key aspect being learning to find their true identity that was not based on others' opinions. The second theme was the importance of a positive relationship with their fathers, both as a spiritual leader and a role model in their lives. Two minor aspects of learning to disagree well with their fathers and presence of their fathers in the PKs' lives. Finally, the third theme was the positive and negative aspects of the life of a PK. The primary positive aspects

included the PK's connection to a church family and having influential parents, while the primary negative aspects centered on the publicity of a PK's life and feeling pressure to be perfect.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Discussion**

The following discussion unpacks the essence of the three themes described above—PKs’ faith development, relationship with their fathers, and positive and negative aspects of their background—as well as their sub-themes. In addition, an exploration of the implications of the themes and how they relate to the existing literature and practices in college student development follows. The chapter concludes with implications for both practitioners and researchers.

### **Review of the Results**

**Faith development.** Faith development was defined above as the internalization of and commitment to religious beliefs, after careful questioning and examination (Beers, 2003; Fowler, 1994; Ryan, Rigby, & King, 1993; Welch & Mellberg, 2008). The college years are a critical time for this internalization, according to Fowler’s (1994) stages of faith development. It is in the transition “from stage 3 [synthetic-conventional faith] to stage 4 [individuative-reflective faith]” that PKs find themselves beginning “to take seriously the burden of responsibility for [their] own commitments, lifestyle, beliefs, and attitudes” (Fowler, p. 361). Fowler describes this transition between stages as an “often painful process of giving up one’s familiar and comfortable ways of making meaning and sustaining commitment” (p. 357).

As noted earlier, faith development is an aspect of identity formation that is seen to be significant for everyone, but especially for a pastor's kid. Adam summed it up this way:

I think it took me a little bit longer than maybe other people...to be myself, have my own faith...it seemed like for a long time it was just – going through the motions and doing what I knew I was supposed to be doing, and I think it was [mostly] because I was a pastor's kid...So that was like a big part of my identity.

The other participants also discussed learning to take ownership of their faith and growing in spiritual maturity. As Lee (1992) stated about identity in young adult years:

Adolescents [and college-aged adults] are struggling to make sense of the variety of their childhood experiences, to pull them together into a meaningful...coherent sense of self-identity... For some PKs, the development of self-identity is not completed until later, when they have left the church environment. (pp. 19, 21)

For many participants, faith identity and development started during their high school years as they began questioning what they had previously taken for granted or not understood. Coming to college and experiencing a greater independence strengthened that identity commitment because they were actually removed from their home environment.

Some participants also commented on learning to place their identity in their relationship with God above anything or anyone else, even instead of in their parents or their role in the church. This is a process that all emerging adults have to undergo but which is challenging for many PKs, having a strong, prior sense of identity in who their father is or how other people view them.

**Relationship with father.** As several of the participants discussed, their relationships with their fathers were influential to their personal identity formation. If their father was present, a strong role model, and spiritual leader, then their experience as a PK was more likely to be positive, with the negative aspects easier to ignore (Lee, 1992). Adam explained such an experience:

I think for a long time what kept me stuck in the PK identity is, like, I really didn't want to disappoint my dad especially since he was a pastor... And that night I just was able to sit down with my dad and for the first time be really – honest and vulnerable with him and just, like, tell him things that were going on in my life that he didn't know about; and I think that was really huge – because once I realized that he didn't – have these really high expectations that I thought that everyone had for me, that helped me to realize that – God didn't have these really special expectations for me because I'm a pastor's kid.

Some PKs need to discover that there is more to who they are than the expectations they feel from their childhood congregations.

In transitioning into college, it is also important for the PK to become independent from his or her family and learn to make his or her own decisions, from faith to daily living. Abby noted the moment in which she realized, “okay, you need to be your own person now. Stop relying so much on your parents.” While making these decisions and establishing their opinions and beliefs, there may be some level of disagreement with their fathers (or with both parents) and finding peace in the midst of that is essential to maintaining a strong relationship with their parents. As Holly said, “I think it's been a



positive process. There aren't any hurt feelings or anything between my dad and I. At this point more of, okay, we're on different paths and we've both acknowledged that now."

