

Monastery or Marketplace?: Changing Mennonite College/ Seminary Enrollments ¹

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John Yoder suggests that Mennonite schools often began as Bible Schools, designed as a buffered monastery model which fostered an alternative lifestyle and set of values to the larger society.² In the educational monastery Mennonite faith and life can be developed and expressed in a segregated enclavic social, intellectual and religious community where the presence and consciousness of God can be focused. However, no institutions can remain in isolation, so to be viable they develop relationships with the larger outside marketplace. Yoder concludes that with time schools tend to evolve toward a "...progressive opening of doors in the monastic walls that facilitate ease of movement in and out."³ Thus, the interface between monastery and marketplace expands.

Paul Toews has collected and edited essays which trace the birth, origins and changes that have occurred at Fresno College as it has moved from monastery to marketplace.⁴ In this paper we wish to present the Fresno model and select several key elements of the school community which have changed. Types of students who enroll, and their degree of commitment to the "collegium" or community of peers, will be examined so that we can do a comparison of sixteen Mennonite colleges and seminaries in North America. To manage a study of many schools comparatively, it is not possible to consider all the variables the Fresno scholars discussed, but we shall make a

selection of key variables to see whether there are important differences. To our knowledge such comparative work of Mennonite schools is limited. Hopefully others will expand the research and compare additional elements so that we can begin to see a larger whole.

Yoder's Monastery-Marketplace Model

Paul Toews' 1995 work offers eight articles written by faculty members of Fresno Pacific College to celebrate fifty years of Mennonite higher education in California. These essays trace the vision, origins, community development, prophetic mission and revisions of Mennonite schools from a monastery-like parochial Bible school education to graduate education in the marketplace as John Yoder aptly terms it.⁵

John Yoder traces three major strands clearly identifiable in the weaving of the Fresno model.⁶ The first strand began as the Pacific Bible Institute where a small group of Mennonite Brethren faculty and students focused on bible training for a more effective ministry to the church as ministers, youth workers, Christian educators and missionaries. The second focus "shifted to a more or less classical undergraduate curriculum within the context of a Christian community committed to an Anabaptist view of the church and the world as a paradigm through which to interpret the liberal arts".⁷ The third began in the 1960s as a strand where the focus shifted to serving society by developing education on a graduate level, involving pre-service, in-service and professional development programs in elementary and high schools of Fresno county. This "pragmatic" vision was also driven by the need of the college to reach a higher level of financial stability. The revenue from the professional programs provided genuine relief for the hard-pressed college budget; at the same time it met some of the needs of an increasingly dysfunctional society.⁸

Yoder sees this threefold expansion of Fresno Pacific as expansion from education in a monastery setting to expansion of education for the marketplace:

Christian monasteries were established in medieval Europe as an expression of a particular set of ideas about religious order and service. They were places of learning as well as reflection, contemplation and retreat.... The monastery models an alternative lifestyle and set of values to the larger society and culture...; faith is both developed and expressed in the context of community... a kind of social, intellectual and religious center.⁹

The Bible schools which Mennonites and others often created as pioneers with limited resources began in a monastery-like way, but most have either closed their doors as needs changed or have evolved into liberal arts colleges.

To remain viable, and in touch with the needs of their changing and supporting Mennonite community, Mennonite schools shifted and/or expanded to include training in ideas, relationships and interchange with the larger community outside. "Like the monastery, the Christian liberal arts college represents a particular expression of religious order and community... The

word 'college' itself derives from the Latin 'collegium'—a community of peers committed to a common enterprise and to each other."¹⁰ Thus, the college is a place to broker ingroup identity and community, as well as to minister to the ideas and needs of the larger outside community, and to foster the ideas which the monastery values.

The three stages suggested by Yoder in the Fresno model are similarly echoed in Thomas Askew's discussion of evangelical colleges in North America.¹¹ He identifies three phases of development, from insular, church-focused institution, to corporate consolidation and credentialing, to professionalization of networks. James Juhnke also traces three generations of leadership which tend to parallel the Yoder and Askew stages: the founding generation preoccupied with relationships to a conservative, rural constituency; a middle generation which accomplished accreditation to keep the progressive wings interested and coming; and a more recent postwar generation which is increasingly entering the arenas of professionalization and bureaucratization.¹² Robert Enns calls this the secularization process which is increasingly entering Mennonite communities.¹³

Yoder sees "the monastic metaphor as a way of characterizing the Fresno College story and suggests a series of outwardly expanding circles developed as the college moved from its more insular Bible institute beginnings, to the liberal arts focus and then still further to the present day graduate level professional programs."¹⁴ The metaphor suggests a progressive opening of doors in the monastic walls that increase ease of movement. Indeed, Yoder sees the dialectic between ideology and program, between the ingroup and outgroup, as "salting and lighting" in both the marketplace and the monastery.¹⁵ In this essay we wish to explore through several indicators the extent to which this monastery-marketplace model is operating in the other fifteen Mennonite colleges and seminaries in North America.

Examining Components of Community

Throughout Paul Toews' 1995 edited volume, the contributors hark back to the basic aims of Fresno Pacific College, and being a Christian Anabaptist-Mennonite community is always among them. Sociologist Robert Enns focuses on the identity dilemmas faced at Fresno in maintaining "community," as the school has changed over fifty years.¹⁶ His first point is that as numerical growth has escalated, it has brought about a diversification of faculty, students and programs, and this has resulted in increasingly plural needs. From a student population of 257 and 17 faculty in 1966, before the school's programs escalated to its second liberal arts stage, Fresno Pacific has grown to include a student body of 642 undergraduate and 674 graduate students, 129 students in teacher education, and 11,883 part-time students in professional development enrollment. In total there are 13,458 students, and 91 faculty. This growth has greatly affected the nature of community life and institutional identity. Robert Enns made the following observation in 1995: "The Mennonite Brethren

presence in the student population decreased from approximately four out of five students to fewer than one in five. Barely half of the faculty in 1993 were of Mennonite background, and only one-third of the faculty had attended a Mennonite college in their undergraduate studies.”¹⁷

Enns also reported that the 1992 accreditation “team viewed Fresno Pacific College’s most pressing problems as all stemming from a single unresolved issue: the need to articulate a mission for the college which can unify its presently disparate components and serve as a meaningful guide for the coming decade.”¹⁸ The team thought the college could not afford the luxury of drifting through the next few years without refining its mission. There are values in both identity and diversity, and in this paper we wish to explore two of the demographic indicators Enns explored for Fresno Pacific: 1) growth of student populations, and 2) proportion of Mennonite students, comparing the sixteen Mennonite colleges and seminaries in North America. It is important to see whether the demographics suggest that other schools are facing similar problems of “community” identity.

Demographic Openings to the Marketplace

We suggest that demographic changes such as smaller Mennonite families are an important factor in Mennonite schools opening up to the marketplace.¹⁹ Let us examine these demographic trends to gain some comparative sense of how the seven Mennonite colleges in the US, the three Mennonite seminaries, and six Canadian colleges have responded. Geographical locations of these sixteen schools are plotted in Figure 1.

