

# Values of Winnipeg Adolescents in Mennonite & Catholic Schools

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## THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The present study compares the basic values and concerns of Mennonite, Evangelical, Catholic, and other students attending religious private schools<sup>1</sup>. Even though religious schools have been established for the explicit purpose of transmitting religious beliefs, practices, attitudes and values to the young (e.g., Denys, 1972:160; Francis & Egan, 1990; Friesen, 1983:133), there have been only a few studies of the "non-academic effects" of religious schools (e.g., Guerra, Donahue, and Benson, 1990; Kraybill, 1978). In an earlier study comparing students in Catholic and Mennonite high schools, Schludermann and Schludermann (1990) found that Mennonite students were much more strongly committed to traditional Christian beliefs and practices than were Catholic students. The present study attempts to determine as to whether differences in religious commitments are also associated with significant differences in basic values.

Like many other religious-minority groups with distinctive beliefs and values, Mennonites and Catholics face the problem of transmitting their beliefs and values to the next generation. Redekop and Hostetler (1964:80) have pointed out (1) that education is universally regarded as an instrument for the transmission of culture and values and (2) that many Anabaptist groups have

therefore made use of "educational efforts" to maintain a way of life in keeping with their belief system and their values. Guerra, Donahue, and Benson (1990:10) characterize the Catholic school as "a functional community... of people who share a world-view and seek to pass this world-view on to the next generation".

In their survey of studies of Catholic schooling, Guerra, Donahue, and Benson (1990:14) pointed out that while most studies have focused on academic school impacts (e.g., Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993), research concerning nonacademic effects (i.e., attitudes, beliefs and behaviors) of Catholic high schools has been relatively sparse (e.g., Francis & Egan, 1990). They found that compared to public-schools Catholics, Catholic-schools students (1) rated religion as being more important, (2) had more positive attitudes about education, human relationships (e.g. family) and concern for others, (3) and engaged less in some at-risk behaviors (e.g., smoking and drug use). Kraybill (1978) provided a comparative overview of the few studies of the effects of Mennonite schooling. The studies surveyed suggested that Mennonite schooling (1) had little effect on doctrinal orthodoxy and religious practice (p. 39), but (2) that it promoted attitudes of Anabaptist distinctiveness, nonresistance, and nonconformity to the outside society.

Spates' (1983) historical survey of social-science studies of values documented the fact that many social scientists (e.g., Kluckhohn, Parsons) have regarded values as being very important determinants of human behavior. Rokeach (1973:11) defines a "value" as an enduring belief that a specific goal or a specific mode of behavior is preferable to its opposite. "Terminal" values (e.g., friendship, success) refer to preferred goals, while "instrumental" values (e.g., honesty, intelligence) refer to preferred modes of behavior for reaching the goals. Instrumental values may be classified into competence values and moral values. The violation of "competence" values (e.g., intelligence, imagination) leads to shame about incompetence, while the violation of "moral" values (e.g., honesty, reliability) leads to guilt about wrong doing. A "value system" is an enduring rank order of values along a continuum of relative importance (priorities, hierarchy). Rokeach also documented that basic values determine specific attitudes (e.g., political, pacifism, pro-family, anti-religious), specific beliefs, as well as behaviors. Rokeach (1973:3) outlines his postulates about the nature of values as follows:

"(1) The total number of values a person possesses is relatively small; (2) all men everywhere possess the same values to different degrees; (3) values are organized into value systems [value priorities]; (4) the antecedents of human values can be traced to culture, society, and its institutions and personalities; (5) the consequences of human values will be manifested in virtually all phenomena that social scientists might consider worth investigating and understanding."

Research on adult samples (e.g., Bredfeldt, 1991; Miller, 1976; Rokeach, 1973) revealed the existence of distinctive value systems for different religious groups, as well as differences in value systems between religious and nonreligious

people. For instance, a comparison of religious and nonreligious adults indicated that the religious group ranked moral instrumental values higher, while the nonreligious group ranked competence values higher.