**Positive and negative aspects of being a PK.** The majority of the participants considered their experience of growing up as pastors' kids as positive overall, primarily due to finding connection and involvement with their church families and to influential relationships with their fathers. A few participants spoke of their church as a big family and some of their closest friends. Additionally, as stated previously, a supportive and strong relationship between PKs and their fathers can be one of the most positive aspects of growing up in these unique circumstances and can help to overcome some of the negative aspects.

While PKs attend college, it is important to find new connections with the people around them. Brandon mentioned two men that had been investing in him and how affirming that had been:

There's one professor that I really respect here [who has had] some good conversations with me. Also, the associate pastor – at the church I'm attending has taken me to lunch a couple times; and both of those I've been able to ask questions – and also consider things in a new light.

Alongside the positive aspects, there are also strong disadvantages and potential harm from living such a public life and having an intimate acquaintance with the less-pleasant sides of the church. Erikson (1968) said, "The young person, in order to experience wholeness, must feel a progressive continuity between...that which he conceives himself to be and that which he perceives others to see in him and expect of

him” (p. 87). If there is little continuity between self-perception and others’ perceptions for the PK, he or she will need support to find reconciliation.

Although the latter negative issue of how much a PK knows about the inner workings of the church was specifically discussed by only two participants, these two gave an additional, valuable insight into the experience of PKs. Brandon stated, “As a pastor’s kid, you see the underbelly of the church a lot more than what the average person would look at.” Katie said, in this insight into herself, “I just don’t remember ever liking [being a PK] because...I think I just knew too much of what was going on... I know that I struggle with authority figures because in the church, [I’ve] just seen a lot of authority figures not act appropriately.” Negative experiences (as with positive ones) can greatly impact the way someone views the world.

Now looking back at the questions that guided the study, characteristics of healthy identity development for pastors’ kids while in college include the following: the PK discovered his or her true identity and did not base it on others’ opinions or judgments; the PK learned independence from the father’s role in the church but maintained a strong, positive relationship with him; the PK was able to comfortably transition into the decreased publicity of college and successfully find a new church home; and the PK connected with people who support and affirm his or her identity.

On the other hand, challenges to a healthy identity development that pastors’ kids may face in college include: a loss of “sense of self” (Erikson, 1968) in the transition into college; maintaining childhood expectations that he or she as a PK had to be perfect; conflict in the PK’s relationship with his or her father while learning to make independent

decisions; feeling lost in questions of identity and faith; and a perceived inability to find a new church home in which the PK felt comfortable and accepted.

### **Implications for Practice**

The findings of the present study uncovered some things that would be helpful for professionals in higher education to know and consider, especially those working in the area of student development. One issue is the process for the PK of finding his or her true identity. As participants spoke of a recognition that they had or perhaps still found identity through their dad being a pastor, a comparison can be drawn to those people who are heavily involved in leadership activities, sports, or various other things while growing up and then experience a perceived loss of identity when they come to college, as in Tinto's model (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Examining the heightened religious background of a PK, student development professionals should seek to understand this crisis and how to encourage these students to establish their true identity, as the participants spoke of rooting their identity in God more than in other things. When these professionals find themselves in conversations with PKs, they should ask good questions to find out how much faith already means to these students and what questions they are asking about their faith. Considering the two stereotypes of PKs, those of *saint* and *rebel* (Bayer, Kent, & Dutton, 1972), some students may find themselves wandering toward one or another of these extremes, not wanting to be considered the other.

As Chickering (1969) stated that sociocultural challenges or crises cause growth, it is in these challenges that PKs can learn who they really are and make the decisions that will carry them through the rest of their lives. In the midst of such crises, it is important and beneficial for PKs to be reminded that their worth is not based on what

others think of them, either positively or negatively, especially during their first year or two transitioning into college from their home church.