The seven US Mennonite colleges (Eastern Mennonite, Bluffton, Goshen, Bethel, Hesston, Tabor, Fresno Pacific), all located in small towns (except Pacific), have been largely regional schools drawing support and students from their local constituencies. They began as fairly independent operations, linked more or less to denominational networks of the three largest Mennonite denominations —Mennonite Church (MC), General Conference Mennonite (GC), Mennonite Brethren (MB). Since these seven colleges are located in Mennonite constituencies in four different ecological areas (east, midwest, prairies, pacific) in the United States, let us examine the similarities and differences involved in opening up to the marketplace. In Figure 2, using total student (TS) figures, we see that the ranking order has remained the same since 1970, except that Pacific College has moved from sixth to fourth in size.²⁰ In 1970 Goshen College enrolled the largest number, with about three times as many students as Tabor, the smallest, and that ratio has remained much the same.

The enrollments of the two largest colleges, Goshen and Eastern Mennonite, with 1000 students or more have fluctuated considerably. Enrollments in both schools began to rise in the mid-sixties, and this rise continued until 1980, when there was a sharp decline which lasted for a half dozen years. After the

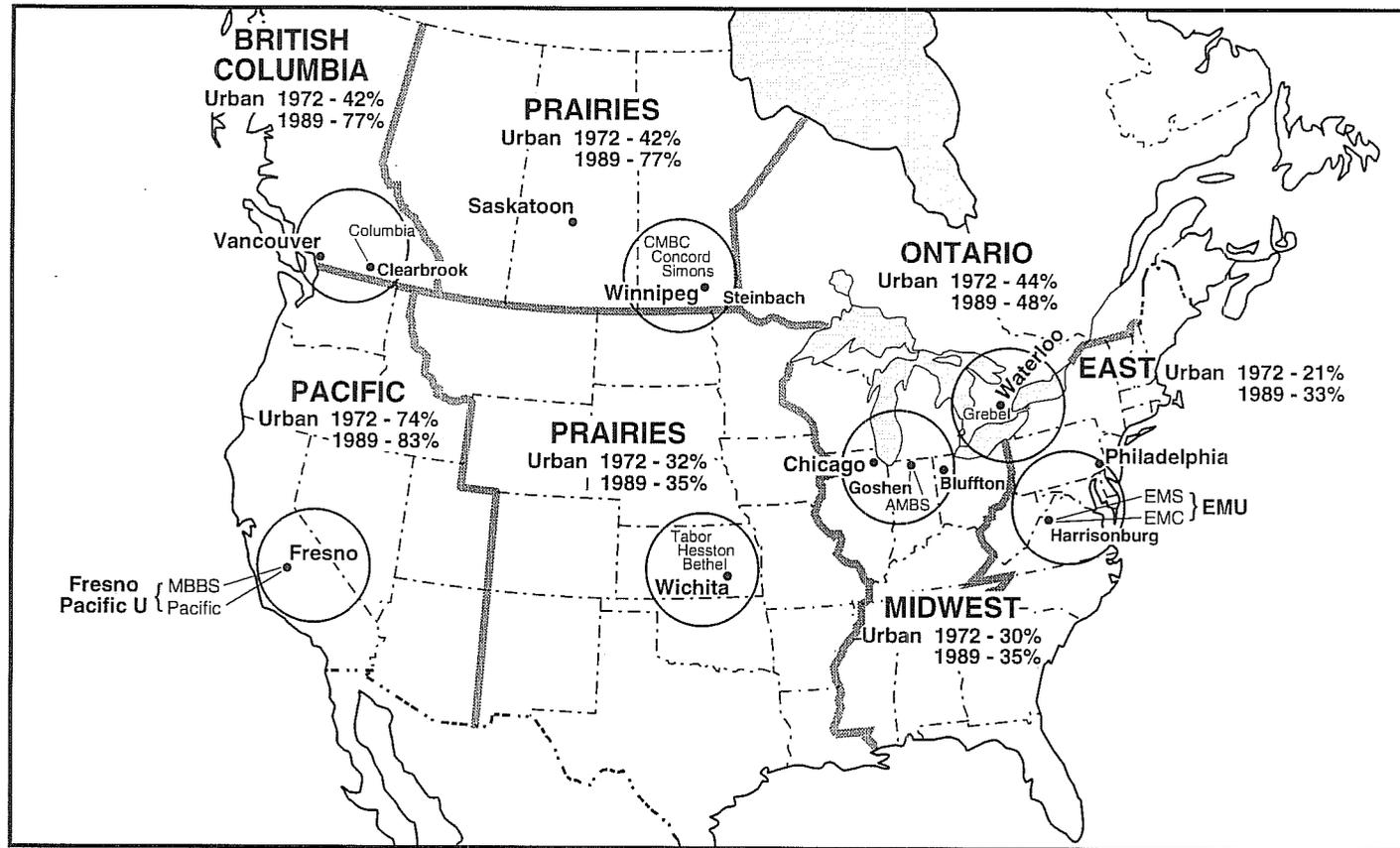


Figure 1. Regional Urban Mennonite Comparisons, 1972 and 1989.

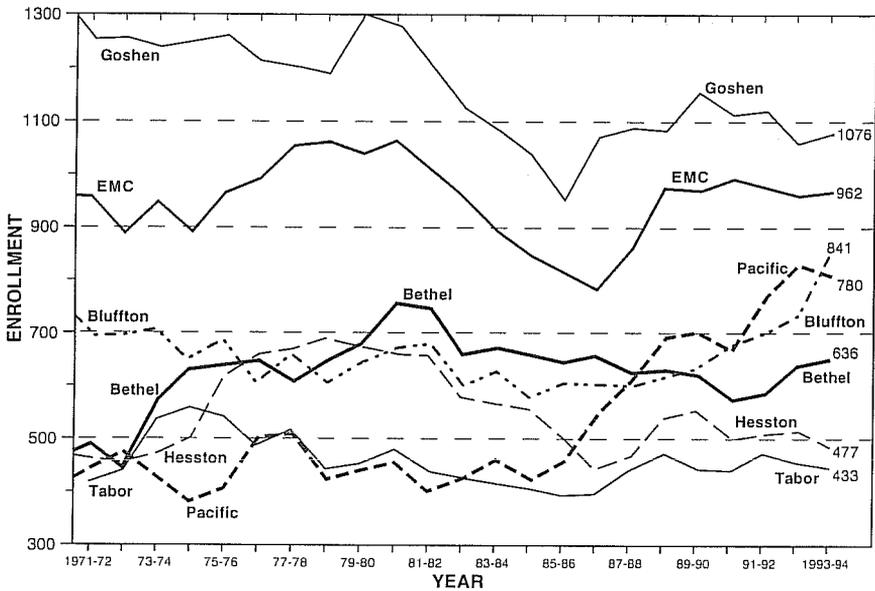


Figure 2. Mennonite US College Enrollment Statistics, 1971-1994.

mid-eighties this decline was arrested and enrollments rose again, stabilizing at 1000-1100 students. The 1993/94 enrollments are very similar to the enrollments twenty years earlier. The enrollment patterns of these two largest Mennonite Church schools in the midwest and east remarkably rise and fall together which suggests that demographic factors were operating more than regional or social factors.