Even though this study focuses on religious schooling and values, one must remember that the challenges ("developmental tasks") which adolescents face also affect their value system (Feather, 1980:254-255). Feather theorized that some values would be especially prominent during adolescence: achieving freedom and true friendship (terminal) and being honest and responsible (instrumental). Feather (1980:255-256) also theorized that differing developmental tasks of adolescent boys and girls would result in some gender differences in value systems. Therefore, in a comparison of boys and girls, one would predict that values related to achievement (e.g., success) and freedom would be more prominent in boys and values related to intimate relationships (e.g., honesty) would be more prominent in girls (Feather, 1980:272-273).

The Project Teen Canada (Bibby and Posterski, 1985; Posterski, 1985) was the first nation-wide survey of Canadian adolescents (ages 15 to 19 years). As part of their survey, the authors selected from Rokeach's set of basic values those terminal and instrumental values which were of special concern to adolescents. In addition, the survey also studied the adolescents' concerns with world-view questions. Posterski (1985:27-35) reported on the values of active and inactive members of major religious groups. The great majority of adolescents participating in the Project Teen Canada attended public schools. The survey did not report as to whether the value system(s) of students attending religious private schools was/were distinctive from those of other Canadian adolescents. However, Bredfeldt (1991) administered the Teen-Canada questionnaire to students entering Canadian Bible colleges and found that the value system of such students were quite different from those of the Teen-Canada sample. There is thus little information about the value system(s) of students attending religious private schools.

It is important for religious educators to understand the value system of their students. The value system of high-school students may be modified by religious schooling. However, the value system which adolescents bring into the religious schools may be incompatible with the schools' educational goals (e.g., Getzels, 1957) and may thereby reduce the effectiveness of religious education. Moreover, Feather (1975:70-81; 1980:276) found that students who perceived a discrepancy between their own and that of their school's value systems tended to be more dissatisfied with their school than were students who perceived a similarity between their own and their school's value systems. According to their mission statements, the Catholic and Mennonite schools agree to promote caring and responsible attitudes to serve others, rather than the promotion of individualism and self advancement.

The present study was designed to study the value system of religious-school administrators and the values and concerns of students attending religious private schools in Winnipeg. The value system of administrators was compared

with that of religious-school students and Teen-Canada students. The values and concerns selected for study were very similar to those studied by the Project Teen Canada. The present study differed from most studies of Mennonite and Catholic education, in so far as it compared Mennonite students with other students attending Mennonite schools and also with students attending Catholic schools.

## RESEARCH METHOD

### *The Sample*

A sample of about 1980 junior- and senior-high-school students (906 boys, 1074 girls, grades 7 to 12) anonymously completed the Research Questionnaire during regular class hours<sup>2</sup>. In addition to the Research Questionnaire, the students also completed a Demographic Form. Here, the students were not asked to give their names, but were asked to indicate their school, grade, gender, birth date, denomination, and the congregation/parish they worshipped in. The information on the Demographic Form was then used to subdivide the sample into the following Religious Groups:

- (1) Among the 325 churchgoing Mennonites in Mennonite Schools, about two thirds were Mennonite Brethren with the remainder being Conference of Mennonites and a few other Mennonites.
  - (2) The 170 churchgoing Evangelicals in Mennonite Schools came from several denominations: 29% of this group were Baptists, 19% came from independent congregations, 16% were Christian Reformed, and most of the remainder came from other Evangelical groups.
  - (3) Most of the 1099 churchgoing Catholics in Catholic Schools were Roman Catholics; about 10% were Ukrainian Catholics.
  - (4) Among the 161 churchgoing Other Christians in Catholic Schools, 31% were Anglicans, 25% were Orthodox Christians, 16% were Lutherans, 10% were from the United Church, and the remaining students came from a wide variety of religious backgrounds.
  - (5) The 211 Unchurched students attended either Mennonite or Catholic schools, but stated on the Demographic Form either
    - (a) that they had no religion or
    - (b) that they did not attend any worship services.
  - (6) There were 14 students from Nonchristian faiths (Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs etc.) who attended either Mennonite or Catholic schools.
- A group of 15 (7 Mennonite, 8 Catholic) religious-school administrators (i.e., principals and vice-principals, directors, superintendents) who made

policy decisions in schools were asked to rank order the importance of the above-mentioned Terminal and Instrumental values which should be transmitted to students by their schools.