PKs may also experience some difficulty learning to separate themselves from their family's ministry, as family values and expectations may remain a strong influence even after leaving home (Adams, Berzonsky, & Keating, 2006), especially if the PK was involved in the church ministry. Bethany discovered that for herself:

Even – with careers – I just always [thought] I would be involved in some way with the church... [but now] knowing that I have the freedom to not do that. I can work in a hospital if I wanted or I can be a teacher and that'd be perfectly okay.

Higher education professionals can embolden PKs to discover their own callings, pointing out their particular gifts and talents and the things they are involved in outside of ministry, as not all are called into vocational ministry.

A few of the participants mentioned how much of a transition entering college had been because of suddenly not being known by the local congregation or being familiar with the leadership of the church. When asked about trying to find a new church while at college, Holly said:

So going to churches in the area and being another college student, it was really good for me – but definitely a switch in learning how to be connected when I'm not necessarily the center of attention or expected to be everywhere all the time.

Katie expressed her frustration with this transition, "It's been really difficult, going from being so on the inside to just then being someone in the congregation and not knowing what's going on." Although nearly every entering freshman experiences various challenges that are part of transitioning into college, this particular issue is a unique

difficulty for pastors' kids. Being surrounded every year by students navigating the transition from high school to college, student development professionals find that some students make the transition much more smoothly than others. When they are aware of the unique transition that PKs are making and its inherent challenges, these practitioners have the opportunity to be present in the midst of the frustrations or confusion that some PKs may be feeling. Giving these students space to share their stories and what coming to college has looked like for them may itself be cathartic. PKs need people around them who will seek to understand their unique perspective and not presume to interpret their behavior by the role they had growing up. When in conversations with PKs, student development professionals should try to bear in mind the unique challenges PKs might have experienced growing up and that they may be trying to reconcile their previous identity with their new environment. At the same time, they should give the PK the freedom to be his or her own person and recognize his or her own story without being held to the identity of a PK.

Developing new friendships can be just as important for this transition and establishment of identity. As seen through Bethany, some PKs will look for friendships in college that are very different from their childhood church friends, and this could be a very welcome change for them: "I've definitely made some friends here that I wouldn't have expected to. Friends that I never would have had back home, but it's been so good... I don't need to have the exact same friends that I did – in my church." She also spoke of "another girl that's a sophomore and – we've had really similar lives, she's a PK as well and just working through that together. She's just a little bit farther ahead than I am." It could be very helpful for some to be connected with other PKs who have gone

through similar experiences and can relate to what they are thinking and feeling. Student development professionals could implement this formally or informally, through targeted programming or casual introductions.

### **Implications for Research**

As the research presented here is a preliminary study on the topic of pastors' kids in college, subsequent studies should be developed to create a broader literature base and richer understanding of the PK experience in college. Although in this case, the qualitative method and phenomenological type were most suitable for uncovering a depth of experience and a less-structured discussion on identity, a quantitative study could further explore other aspects of this topic.

A future study could dig deeper into the interactions with others that pastors' kids have in the college environment. While this study could not investigate what types of friend groups PKs are likely to develop or where they look for mentoring or support while in college, a couple participants did speak of having a friend who was a fellow PK and how beneficial it was for them to process through their experiences together. This PK friendship experience could be explored further, whether quantitatively or qualitatively, to find how common and beneficial it is.

In addition, it may be valuable to investigate through research what type of campus programming, if any, would be appealing and valuable to PKs in their processing of identity and transitioning into the college environment, or if simply the opportunity to meet and connect with other PKs on campus would meet that need.