Examination of the three Kansas colleges (Bethel, Hesston and Tabor) shows that Hesston, the other US Mennonite Church college, follows its sister Goshen and Eastern Mennonite (EMC) patterns quite closely. Hesston enrollments rose until 1979, followed by a drop in the mid-eighties, and a slight rise and stabilization again at 1970 levels in the nineties. Enrollments in Bethel College, the largest US prairie college, followed the rise and fall of the three MC colleges into the early eighties, but the drop was not as severe in the mid-eighties. Unlike the three Mennonite Church (MC) colleges, the General Conference (GC) Bethel stabilized at an enrollment above 600 in 1993/94, considerably higher than in 1970. This slightly different pattern suggests that other factors such as leadership may have stemmed Bethel's decline, resulting in a gain of 150 students over twenty years (30 percent).

The enrollment of the Mennonite Brethren (MB) Tabor College began to rise in the seventies to a record total of 558 students in 1974, but this rise was not sustained, unlike the rise of enrollments in the other two colleges, into 1980. Tabor soon levelled off at around 400 students and sustained that number with few rises and falls for twenty years. Its 433 student enrollment in 1993

remained very similar to the 412 in 1971. Together the three colleges in Kansas—one GC, one MB and the other MC—began with an enrollment of 1357 students in 1970-71, and ended in 1993 with a total enrollment of 1546, a rise of about 200 students.

While these five college enrollments in the US have not changed much in the 25 years since 1971, Pacific and Bluffton Colleges have increased in size. Bluffton College, also located in the midwest, began with 700 students in 1970, and climbed to 841 students in 1993, an increase of 140 students.²¹ Its enrollment profile is different from that of the other colleges. In 1970 Bluffton was the third largest in the US, but when Goshen and EMC enrollments climbed, Bluffton's dropped and did not recover to 1970 levels until 1991, 20 years later. In the last two years—1992-93—enrollments have escalated by 140 students. The reason for the increase is largely due to opening up admission to non-Mennonite students, so that only about 10 percent remain Mennonite, a change we shall explore in more detail later. The Mennonite Brethren Pacific College in Fresno, California represents the most dramatic rise, starting with 420 students in 1970, and almost doubling to 780 students in 1993. This rise began less than ten years ago, an enrollment profile very different from any other. The demographic rise in the early eighties and the slump in the mid-eighties seem not to have affected Pacific. Increased numbers of non-Mennonite students are also a major factor here; both Bluffton and Fresno have smaller Mennonite hinterlands from which to draw.

Total student (TS) enrollment figures given in Figure 2 represent one way of comparing the annual demographic rise and fall of student enrollments. To deal with fulltime (FT) and parttime (PT) enrollment figures, we present comparative fulltime equivalent (FTE) statistics in Table 1, which reflect a more complete count of actual courses taken by students.³ The general enrollment profiles of the seven US colleges just discussed in Figures 2 and Table 1 are similar, so we will not go over the fulltime equivalent (FTE) again. These full time equivalent figures are reported by five-year intervals, so we can compare all sixteen Mennonite schools in one table.

Graduate Education in Seminaries

Fifty years ago, when Mennonite Biblical Seminary and Goshen Biblical Seminary began, these two seminaries representing the two largest Mennonite conferences had the continent largely to themselves. They were the only institutions of Mennonite graduate education. In those days they wrestled with problems of finding competent faculty with Ph.D.s to teach, and persuading their constituencies to support what was considered "too much liberal book-learning" which farmers did not need.

It is useful to look at the larger North American spatial structure and note that Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary (AMBS) is located in the centre of the continent where its constituent Mennonite Church (MC) and General Conference (GC) congregations are located (Figure 1). While Mennonite colleges are confined to

Table 1. Mennonite College and Seminary Enrollments
(Fulltime Equivalent), 1970-93.

Schools	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1993
<i>USA</i>						
Pacific	381	408	623	708	891	1068
Hesston	451	586	617	450	464	447
Bethel	486	627	736	592	553	617
Tabor	362	437	453	356	393	389
Goshen	1215	1167	1203	893	1031	966
Bluffton	711	676	626	554	612	800
EMC	927	936	1036	789	921	920
<i>CANADA</i>						
Columbia	189	266	199	159	181	240
Steinbach	56	73	79	74	76	70
CMBC	106	145	167	181	177	194
Concord	85	161	144	161	133	139
M. Simons					18	53
C. Grebel	138	151	342	420	399	358
<i>SEMINARIES</i>						
EMS	30	52	64	54	65	81
AMBS	59	110	134	140	117	85
MBBS	37	83	124	103	91	91

recruiting from their local regions, is it still possible to think of Mennonite theological graduate training on a continental scale? Since 1957 when MBS left Chicago for Elkhart, Mennonite Biblical Seminary (MBS) and Goshen Biblical Seminary (GBS) have joined to become the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary (AMBS), a formidable graduate institution which could compete for good graduate students. In 1971 three seminaries, AMBS in Elkhart, Indiana, Eastern Mennonite Seminary (EMS), located in Harrisonburg, Virginia, and Mennonite Biblical Seminary (MBBS) located in Fresno, California, were well started, each with fifty students or more. By 1993 the total enrollment of the three seminaries had reached 112-185 (TS) and 81-91 (FTE) students each. Their profiles, however, vary profoundly.

Between 1970 and 1983 the GC-MC Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary (AMBS) total student (TS) enrollment tripled from 80 to a record 244 students, the largest increase of any Mennonite School in North America. Centrally located on a new campus in the heart of the continent, combining MBS and GBS faculties and students on a single campus in Elkhart, and recruiting young faculty who were coming into their own as scholars and

church leaders, AMBS was gathering exhilarating momentum. It was riding the same demographic baby boom roller coaster as Goshen, EMC, Bethel and Hesston, but also experiencing the same decline after the early eighties. Like Goshen and EMC which were able to stop the enrollment drop by the mid-eighties, AMBS also seemed to be stemming the drop for a few years in the late eighties, but recently the downward plunge has continued unlike the enrollment pattern in any other Mennonite school. This decline cannot be explained only by demographic factors. The most prominent professors have retired and though they have been replaced by new faculty, Indiana seems isolated at a time when Mennonites are increasingly moving to cities. Also, EMS and MBBS are challenging AMBS on its east and west flanks.

In the meantime, Eastern Mennonite Seminary (EMS) in the east, and Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary (MBBS) in the west have tripled their total student (TS) enrollments from some fifty students in 1971 to 112 and 185 students respectively, now in the AMBS range. The enrollments of these two seminaries did not escalate in the eighties as AMBS's did, but increased steadily with modest increments and few major rises or dips. It appears that the Mennonite Church EMS is drawing students to the east, and the Mennonite Brethren MBBS is drawing students to the west and away from AMBS, increasingly squeezing AMBS into a middle America regional role. These trends are changing all three seminary roles profoundly, but the downward adjustments are most difficult for AMBS.