### *The Questionnaire*

The Research Questionnaire asked students about their endorsement of Terminal Values and Instrumental Values as well as their preoccupation with World-View Questions. The Questionnaire items were selected from a much larger questionnaire used by Bibby and Posterski (1985) and Posterski (1985) in the Project Teen Canada.

The students were asked about the extent of their endorsement<sup>3</sup> of the following eight Terminal Values: "success", "friendship", "a comfortable life", "being loved", "freedom", "family life", "privacy", and "excitement". They were also asked to indicate their endorsement of the following six Instrumental Values: "honesty", "imagination", "politeness", "reliability", "working hard", and "intelligence".

The students were also asked about how much<sup>4</sup> they thought about six World-View Questions: "What happens after death?", "Why there is suffering in the world?", "How can I find real happiness in the world?", "Is there a God or supreme Being?", "What is the purpose of life?", and "How did the world come into being?"

## ANALYSES AND RESULTS

### *Terminal and Instrumental Values*

The percentage of students rating the Terminal and Instrumental Values as "very important" are listed in Tables I and III respectively. The tables present the results for All Students, All Boys, All Girls and five Religious Groups. The values are rank ordered in terms of their degree of endorsement.

Inspection of Table I on Terminal Values suggests few substantial Group differences. The rank order of values (value system) is very similar between Groups suggesting that most students regardless of gender or Religious Group agreed about the relative importance of given Terminal Values. Students of both genders and of all Religious Groups valued intimate personal relationships ("being loved", "friendship") most. "Freedom" was highly valued by more than half of the students. The high endorsement of these values seems to reflect some concerns (developmental tasks) which are highly salient to all adolescents: (a) the search for fidelity and intimacy and (b) achievement of freedom to be oneself (Feather, 1980:254-255). In contrast, "family life" was endorsed by less than half of the students. Finally, "privacy", "success", "excitement" and "a comfortable life" were "very important" to only about a third of the students.

**TABLE I**  
**RATING OF TERMINAL VALUES**

Percentage of students regarding these values "very important":

	All Stud.	All Boys	All Girls	<u>Mennon. Schools</u>		<u>Cathol. Schools</u>	Unchurched	
	1980	906	1074	Menn.	Evang.	Cath.	Others	
Sample Size	1980	906	1074	325	170	1099	161	211
(1) Being loved.....	74%	<b>64%<sup>-</sup></b>	<b>82%<sup>*</sup></b>	78%	72%	75%	75%	66%
(2) Friendship.....	71%	63%	<b>78%<sup>*</sup></b>	<b>81%<sup>+</sup></b>	72%	70%	70%	62%
(3) Freedom.....	61%	61%	60%	58%	61%	61%	58%	66%
(4) Family life.....	45%	38%	<b>51%<sup>*</sup></b>	49%	45%	45%	52%	36%
(5) Privacy.....	35%	32%	36%	35%	42%	33%	33%	36%
(6) Success.....	31%	<b>39%<sup>*</sup></b>	24%	22%	26%	33%	<b>41%<sup>+</sup></b>	32%
(7) Excitement.....	28%	33%	25%	33%	<b>38%<sup>+</sup></b>	27%	21%	27%
(8) Comfortable life	28%	30%	26%	24%	28%	28%	33%	27%

**Highlighting:**

**Religious Groups** when compared to the overall average (All Students):

+ group is 10 or more percent higher;

- group is 10 or more percent lower.

**Gender** differences: \* 10 or more percent higher than the other gender.

Table I also shows that there were few substantial Religious-Group differences in the endorsement of Terminal Values. More Mennonite students (81%) regarded "friendship" very important than did other churchgoing (about 70%) and Unchurched (62%) students. This finding might be explained in terms of the importance of "networking" and friendship patterns observed in the Mennonite community. Four of the eight Terminal Values showed substantial gender differences. As predicted (Feather, 1980:255-256), girls valued "being loved", "friendship", and "family life" to a much greater extent than did boys. On the other hand, boys valued "success" much more than did girls.