## **Limitations**

There were four limitations present in this study, the first being a limitation of all qualitative research—that it was conducted by researchers. No one conducting research and interpreting it can entirely maintain the purity of the study. There was also room for personal bias and a certain level of emotional connection in this particular study, as the researcher grew up as a pastor's kid. The researcher acknowledged this as a perceived limitation and attempted to eliminate bias through member-checking, remaining open to any findings that would proceed from the research, and by conferring with the study supervisor. A third limitation was that the research was conducted with nine participants with varying maturity levels, depths of insight, and articulation capability. A fourth and final limitation was that, as noted previously, research on PKs in college is in its infancy and so this study did not have a broad knowledge base from which to proceed.

## **Conclusion**

Pastors' kids have a unique childhood background with its own benefits and challenges. As they transition from their parents' home and church into college, they enter a crucial time of questioning their faith and establishing their identity, having been removed from the strong spiritual environment in which they grew up and the watching eyes of their home congregation. While this may not be a comfortable time for all, it is important that PKs progressively work through those questions while maintaining a strong relationship with their parents. Higher education professionals will find it valuable to seek to understand the transition that PKs are making and to challenge them to find a true foundation in how God sees them and who He is calling them to be.

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## Appendix A

### Initial Participant Contact

Hello \_\_\_\_\_,

My name is Janette DeLozier and I am a student in the Master of Arts in Higher Education and Student Development program at Taylor University. I am currently undertaking a small scale research project on the identity development of pastors' kids (PKs) during college, and I was wondering if you would be willing to be interviewed, at a time and place convenient to you, as part of that research. The interview should take no more than 60 minutes.

Before you agree to the interview I can confirm that:

- The Dean of the MAHE program has given permission for this research to be carried out.
- With your permission, the interview will be recorded.
- A transcript of the interview will be sent to you after the interview.
- Your confidentiality will be maintained at all times and no comments will be ascribed to you by name in any written document or verbal presentation. Nor will any data be used from the interview that might identify you to a third party.
- You will be free to withdraw from the research at any time and/or request that your transcript not be used.
- A copy of the interview questions will be sent to you prior to the interview.
- I will write to you on completion of the research and a copy of my final research report will be made available to you upon request.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to help me with my research. If you have any questions concerning the nature of the research or are unclear about the extent of your involvement in it please contact me at [janette\\_delozier@taylor.edu](mailto:janette_delozier@taylor.edu) or the faculty sponsor, Scott Gaier, at [scgaier@taylor.edu](mailto:scgaier@taylor.edu). If you have questions about your rights as a participant, please contact Edwin Welch and the Institutional Review Board at 756-998-4315 or [edwelch@taylor.edu](mailto:edwelch@taylor.edu).

Finally, thank you for taking the time to consider my request and I look forward to your reply.

Janette DeLozier

## **Appendix B**

### **Protocol**

- How long have you been a pastor's kid?
- What type(s) of churches did you grow up in?
  - Denomination? Size? Dynamics? Single pastor/pastoral team?
- Was growing up as a PK overall a primarily positive or negative experience for you?
  - If overall positive, what kinds of experiences made it so for you?
  - If overall negative, what kinds of experiences made it so for you?
- In beginning college, are you still attending your parents' church or did you move away from the area?
  - If you are not close enough to attend your home church, how easy has it been/was it for you to find another church to attend while at college?
  - Is the church you're attending now in the same denomination/affiliation as your home church? If not, how do you feel about that?
  - If you still attend your family's church while in college, what has that experience been like?
- How were other aspects of your transition to college?
  - Peer groups—getting to know new people and finding close friends
  - Authority figures—finding trustworthy mentor figures who can come alongside you in challenging circumstances
- What have been the main aspects to the process of figuring out who you are and becoming an adult, separate from your family?
  - What aspects of identity have been most relevant or significant to you?
  - What aspect has been the biggest challenge for you?
- Do you know if being a PK [has] impacted your identity development during college?
  - If so, in what way(s)?
- What events have helped you to process through your identity and background as a PK?
- Are there people at college who have helped you process through that?
  - If so, who were they (their relationship to you, etc.)?
  - If not, who would you have wanted to be part of that processing?