It was Harold Bender and his "Anabaptist Vision" which drew MBS from Chicago to Elkhart (near Goshen). AMBS had three Mennonite World Conference Presidents and churchmen on its faculty (Harold Bender, Erland Waltner, Ross Bender), and numerous well-published high-profile scholars like Harold Bender, John C. Wenger, Howard Charles, John Howard Yoder, William Klassen, and C.J. Dyck who helped draw students in the seventies. In the eighties many of these men retired or left, so that a complete change of faculty has occurred. For example, in 1983, 70 students from Goshen College (ten miles away) attended AMBS, while ten years later in 1993 this had dropped to 25 students; students from EMC dropped from 21 to 14 during the same period. Since then EMS and MBBS have boosted their seminary enrollments by moving onto their respective EMC and Pacific College campuses. AMBS, however, has retained a higher (74 percent) Mennonite student enrollment than EMS (53 percent) and MBBS (45 percent). While AMBS was the continental Mennonite seminary in the sixties and seventies, in the nineties this has changed to a three-way race where the seminaries, like the colleges, are becoming increasingly regionalized.

Canadian Colleges

Canadian Mennonite colleges are much younger than their American counterparts. The first, Mennonite Brethren Bible College (MBBC), was established in Winnipeg in 1944. Canadian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC)

was established by the Conference of Mennonites in Canada (GC) three years later in 1947 in the same city.²² The other four colleges, Conrad Grebel College (CGC) in Waterloo, Ontario, Columbia Bible College (CBC) in Clearbrook, British Columbia, and two more, Steinbach Bible College (SBC) and Menno Simons College (MSC), also in Manitoba, had their beginnings as colleges more recently.

The earliest and largest two Canadian colleges, both in Winnipeg, representing the two largest Canadian GC and MB denominations, are still smaller than the American colleges, similar in size to the early US schools. The total student (TS) enrollment profile of CMBC is very similar to that of Goshen and EMC with 120 students in 1971/72, and reaching a maximum of 230 in the early eighties after which enrollment dropped by about 20 percent with a recovery to well over 200 students by 1993. The difference is that while the Goshen and EMC levels of enrollment in 1970 and 1993 are roughly the same, CMBC ended up with almost twice as many students twenty years later, rising more dramatically early, and not dropping as steeply later.

The profile of MBBC, also in Winnipeg, was remarkably similar in the seventies, drawing students from across Canada—like CMBC—as the Mennonite Brethren national school. In the early nineties, however, MBBC experienced trends similar to those experienced by MB colleges in the American west, where a population shift of Mennonite Brethren from the prairies to the pacific coast occurred; more MBs now live in British Columbia than in the prairies. There they have established Columbia Bible College in Clearbrook B.C., and have recently declared their allegiance to their provincial school rather than to MBBC, their former national school. MBBC has recently changed its name to Concord College, thus becoming a more regionalized prairie church college. This change has resulted in fewer full time students and a decline in Mennonite students.⁴ Like the American colleges, Concord is becoming more regional.

Two Mennonite Bible Schools run formerly by the Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonites in British Columbia have now been amalgamated and upgraded to college level as the Columbia Bible College (CBC), with the two denominations running this Mennonite College jointly. Similar to Pacific College in Fresno, CBC has recently experienced rising enrollments as it is increasingly more open to cooperation with other Mennonites and is opening up to non-Mennonites. Similar to the American Pacific coast Mennonites, three out of four B.C. Mennonites are urban and are surrounded more by others in the marketplace.

Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonites in Ontario actually began this inter-Mennonite market cooperation in education by establishing Conrad Grebel College in Waterloo, a metropolitan centre like Winnipeg. Conrad Grebel College was the first Mennonite college to locate on a university campus (University of Waterloo), a major opening to the marketplace. This openness is promoted by several factors: 1) location on a university

campus, 2) teaching courses as part of the university curriculum, 3) being in charge of the music department of the campus, and 4) being a residential college open to non-Mennonite students. We have taken students living in Conrad Grebel dormitories for the enrollment count of the college.

Menno Simons College (MSC) in Winnipeg is the latest new college opening up to the marketplace on a university campus; its home is the campus of the University of Winnipeg, where the establishment of a Mennonite Chair earlier had already laid some groundwork for Mennonite courses and classes. MSC is the third Mennonite College in Winnipeg, but its concentration is on conflict studies rather than theology and its enrollments are still quite small.

Steinbach Bible College (SBC) is more monastery-like and traditional, located in a small town similar to American colleges. SBC was founded as a Bible institute in 1936, but only in 1979 did it reestablish itself as a college; it is the only college run by three more conservative Manitoba-based groups, the Evangelical Mennonite Conference, the Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference and the Chortitzer Mennonite Church. It is the only college not run by one the three largest (MC, GC, MB) conferences. SBC enrollment for 1970 was 56 students; it grew to 149 students in 1983 and dropped to 83 in 1993. It has, thus, grown by 50 percent since 1970. Roughly 9 out of 10 students are Mennonite, and about 70 percent are full time. CMBC, Concord, SBC and Menno Simons Colleges are all located in a single province and are presently discussing the potential for greater cooperation.

Factors Which Support the Monastic Community

As Mennonites increasingly become more urban, as family sizes decline, as increased socio-economic status and mobility provide more open educational options, can Mennonite colleges continue to draw Mennonite students? Before 1980, larger Mennonite families helped feed the demographic baby boom, resulting in rising enrollments. Since 1980 enrollments have dipped, and Mennonite schools have been scrambling to keep their expanded campuses filled with students. Many of these schools have turned increasingly to part time and non-Mennonite students, thus providing new openings to the marketplace. Let us illustrate this by examining full time and Mennonite student enrollment trends.

Following the argument of Yoder, we expect that schools which are able to keep full time students housed in campus dormitories on the periphery of small towns will generate activities and social opportunities that will enhance community solidarity. This combination of factors reinforces the educational monastery.

Indeed, in Table 2, we see that the six US Mennonite colleges located in small towns were able to maintain full time student enrollments in the 90-95 percent range in 1970, and this trend had hardly declined by 1993. Pacific College in the larger metropolis of Fresno began with a similar full time count in

Table 2. Mennonite College Enrollments (Percent Fulltime), 1970-93

Schools	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1993
<i>USA</i>						
	(Percentages)					
Pacific	92	86	67	41	37	49
Bethel	91	90	85	84	85	84
Hesston	96	93	93	91	90	88
Tabor	89	87	94	93	90	89
Goshen	91	88	89	91	90	85
Bluffton	96	93	90	86	84	90
EMC	94	95	96	96	90	94
<i>CANADA</i>						
Columbia	99	100	81	88	67	64
Steinbach	100	95	85	76	75	80
CMBC	83	81	74	80	84	86
Concord	70	52	54	58	50	33
M. Simons					0	0
C. Grebel	99	98	97	96	95	94
<i>SEMINARIES</i>						
EMS	85	74	61	58	59	54
AMBS	60	60	56	53	46	45
MBBS	73	89	76	77	70	53

1970, but declined to under fifty percent full time by 1985. If full time student enrollment is a good indicator of potential community solidarity, small towns seem to be effective environments for Mennonite educational monasteries.