TABLE II  
RANK ORDER OF TERMINAL VALUES

Rank Order	3600 Can. Public-School Students	1980 Rel. Private-School Students	15 Rel. Schools Administrators
1	friendship	being loved	being loved
2	being loved	friendship	<b>family life</b>
3	freedom	freedom	friendship
4	<b>success</b>	<b>family life</b>	freedom
5	<b>comfort. life</b>	privacy	<b>success</b>
6	privacy	<b>success</b>	privacy
7	<b>family life</b>	excitement	<b>comfort. life</b>
8	excitement	<b>comfort. life</b>	excitement

**Rank-Order Correlations:**

Mennonite versus Catholic Administrators = 0.97;

Religious-Schools Administrators versus Religious-School Students = 0.88;

Religious-Schools Students versus Public-Schools Students = 0.69;

Religious-Schools Administrators versus Public-School Students = 0.57.

Table II compares the rank order of Terminal Values for the 3600 (mostly) public-school students of the Project Teen Canada, the 1980 religious-private-schools students of this study, and the 15 religious-schools administrators of this study. Rank-order correlation coefficients<sup>5</sup> were calculated to quantify the degree of agreement in value systems. For Terminal Values, the rank-order correlation between the average ranks of 7 Mennonite and 8 Catholic administrators was 0.97, suggesting that these two groups of administrators were in almost perfect agreement as to what values should be prioritized by their schools. There was a high level of agreement about the value priorities promoted by religious schools and the value priorities endorsed by religious-school students (rank-order correlation = 0.88). Administrators tended to value "family life"

**TABLE III**

**RATING OF INSTRUMENTAL VALUES**

Percentage of students regarding these values “**very important**”:

	All	All	All	<u>Mennon. Schools</u>		<u>Cathol. Schools</u>	Unchurched	
	Stud.	Boys	Girls	Menn.	Evang.	Cath.	Others	
Sample Size	1980	906	1074	325	170	1099	161	211
(1) Honesty.....	56%	42%	<b>68%*</b>	55%	48%	57%	60%	54%
(2) Reliability.....	42%	40%	44%	43%	45%	42%	46%	35%
(3) Working hard....	37%	36%	37%	33%	34%	38%	43%	30%
(4) Intelligence....	34%	35%	32%	30%	34%	34%	37%	32%
(5) Politeness.....	27%	22%	31%	26%	28%	27%	33%	24%
(6) Imagination.....	21%	23%	20%	18%	25%	21%	24%	25%

**Highlighting:**

**Religious Groups** when compared to the overall average (All Students):

+ group is 10 or more percent higher;

- group is 10 or more percent lower.

**Gender** differences: \* 10 or more percent higher than the other gender.



more than their students (ranks 2 versus 4). This finding may reflect that adolescents tend to strive for independence from their families, while religious groups (including their schools) tend to promote family togetherness. There was a moderate agreement in value priorities between the religious-school and public-school students (rank-order correlation = 0.69). Compared to public-school students, religious-school students valued "family life" more (ranks 7 versus 4), but valued "success" (ranks 4 versus 6) and "a comfortable life" (ranks 5 versus 8) much less. The value-priority differences between religious- and public-school students tend to reflect the value priorities of religious schools. Religious schools tend to promote the value of family life and deemphasize the individualistic (self-development) values of materialistic success.

Inspection of Table III on Instrumental Values shows very few group differences. Most students, regardless of gender or Religious Group, agreed about the relative importance of given Instrumental Values. "Honesty" was the most important Instrumental Value for all students. On the other hand, "politeness" and "imagination" were the least preferred values. There were no substantial Religious-Group differences in Instrumental Values. Gender differences were slight for five out of the six Instrumental Values. However, there was an obvious gender difference with respect to "honesty"; about 68% of All Girls rated "honesty" as "very important" compared to only 42% of All Boys. Such a gender difference may reflect differences in gender-role socialization where the importance of intimate personal relationships (where trust is an important prerequisite) is more emphasized for girls, while success (by any means) is more emphasized for boys.