Steinbach Bible College in Canada, located in the small town of Steinbach, follows the American pattern of maintaining a steady enrollment. Columbia Bible College, also located originally in the small town of Clearbrook, B.C., began the same way in 1970, but slipped to two-thirds full time in 1993 at a time when Clearbrook's population also exploded. Canadian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC), located in the metropolis of Winnipeg, was able to keep up full time enrollments also by drawing students from across Canada, and housing them in fairly segregated dormitories in the suburb of Tuxedo—a new urban pattern which needs to be examined further. Concord College began like CMBC in Winnipeg as a college of a national Mennonite conference, but soon declined to fifty percent full time enrollments, and has dropped drastically to

33 percent full time since it became Concord College recently. Menno Simons College in Winnipeg, and Conrad Grebel College in Waterloo, like CMBC and Concord, are also colleges situated in cities. Conrad Grebel has dormitories on campus and is able to create community on campus, but Menno Simons does not. Menno Simons also has no full time students to boost a sense of community.

Eastern Mennonite Seminary (EMS), located in the small city of Harrisonburg, Virginia, on the same campus as EMC, part of Eastern Mennonite University, began in 1970 with a strong full time student count of 85 percent, similar to the small-town colleges, but had dropped to 54 percent full time by 1993. Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary (AMBS), located in the similarly small city of Elkhart, Indiana, had only 60 percent full time students in 1970, and had dropped to 45 percent full time by 1993. Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary (MBBS), located in the metropolis of Fresno, California began with three out of four students full time in 1970, but had dropped to 53 percent in 1993. All of the three seminaries have increasingly enrolled part time students, which Yoder (1995) suggests does not enhance extended monasterial campus community solidarity. Many Mennonite schools are opening up to more part time students. Are they also opening up to more non-Mennonite students?

Mennonite Student Enrollments

American small-town Mennonite colleges have been very effective in retaining full time students in campus dormitories, thus creating the small-town monastery-like closed community, which has been effective for a century. With urbanization, however, demographics have changed in that rural, as well as urban, families have shrunk, so that since 1980 the cradle is no longer providing sufficient Mennonite students to keep Mennonite colleges growing. Colleges have used different strategies to boost enrollments. Mennonite colleges, under demographic pressure, are now increasingly opening their monastery walls to attract more students.

The Board of Education of the Mennonite Church has been monitoring levels of Mennonite student enrollments, and has set limits below which its three American colleges (Goshen, EMC, Hesston) must not drop. Earlier Mennonite levels were set at 65 percent, but by 1994 that policy level had been dropped to 55 percent. This policy is a denominational means for trying to retain a monastery-like community without dropping to levels which are considered too open to the larger student marketplace. Other colleges have not been held to such standards, and it shows.

In Table 3 we see that the three Mennonite Church colleges, Hesston, Eastern Mennonite and Goshen, all held their Mennonite enrollments between the 75-85 percent range in 1970. Bethel College was also within that range in 1970. By 1993, however, the American Mennonite student proportions had all

Table 3. Mennonite College Enrollments (Percent Mennonite), 1970-93

Schools	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1993
<i>USA</i>						
	(Percentages)					
Pacific	31	29	19	17	13	11
Hesston	88	79	86	69	59	55
Bethel	82	79	74	68	55	45
Tabor	69	64	58	49	42	44
Goshen	74	67	75	73	69	64
Bluffton	30	25	20	15	12	10
EMC	83	69	63	71	72	69
<i>CANADA</i>						
Columbia	91	88	89	87	83	69
Steinbach	70	81	89	90	94	87
CMBC	90	89	88	91	85	86
Concord	60	68	70	67	48	40
M. Simons					40	40
C. Grebel	41	31	51	48	65	54
<i>SEMINARIES</i>						
EMS	57	44	41	61	68	53
AMBS	79	77	77	88	79	71
MBBS	50	45	46	68	62	45

dropped considerably. The MC Board policy held Eastern Mennonite and Goshen to roughly two-thirds Mennonite, but Hesston College, competing with two other Mennonite colleges in Kansas, dropped to 55 percent. All other American colleges dropped below fifty percent. Without a similar policy, Bethel College could not keep up with the Mennonite Church college standards although it held on until 1985, after which it dropped its proportion of Mennonite students to 45 percent. Bluffton and Pacific colleges, with relatively smaller Mennonite rural hinterlands began in 1970 with one-third Mennonite enrollments, but fell to ten percent by 1993. These are clearly examples of schools opening up to the marketplace for larger student enrollments and thus lowering the proportion of Mennonite students in the college community.

While American college Mennonite ratios are dropping, Steinbach Bible College in Canada, supported by more conservative rural Mennonites, has actually increased its Mennonite proportion of students from 70 percent in 1970 to 87 percent in 1993. In Clearbrook, Columbia Bible College, the other Canadian small-town college, dropped its proportion of Mennonite students from 91 to 69 percent in 25 years as the city population grew. Of the

metropolitan colleges, CMBC in Winnipeg has held its Mennonite ratio in the eighties without a drop, but Concord, its sister college, has dropped well below fifty percent since 1985. Conrad Grebel, a college on a university campus, has actually brought its Mennonite student dormitory proportions above fifty percent since 1985 with added dormitory facilities, but Menno Simons College which is without dormitory facilities remains below fifty percent.

It is clear that demographic forces are pressing all Mennonite schools to open up to more non-Mennonite students in the marketplace. The Mennonite Church American colleges, as well as SBC in Steinbach and CMBC in Winnipeg, are maintaining a sizeable Mennonite student majority, while the others are increasingly opening up to the marketplace. Pacific and Bluffton colleges, especially, are recruiting non-Mennonite students in large numbers. It is the trend which Yoder's 1995 study found led to changes in the monastery—like community vision, and which the California study commission said needed more focus and planning.

The three Mennonite seminary enrollments have been relatively steady over 25 years, but at quite different ratios. In 1970, four out of five students at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary were Mennonite, and this proportion held until 1993. Eastern Mennonite Seminary's student body in 1970 was just a little more than half Mennonite, but dropped below half for a decade, brought its Mennonite proportion up to two-thirds in the 1980s, but dropped to 53 percent in 1993. Half of the Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary students were Mennonite in 1970; this ratio dropped to under half for a decade, rose to two-thirds Mennonite in the eighties, but declined sharply to 45 percent in 1993. While its full time students are dropping, AMBS is keeping Mennonite student numbers up. While full time student numbers at EMS and MBBS are dropping, these schools are also struggling to keep a majority of Mennonite students on campus as their total student enrollments rise.

Opening Up to the Marketplace

While Mennonite schools with large Mennonite hinterlands are still able to draw large numbers of full time Mennonite students, many are opening up to new ways of extending their services to others in the marketplace. Let us briefly examine a few of these new trends, including the adoption of Graduate Teacher Training, evolving into university teaching centres and the move towards co-operation and consolidation amongst Mennonite colleges.