**TABLE IV**  
RANK ORDER OF INSTRUMENTAL VALUES

Rank Order	3600 Can. Public-School Students	1980 Rel. Private-School Students	15 Rel. Schools Administrators
1	honesty	honesty	honesty
2	working hard	reliability	reliability
3	reliability	working hard	working hard
4	politeness	intelligence	intelligence
5	intelligence	politeness	politeness
6	imagination	imagination	imagination

**Rank-Order Correlations:**

Mennonite versus Catholic Administrators = 0.89;

Religious-Schools Administrators versus Religious-School Students = 1.00;

Religious-Schools Students versus Public-Schools Students = 0.89;

Religious-Schools Administrators versus Public-School Students = 0.89.

**TABLE V**  
**THINKING**

Percentage of students regarding these values “**very important**”:

	All	All	All	<u>Mennon. Schools</u>		<u>Cathol. Schools</u>	Unchurched	
	Stud.	Boys	Girls	Menn.	Evang.	Cath.	Others	
Sample Size	1980	906	1074	325	170	1099	161	211
(1) Honesty.....	56%	42%	<b>68%*</b>	55%	48%			
(1) Is there a God..	42%	44%	41%	37%	42%	44%	46%	43%
(2) Purpose of life.	40%	38%	42%	38%	38%	41%	43%	40%
(3) Finding happiness	38%	34%	42%	34%	32%	42%	37%	35%
(4) What after death	38%	35%	41%	38%	36%	39%	40%	32%
(5) Why suffering...	30%	23%	<b>36%*</b>	25%	28%	32%	30%	27%
(6) Origin of world.	29%	33%	26%	<b>19%-</b>	21%	33%	30%	31%

**Highlighting:**

**Religious Groups** when compared to the overall average (All Students):

+ group is 10 or more percent higher;

- group is 10 or more percent lower.

**Gender** differences: \* 10 or more percent higher than the other gender.

Table IV compares the rank order of Instrumental Values for the 3600 (mostly) public-school students of the Project Teen Canada, the 1980 religious-school students of this study, and the 15 religious-schools administrators. For Instrumental Values, the rank-order correlation between the average ranks of 7 Mennonite and 8 Catholic administrators was 0.89, suggesting that these two groups of administrators were in high agreement as to what values should be prioritized by their schools. The ranking of Instrumental Values by students from religious private schools was very similar to the ranking of the same values by the Teen-Canada adolescents (Bibby and Posterski, 1985:21). The rank-order correlation of the two rankings was .89. In general, most Canadian adolescents tended to rank moral values (e.g., honesty, reliability) more highly than they did competence values (e.g., intelligence, imagination). For Instrumental Values, there was perfect agreement between religious-schools administrators and religious-schools students.

#### *Thinking Patterns*

The students' thinking about World-View Questions is reported in Table V. Inspection of this table shows that less than half of the students thought "often" or "very often" about any of these questions. The two greatest concerns (about 40%) dealt with "Is there a God or Supreme Being?" and "What is the purpose of life?". On the other hand, students were least preoccupied (about 30%) with "Why is there suffering in the world?" and "How the world came into being?". The Project Teen Canada (Posterski, 1985:54) showed a quite different rank order of World-View Questions. The Teen-Canada adolescents were most concerned with "What happens after death?" (rank 1) and "Why is there suffering in the world?" (rank 2). They had relatively little concern with "What is the purpose of life?" (rank 5). Interestingly, both students from religious private schools and Teen-Canada adolescents thought least about "How the world came into being?" (ranked 6 by both groups). The rank-order correlation between religious-private-school students and the Teen-Canada adolescents was -.03, suggesting quite different priorities of concerns. Students from religious private schools tended to think most about "religious" issues (God, purpose), while Teen-Canada adolescents thought most about "existential" problems of life (death, suffering). Religious schools typically emphasize the importance of finding God's purpose for one's life and encourage students to think about this issue; public schools do not.

The results of this study showed only minor Religious-Group differences. There was only one substantial gender difference: 36% of All Girls thought "often" or "very often" about "Why is there suffering in the world?", compared to only 23% of the All Boys. Such a gender difference may reflect differences in gender-role socialization where compassion and sensitivity to the suffering of others tends to be associated with femininity, rather than with masculinity.

### *Consolidation of Variables*

Correlational cluster and factor analyses were used to group the individual items to form four meaningful scales:

(1) Personal-Relations scale: The endorsement of “friendship”, “being loved”, “family life”, “honesty”, “politeness”, “reliability”, and “working hard”.

(2) World-View scale: The six item scores dealing with World-View-Questions.

(3) Self-Development scale: Endorsement of “success”, of “a comfortable life”, and of “excitement”.

(4) Autonomy-Seeking scale: Endorsement of “freedom” and “privacy”.

The various statistical analyses of scale scores summarized and confirmed the trends suggested by item-based analyses: Religious-Group differences in Self-Development values were slight and statistically not significant. However, gender differences in Self-Development values were significant. Boys endorsed Self-Development values to a significantly greater extent than did girls. Neither Religious-Group nor gender differences in Autonomy Seeking were significant. Gender differences in valuing satisfactory Personal Relations were highly significant. Girls valued satisfactory Personal Relations to a substantially greater extent than did boys. Unchurched students valued Personal Relations less than church-going students, but church-going Religious Groups did not differ in their endorsement of Personal Relations values. Gender differences in concern with World-View Questions were insignificant. However, Religious-Group differences in thinking about World-View Questions were significant. Mennonite and Evangelical students tended to think significantly less about World-View Questions than the other three Religious Groups.

### *Summary of the Results*

(1) All students attending religious private schools tended to show a very similar hierarchy of Terminal Values. They were similar to Teen-Canada adolescents in valuing intimate personal relationships (being loved, friendship) most. They differed significantly from Teen-Canada adolescents by valuing family life more and by valuing success and a comfortable life less. The Terminal Values of religious-schools students reflected the values promoted by their schools.

(2) The hierarchy of Instrumental Values was very similar for all Religious Groups. The moral values of honesty and reliability were valued most and the competence values of intelligence, politeness and imagination were valued least. The Teen-Canada adolescents showed the same hierarchy of Instrumental Values.

(3) Of all Religious Groups, Mennonites placed the highest value on satisfactory personal relationships, especially friendship. Compared to the

Religious Groups with some religious commitment, Unchurched students valued satisfactory personal relationships least.

(4) All Religious Groups showed similar patterns of thinking about World-View Questions. They thought most about God and the purpose of life, and thought least about suffering and origin of the world. In contrast, Teen-Canada adolescents thought most about death and suffering. Mennonites and Evangelicals thought substantially less about World-View Questions (especially the origin of the world) than did students attending Catholic schools or Unchurched students.

(5) There were some major gender differences: Girls valued satisfactory Personal Relationships (especially, being loved, friendship, and honesty) much more than boys. Girls also thought more about the suffering in the world than did boys. On the other hand, boys endorsed Self-Development values (especially success) more than did girls.

## DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The present study investigated the Terminal and Instrumental Values and Thinking Patterns of Mennonite, Evangelical, Catholic and other adolescents studying in Mennonite and Catholic schools. Since religious schools regard values transmission to be an important educational goal, it is informative to compare the value systems endorsed by religious-schools administrators, by religious-school students, and by public-school students. This study found that the value system of religious-schools-students was much more similar to the system promoted by religious schools than to the system endorsed by public-school students. Compared to public-school students, religious-school students agreed with religious-school administrators in valuing family life more and valuing materialistic success less. The relatively high value of family life probably reflected the traditional teaching of both Catholics and Mennonites in favor of a stable family life and their opposition to relationships and practices weakening family life (e.g., divorce, premarital sex, cohabitation, abortion). The relatively low value of success and a comfortable life for religious-private-school students may reflect the emphasis of religious schools that service to others should take precedence over individual occupational success and a high standard of living.

Even though the results of this study support the view that religious schools promote a distinct value system in their students, they do not “prove” that the distinctive values held by religious-private-school students must be attributed to the impact of schools on students. Kraybill (1978:11-14) pointed out that it is virtually impossible to prove conclusively (i.e., to the exclusion of all possible alternative explanations) that the characteristics of religious-schools students represent the effects of the schools on their students. There are always other social influences which influence religious-schools students. For instance, parents usually select a religious school for their adolescents, because the

school's values agree with the parents' values. In addition, religious-private schools also enable a religious adolescent to have peers with similar values. It is, therefore, very difficult to disentangle the relative impact of parents, of friends and of schools on the adolescents' value formation.