In 1967 Fresno Pacific College established a policy that 60 percent of the enrollment should be Mennonite Brethren students, because increasingly more non-Mennonite students were enrolling and proportions of Mennonite students were dropping.²³ This policy, however, resulted in a decline of total students. To counteract this decline the college enlarged its fifth year teacher training course in 1967, and inaugurated a teacher education program with graduate credit in selected courses. By 1974 this program had developed into an M.A. in "teaching".²⁴ By 1993 Fresno Pacific enrolled 780 undergraduate, 129 post-

baccalaureate, and 592 graduate students for a total enrollment of 1501 students. Thus, the college and graduate school continued to grow, but the percentages of Mennonite students dropped to eleven percent. Fresno Pacific College promoted these changes "because the teaching profession provides a constant opportunity for personal interaction making possible the demonstration of Christian principles..."²⁵

Recently, two other colleges have followed Fresno Pacific's lead in offering graduate education. In 1994 Eastern Mennonite University began a graduate teacher education program with 33 students enrolled, and in 1995 Bluffton College began a similar program with 25 graduate students enrolled. Fresno and Bluffton have the smallest Mennonite hinterlands to draw students from, and their Mennonite student proportions have also dropped to ten percent. They are entering the marketplace with educational services well beyond the traditional Mennonite monastery model.

While Fresno Pacific, Bluffton and Eastern Mennonite have expanded their curricula to graduate work, they have done so from their own private campuses, where they have control over their space, dormitories, classrooms and activities. By the 1960s Canadian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC) and Mennonite Brethren Bible College (MBBC), both located on their own campuses in the metropolis of Winnipeg, had expanded their offerings by becoming teaching centres of the Universities of Manitoba and Winnipeg respectively. University courses were now taught on the Mennonite college campuses for which students received credit toward university degrees. These courses were usually taught by Mennonite teachers. Again, these colleges had control of their space, dormitories, curricula and activities on their own private campuses. These two Mennonite colleges are also full members of the Winnipeg Theological Consortium which includes the University of Winnipeg, St. Andrews College (Orthodox) and Catherine Booth College (Salvation Army). They offer graduate degrees in theology.

Further models came about when Conrad Grebel College and Menno Simons College were founded on university campuses, at the University of Waterloo in the seventies and the University of Winnipeg in the eighties, respectively. About 3,000 University of Waterloo students take one or more courses annually at Conrad Grebel College, 113 live in the Grebel dorm residence, and some 60 students are associates of the college.²⁶ Menno Simons College, located on the campus of the University of Winnipeg since the eighties, has no campus of its own, but is located on one floor of a university building. Several faculty teach Mennonite related courses in which general students enroll. It is the newest and most open version of a Mennonite presence on a university campus in the heart of Winnipeg, and thus in a position to serve the marketplace.

Since Dutch/Russian Mennonites have always tended to be less sectarian and more urban than the Swiss, and since ninety percent of Mennonites in Canada are of that heritage, they have generally attended secular universities, especially since Mennonite colleges were not available until the forties. Thus,

a smaller percentage of Canadian Mennonites attend Mennonite schools and more attend universities readily available in nearby metropolitan centres where Canada's universities are located (Winnipeg, Vancouver, Waterloo, Saskatoon, Calgary, Toronto, Edmonton, Regina, London). To illustrate, with two of Manitoba's three universities and well over half its population located in Winnipeg, the 22,000 Mennonites in that city have easy and cheap access to university education. The 1992-93 University of Manitoba directory lists 179 faculty and staff, and 1,595 students with Mennonite names, more than any Mennonite college in North America (who represent 5 percent of the university population).²⁷ To a lesser extent, similar Mennonite enrollments can be found in universities in Vancouver, Waterloo, and Saskatoon, all of which are near Mennonite population concentrations. Mennonite schools have to compete with these universities in the marketplace, and this is increasingly a factor in the United States as well. Universities are able to offer a wider range of educational options which the mobile, education-conscious, plural Mennonites are seeking. This is a phenomenon which the three Mennonite seminaries in Elkhart, Harrisonburg and Fresno are faced with as well.

While Fresno Pacific College and Bluffton College have extended their services well into the marketplace, there are two counter-trends which suggest consolidation and more Mennonite educational cooperation. Eastern Mennonite University (EMU) has reorganized its college and seminary, along with its graduate programs, into the umbrella of Eastern Mennonite University, thus becoming an example of a more diverse plural consolidation of undergraduates and graduate programs. It is interesting that Fresno Pacific, especially with the encouragement of the California study commission, has followed EMU's lead and also has become a university, expanding its offerings even more.

The joining of Mennonite Biblical Seminary and Goshen College Biblical Seminary on a new campus in Elkhart, Indiana in 1957 was the first example of graduate educational cooperation amongst Mennonites. The founding of Conrad Grebel College in Waterloo, Ontario was the first cooperative Mennonite college educational project by the Mennonite Church and General Conference Mennonites to pool their resources and students to form a viable Anabaptist-Mennonite school.

In British Columbia, Columbia Bible College was formed when the Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonite Bible schools were joined to form a college. In this way they have enlarged the Mennonite demographic pool from which they can draw full time Mennonite students for their cooperative school. Steinbach Bible College is supported by three smaller Mennonite groups who provide the strength to support a Bible college of their own. The four Mennonite Colleges in Manitoba (CMBC, Concord, Menno Simons, Steinbach Bible College) have organized committees to discuss greater cooperation, while the possibility of the three Winnipeg colleges moving onto a joint campus in the suburb of Tuxedo is being carefully considered. Will the three Kansas Mennonite colleges follow with similar discussions? These seem to be counter-moves

to help consolidate resources to retain more Mennonite community solidarity and help balance the monastery-marketplace model.

The Importance of Mennonite Schools

Is an educational community with a core purpose still needed? What evidence is there that Mennonite schools have been able to stimulate ethnoreligious beliefs and activity?

Mennonite values are changing as a new generation is increasingly exposed to the modern marketplace and Mennonites become better educated, more urban and more mobile. While nine out of ten Mennonites before World War II were rural, now half of them live in cities. Four times as many Mennonites are now in the professions (28 percent) as are on the farm (7 percent). To what extent can we discern sets of values that are changing as new generations emerge and older ones disappear?

As we see in Table 4, pre-war persons born more than fifty years ago are much stronger on ingroup identity, moral behavior, devotionism, separation of church and state and religious beliefs than persons born since 1945. On the other hand, post World War II Mennonites score higher on political action and concern for racial justice. They want a more significant role for women in church leadership, for example, and a more equal partnership in marriage. They are much more involved in the larger community. Values are changing from more closed ingroup, normative orientations to greater concern for justice, politics, and communication in a larger more open circle beyond the ingroup. Whereas pre-war Mennonites were concerned with staking down the flaps of their sacred canopy or monastery more tightly, post-war Mennonites call for more openness.²⁸ Thus, the general pressures to open up the educational monastery is strong, and it should not be surprising that Mennonite schools are trying to open up to the marketplace to serve both their own constituency needs and those of other people around them.

How effective have Mennonite schools been, and have they been able to attract Mennonite students with strong Anabaptist-Mennonite values? In 1991 Kauffman and Driedger sorted their sample of 3,083 North American Mennonites by those who had attended Mennonite schools and those who had not.²⁹ As seen in Table 5 those who attended Mennonite high schools, colleges, and seminaries scored higher on Christian values than those who attended non-Mennonite schools. The differences are significant. These data suggest that the ability of these schools to draw already committed students and further educate them in Christian values is significant.

Those who attended a Mennonite seminary scored much higher on Bible knowledge and Anabaptist beliefs; attending a Mennonite high school or college helped raise these beliefs as well. General orthodoxy declined with increased Mennonite education, Mennonite schools to lower scores on fundamentalism.

Table 4. Faith and Life Variables, Ranked by Correlation with Age.

Variables	Age of the respondents					Pearson's r
	13-19	20-29	30-49	50-69	70+	
	(Percent scoring "high")					
<i>Older Persons' Values</i>						
In-group identity	16	11	16	33	43	.31
Moral behavior	35	15	17	41	53	.31
Church participation	11	22	36	29	17	.31
Devotionalism	7	12	16	27	31	.29
Moral attitudes	20	17	21	38	54	.28
Evangelism	8	9	16	24	27	.26
Separation of church and state	17	19	21	32	51	.23
Serving others	6	19	29	37	37	.22
Stewardship	14	38	38	29	20	.18
Communalism	17	15	18	27	32	.16
Anabaptism	16	19	20	28	28	.16
Fundamentalism	11	16	20	30	36	.12
<i>Common Values</i>						
General orthodoxy	57	72	71	80	82	.09
Separatism	11	16	17	18	18	.07
MCC support	13	19	22	19	25	.06
Bible knowledge	17	32	38	41	32	.03
Secularism	38	22	15	18	31	.08
Individualism	28	17	15	14	25	.02
Political participation	4	24	27	21	13	.01
Peacemaking	16	24	20	19	14	.01
Materialism	36	22	14	15	24	.01
Welfare attitudes	24	21	18	17	14	-.03
Ecumenism	29	31	26	28	29	-.04
<i>Younger Persons' Values</i>						
Greater roles for women	26	33	36	29	17	-.08
Political action	48	48	46	33	31	-.18
Use of mass media	22	14	19	9	2	-.18
Memberships	23	16	22	12	8	-.19
Women in leadership	34	44	42	29	11	-.23
Race relations	42	47	37	20	19	-.36

Table 5.
Mennonite Attitudes by Types of Mennonite Schools Attended, 1989.

Scored high on:	Mennonite			
	Non-Mennonite	High	Mennonite	Mennonite
	College N = 603	School N = 531	College N = 581	Seminary N = 160
<i>Beliefs: (Percent)</i>				
Bible knowledge	35	51	62	86
General orthodoxy	75	72	60	56
Anabaptism	14	27	31	52
<i>Religious Practice:</i>				
Church participation	29	30	43	69
Devotionalism	18	21	28	43
Stewardship	23	31	33	41
<i>Moral and Ethical Issues:</i>				
Women in church leadership	39	28	63	70
Pacifism	15	23	36	58
<i>Ingroup Identity:</i>				
Support of church colleges	40	56	73	80
Ethnicity	9	30	37	37
Communalism	15	16	18	50
<i>Openness to the Larger Society:</i>				
Ecumenism				61
Political action	50	40	49	41
Political participation	36	31	24	19
<i>Concomitants of Modernization:</i>				
Personal independence	26	21	21	13
Secularism	17	16	16	6
Materialism	16	15	14	0
Individualism	18	14	14	0

Generally, religious practice also rises steadily with increased Mennonite education. Those with Mennonite seminary training especially include many with high scores on church and Sunday School participation. We would expect this, since seminarians are trained to focus on such participation, but the

increments of participation among Mennonite high school and college students is significant as well.

A majority of those who attended a Mennonite seminary also scored high on moral and ethical issues such as supporting women in church leadership, more significant roles for women in the home, and positive relations between the races and pacifism. Mennonite education increased moral emphases except for women in leadership, which fewer Mennonite high school students supported.

A very large majority of seminarians supported church colleges, and a majority of the Mennonite high school and college students did so as well. There was less support for ethnicity, and church schools seemed to get more support than MCC. This strong support from Mennonite school alumni underlines the importance of Mennonite education.

Political action and participation declines with increased Mennonite schooling. Similar declines occur in the four indicators of modernization. We see that openness to the marketplace and modernization scores are generally low, and they do not vary greatly amongst those who attended Mennonite or non-Mennonite high schools and colleges. Almost none who attended seminary score high on modernization. These data suggest that Mennonite schools have successfully attracted, and helped promote Anabaptist-Mennonite beliefs and practice. Mennonite students generally are interested in ethical issues, but are more reluctant to participate in politics, scoring low on the influences of modernization. The many Mennonite schools at various levels form a cooperative net of leadership training which promotes Anabaptist-Mennonite values.

Summary

John Yoder suggests that Fresno Pacific College has developed from a small ingroup Bible school run by Mennonites for Mennonites in a monastery-like way, to a large multi-purpose educational undergraduate and graduate school increasingly involved the marketplace and the needs of others. In fifty years Fresno Pacific has changed from monastery to marketplace, evolving through three distinct stages: 1) the Bible institute, 2) the Christian liberal arts college, and 3) graduate education for others. In the process the "collegium of peers has seen many changes from a small *gemeinschaft* community focused on Bible study, to increased inclusion of others so that in the nineties only a minority of the faculty and students are Mennonite. In this paper we have used this model to see whether the fifteen other Mennonite colleges and seminaries in North America went through a similar process.

Tracing enrollments of the sixteen Mennonite schools over 25 years, we found that when Mennonites were rural and raised larger families, enrollments climbed in these schools until the early eighties, when there was a sharp decline after the baby boom. Most Mennonite schools since then have scram-

bled for students in order to keep their expanded faculty and facilities occupied. This resulted in pressures to find non-Mennonite students, and to develop new programs to attract students and funds. In the process, Mennonite schools changed in a variety of ways so that by the nineties distinct types of schools emerged.

Older Mennonite schools located in large Mennonite hinterlands, like Goshen, Eastern Mennonite, Hesston, Bethel and Tabor located in rural small towns, weathered the demographic pressures by maintaining largely full time enrollments of students, a majority of them Mennonite. These schools have remained largely Christian liberal arts colleges in the intermediate stage of development, halfway between the monastery and the marketplace, maintaining a strong Anabaptist-Mennonite community of education. These schools are being challenged to offer a sufficient variety of educational programs for the changing times so that they might continue to attract Mennonite students.

Mennonite schools such as Bluffton and Fresno Pacific, located in relatively small Mennonite hinterlands, soon found that their pool of Mennonite students was limited, and they began increased recruitment of non-Mennonite students. By the nineties both had enlarged their student enrollments greatly, but only ten percent remained Mennonite. Thus, the original purpose of the educational monastery to prepare leaders for the Mennonite ingroup evolved to liberal arts education and service to others in the marketplace. These schools are challenged by the need to retain some form of Anabaptist identity and community.