Some values (being loved, friendship, freedom) were highly endorsed by both religious-private-school and public-school students (Bibby and Posterski, 1985:15). The Project Teen Canada emphasized that adolescents from all backgrounds highly valued the companionship of peers and the assurance that they mattered to someone. For adolescents in the process of establishing their sense of identity, freedom means to think one's own thoughts and to do one's own thing (called "emergence" by Bibby and Posterski, 1985:16). This study supports Feather's (1975, 1980) theoretical model relating the developmental tasks which all adolescents must face (e.g., achieving identity and intimacy) to the values highly endorsed by adolescents.

The study also revealed substantial gender differences in some values and scales. Compared to boys, girls endorsed more the values related to the maintenance of satisfactory Personal Relationships (especially, being loved, friendship, family life, and honesty), but endorsed Self-Development Values (especially success) less. According to Feather's (1980:255-256) theoretical model, such gender differences in values result from differing developmental tasks of adolescent boys (i.e., preparing for an occupation) and adolescent girls (i.e., developing identities through relationships with other people).

There were few Religious-Group differences in Terminal Values. The unusually high endorsement of friendship by Mennonite students constituted the only substantial exception to this pattern and deserves special comment. Some researchers on Mennonites (e.g., Driedger, 1988; Kauffman, 1977) have pointed to the importance of friendship, of endogamy and of net-work linkages as means of boundary maintenance. The high Mennonite scores on valuing satisfactory Personal Relations made sense in this context.

The religious-private-school students were very similar to Teen-Canada adolescents in their endorsement of Instrumental Values. Canadian adolescents from all backgrounds (Bibby and Posterski, 1985:21; Posterski, 1985:33) endorsed middle-class virtues (moral values) like honesty, hard work and reliability most and valued intellectual qualities (competence values) like intelligence and imagination least.

Mennonites are sometimes classified as being part of a larger religious category, that of conservative or Evangelical Protestants. It is, therefore, interesting to note the extent of similarity between Mennonites and Evangelical students in Mennonite schools. On most values (except friendship) and scales (except Personal Relations) Mennonite and Evangelical students were more similar to each other than they were to any other Religious Group. For instance, both groups from Mennonite schools thought much less about World-View Questions than other Religious Groups. This lack of reflection was probably not attributable to the educational program of Mennonite schools, but may reflect a

general characteristic of the wider conservative Evangelical community. Posterski (1985:54) reported that churchgoing Evangelicals from the Project Teen Canada (most of whom attended public schools) thought less about any of the World-View Questions (except suffering) than students from any other religious background.

In conclusion, this study suggested that some of the characteristics of Mennonite students in Mennonite schools were shared with most adolescents from the wider Canadian society (e.g., Instrumental Values), others tended to reflect general conservative Evangelical characteristics (e.g., low reflection about World-View Questions), and some values were uniquely prominent among Mennonites (e.g., friendship). Some values held by Mennonite students tended to reflect the influences of wider Canadian society, while other values were related to the transmission of concerns emphasized within the Mennonite community.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> An expanded version of this paper meant for social-science readers can be obtained by writing to the authors at the Department of Psychology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB, R3T 2N2. The longer paper contains an extensive review of the background literature, a fuller discussion of theoretical issues, and a more detailed documentation of the research design and the statistical methods of data analysis.

<sup>2</sup> The sample consisted of the student population of two coeducational Mennonite high schools (grades 7 to 12), of a Catholic girls' high school (grades 7 to 12), of a Catholic boys' high school (grades 9 to 12), of a coeducational Catholic high school (grades 9 to 12) and of the grade-7 and -8 students of eight coeducational Catholic primary schools. All of these schools are located in Winnipeg. The overall participation rate was 98%.

<sup>3</sup> Five response alternatives from 1= "not important," to 5= "very important."

<sup>4</sup> Five response alternatives from 1= "never," to 5= "very often."

<sup>5</sup> Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficient or rho measures the degree of agreement between two rankings. The value of the coefficient ranges from 1.00 representing perfect agreement to 0.00 representing no relationship.

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