To strengthen potential for Anabaptist graduate education, the Chicago and Goshen Mennonite seminaries began to amalgamate the two schools in Elkhart in 1957 to form the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary. As in Elkhart, the two largest Mennonite groups also joined to form Conrad Grebel College in Waterloo. The Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonites likewise joined to form Columbia Bible College in Clearbrook, where the two groups joined forces to enhance the demographic mass to maintain a Mennonite educational community. Four smaller Mennonite groups also cooperated to increase their strength in supporting Steinbach Bible College in Manitoba. The latest cooperation is now developing between the General Conference Mennonites and the Mennonite Brethren to share a campus in Tuxedo, Winnipeg where strengths can be pooled to enhance Mennonite education.

In this study we have used full time and Mennonite student enrollments as important variables in comparing Mennonite schools. This limited study has revealed some interesting variations. More qualitative and more historical research is needed to compare the individual development of each school, its policies and curricula, its goals and aims for the future. All this could not be done in one short paper. I hope that this beginning will serve as a stimulus for studying the finer points of change to see where indeed each of these schools is located in Yoder's monastery-marketplace model, and what they are doing to keep their focus and mission alive.

Notes

¹ This is an extensively revised version of a paper presented at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, in Elkhart, Indiana, October 13, 1993.

² John Howard Yoder, "From Monastery to Marketplace: Idea and Mission in Graduate and Professional Programs at Fresno Pacific College," *Mennonite Idealism and Higher Education: The Story of the Fresno Pacific College Idea*, ed., Paul Toews (Fresno, CA: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1995), 146.

³ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁴ Paul Toews, *Mennonite Idealism and Higher Education: The Story of the Fresno Pacific College Idea* (Fresno, CA: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1995).

⁵ Yoder, 133.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁷ Toews, 134.

⁸ Yoder, 135.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

¹¹ Thomas A. Askew, "The Shaping of Evangelical Higher Education Since World War II," *Making Higher Education Christian: The History and Mission of Evangelical Colleges in America*, eds., Joel Carpenter and Kenneth Shipps (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian University Press, 1987), 137-152.

¹² James Juhnke, "A Historical Look at the Development of Mennonite Higher Education in the United States," Paper presented at the Symposium "Mennonite Higher Education: Experience and Vision", Bluffton, OH, June 26-28, 1992.

¹³ Robert Enns, "'Community' and the Pacific College Idea: Dilemmas in the Institutionalization of Religion," *Mennonite Idealism*, Toews, 67.

¹⁴ Yoder, 147.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹⁶ Enns, 66-88.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 75-77.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 83-86.

¹⁹ The enrollment data for the seven US Mennonite Colleges and the three Mennonite seminaries were gathered from the September, October, and November annual issues of *The Mennonite Weekly Review* usually published on page 12 in the "colleges" section between 1970 and 1993. We also contacted the registrars of all seven US colleges, three seminaries, and the six Canadian colleges, asking them to confirm these *MWR* data (Canadian College data were not reported in *MWR*). As well we checked these sources wherever they had more information. Fulltime students, Mennonite students, and full-time-equivalent enrollment figures were obtained from these schools.

²⁰ Total student enrollment (TS) includes all students who have registered for one course or more. Fulltime (FT) enrollment includes all students who have registered for four or more courses, or 12 or more hours of classes. Parttime (PT) includes students who have enrolled for 1-3 courses, or 1-11 hours of classes. Fulltime equivalent (FTE) enrollment includes total number of courses taken, divided by four courses, or 12 hours of registered classwork. Most Mennonite schools follow this formula, except that a few, including the seminaries, count somewhat fewer courses or hours. Conrad Grebel College, located on the campus of the University of Waterloo is an exception, so we

have included all students who are staying in the college dormitories and are registered to take a full academic load.

²¹ Rich Preheim, "Bluffton College Enrollment Rises 75 Percent in 10 Years," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 73 (1995), 1-2.

²² The two Mennonite Bible colleges in Winnipeg had similar beginnings but have since parted ways. Mennonite Brethren Bible College (MBBC) began in 1944 and Canadian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC) in 1947; these marked the first Mennonite colleges in a metropolis (Winnipeg). In 1970 their enrollments were similar, with CMBC having 122 students and MBBC 109; and their total student counts are very similar in 1993 with MBBC counting 235 and CMBC 220. However, CMBC enrollments have been more steady, with mostly fulltime students (88 percent) and a high percentage of Mennonite students (85 percent) compared with MBBC. In 1970 the college was called MBBC, but in 1993 had changed its name to Concord. In 1971, 94 percent of MBBC students were Mennonite, while in 1993 this had dropped to 40 percent. While in 1970, 70 percent of MBBC students were fulltime, by 1993 this had dropped to 17 percent, with only 39 students fulltime and 196 parttime at Concord College. Fulltime students at Concord dropped below 50 percent in 1987 when their total numbers rose from 192 to 213, and enrollments dropped to less than half Mennonite in 1990. Many Mennonite Brethren members have moved to British Columbia, so the largest number of MBs are now in B.C. and they tend to support Columbia Bible College in Clearbrook. This has made it more difficult for Concord to maintain its Mennonite majority. While total student numbers have remained similar to CMBC totals, the numbers of both Mennonite students and fulltime student counts have diminished. Whether Concord can remain an Anabaptist-Mennonite community college in a large metropolis with losses of both Mennonite and fulltime students will be the test. Recently the Concord College board has explored the possibility relocating to the suburb of Tuxedo, across the street from CMBC.

²³ Joel Wiebe, *Remembering... Reaching: A Vision for Service* (Fresno, CA: Fresno Pacific College, 1994), 101.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

²⁶ Hildi Tiessen, *Conrad Grebel College, Undergraduate Calendar 1995-97* (Waterloo, ON: Conrad Grebel College, 1995), 6-7.

²⁷ A study of the *Student Phone Directory*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1992-93 lists the names of 28,000 University of Manitoba students. We surveyed these names and identified 1,595 student names which were of Mennonite origin. Sixteen of the identifiable family names made up half of these students: Friesen occurred 103 times, Dyck/Dueck/Dick - 93 times, Wiebe - 74, Penner - 72, Peters - 59, Klassen - 41, Reimer - 36, Loewen - 34, Thiessen/Tiessen - 34, Rempel - 33, Hildebrand - 32, Enns/Ens - 31, Giesbrecht - 30, Kroeker - 30, Martens - 30, and Neufeld - 30 times. A study of the University of Manitoba *Telephone Directory*, October, 1993, listed the names of 1,935 faculty and staff, of which 82 faculty and 97 staff names, totaling 179, could be identified as Mennonite family names. Although the author could personally confirm that many of these faculty were active Mennonite church members, we do not know what percentage of the faculty, staff or students are active Mennonite members. We assume that these numbers are not all that different than Mennonite school figures, where not all students are active Mennonite members either.

²⁸ Leo Driedger, "From Martyrs to Muppies: The Mennonite Urban Professional Revolution," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (1993), 304-322.

²⁹ J. Howard Kauffman and Leo Driedger, *The Mennonite Mosaic: Identity and Modernization* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1991).