

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION, EDUCATION, AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS'

REPORTED AGREEMENT WITH PARENTS' RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

by

Bruce Hunsberger

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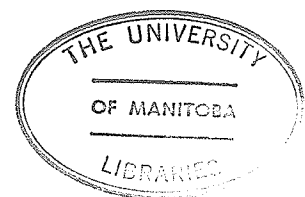
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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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## Abstract

390 freshmen and 198 "seniors" attending the University of Manitoba and three church-related colleges completed a 44-item questionnaire on religious attitudes and practices. The students had either Mennonite, Roman Catholic or United Church backgrounds. Questionnaire responses indicated 1) different levels of reported religious acceptance among the three religious groups which were only partially related to the (reported) emphasis placed on religion in the childhood home; 2) a general persistence of religious acceptance over the years of university education; 3) a limited tendency for students attending church-related colleges to be in some ways more accepting of their home religion; and 4) a consistent lack of relationship between current acceptance and the number of years of attendance at church-related elementary and high schools. Interviews with 50 subjects who had filled out questionnaires yielded supplementary information.

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## Introduction

The present research project sought to empirically investigate a particular area of potential parent-adolescent conflict - religious values - in particular populations. Specifically, this study was concerned with factors affecting groups of Manitoba university students' acceptance or rejection of the religious beliefs and practices they were taught as they were growing up.

In particular, three issues were examined: (i) the possibility that differential tendencies may exist among different religious groups for university students to agree or disagree with the religious teachings of their parents. In addition, the possible mediating role of the (perceived) emphasis placed on religion in the home was of interest; (ii) the possibility that a trend may exist for third-year university students to be in less agreement with religious teachings than first-year students; and (iii) the relationship between church-related school attendance (as opposed to public school attendance) to university students' agreement or disagreement with religious teachings.

This undertaking can be put in perspective by first examining what we know already about the role religion plays in the lives of adolescents and young adults. Specifically, how important is religion to the adolescent? Are there general societal trends regarding religion and related values which might affect the religion of adolescents and young adults? What role has religion been found to play in parent-youth conflict, and what factors affect the young adult's acceptance or rejection of his parents' religious values?

## Part I - The Young Adult and Religion

G. W. Allport (1953) has suggested that "religion, like sex, is an almost universal interest of the human race (p. 2)." And indeed it is. In our own society, it is virtually impossible for the growing child or adolescent to avoid the influence of religious thought and belief, whether that influence be direct or indirect. Lenski (1961) for example carried out an extensive program of research on religion in the United States, and concluded, "from our evidence it is clear that religion in various ways is constantly influencing the daily lives of the masses of men and women in the modern American metropolis. More than that: through its impact on individuals, religion makes an impact on all the other institutional systems of the community these individuals staff (p. 320)."

Religion is an important part of life for the vast majority of the world's population today. Furthermore, many parents are intensely concerned that their children adopt the "religion of their fathers." The subject of this paper is the young person's orientation toward these forces while at university.

The influence of the church on young people has been poorly documented by the behavioural sciences. McCandless (1970) suggests several reasons why this might be so. Churches may feel they have a "sacred" status in our society and empirical investigations of their influence are viewed as sacrilegious or an invasion of privacy by some. In addition, McCandless suggests that church records are typically not very well kept, and it is difficult to get the facts needed for much research. Finally, he points to a fear among people who devote their lives to the church that empirical research may "prove" that they are "wasting their time." Thus, these people may not cooperate with researchers.

Much of the research with religion has therefore relied upon the subjective reports of individuals, rather than relying upon church records and institutional cooperation for the collection of data.

### The Development of a Religious Orientation in the Individual

Some authors have attempted to study the various roles religion plays in young people's lives as they are growing up. For example, Allport (1953) has attempted to trace the development of religion in the individual. He points out that there is no religion as such in childhood. Rather there is an acquisition of social responses and habits (such as bowing, clasping of hands, etc.). He describes the child's position during the early years as one of "egocentrism." In the years preceding puberty, the child usually encounters grave disappointments and deprivations (such as the death of pets, or the denial of material goods), and therefore must revise his views of Providence, passing from self-interest to self-disinterest. This is a difficult transition, according to Allport, and the child may drop religion for good at this time. But at this stage, he is beginning to comprehend the abstractions acquired at home and in the church. Also, in the pre-puberty years, Allport points to an intense desire to identify with an in-group, and depending on the individual's reference group(s), this desire may move the individual closer to or farther away from the church.

By the time of adolescence, the youth is compelled to transform his religious attitudes (and all attitudes) from "second-hand fittings" to a more integral part of his personality. In a well-known pioneering study, Allport and his colleagues found that about two-thirds of a Harvard and Radcliffe student sample reported having reacted against parental and cultural teaching (Allport, Gillespie, and Young, 1948). They also found from self-reports of college students, that both conversion and reaction to religion tend to take place at about 16 years, although Allport points to a trend to an earlier age, at least for conversion.

From his own research, Allport concludes that many, and perhaps most adolescents experience wavering faith, with "peaks of exaltation and troughs of despair." Allport et al. (1948) found that the influences

which college students felt underlay their sense of need for religious sentiment included (with the percentage of respondents mentioning each particular influence shown in parentheses): (1) parents (67%), (2) other people (57%), (3) fear (52%), (4) church (40%), and (5) gratitude (37%). Thus, several factors appear to play important roles in the development of the individual's religious sentiment, with parents playing a very central role.

### The Importance of Religion to Youth

How important is "religion" to the adolescent and young adult? Naturally, the importance will depend partly on the background and upbringing of the individual - those adolescents from homes which placed heavy emphasis on religion would be expected to regard religion as a more important issue than those who were subjected to little religious training, and whose parents were themselves little concerned with religion. In addition, the adolescent's peer group may exert considerable influence in determining the importance of religion.

Allport et al. (1948) found that approximately seven out of every 10 college students sampled felt they needed religion in their own lives (82% of the women, and 68% of the men). In addition, only six per cent of the men and 10% of the women reported a total absence of religious training. And as might be expected, students trained in religion reported they needed religion more often than others. Thus Allport et al. conclude that early training is likely to be the principal psychological influence upon an individual's later religious life. Religion also played a part in the lives of the college students in Allport et al.'s study. Only 15% denied altogether engaging in any religious practices or experiencing any religious states of mind during the preceding six month period.

Other studies have also indicated the importance of religion in the lives of university students. Webster, Freedman, and Heist (1962) cite evidence from a longitudinal study of students at a number of American universities, such that at entrance to college, 88% of the male and 91% of the female National Merit Scholarship winners felt a need to believe in a religion.

Not only is religion an important issue to young people, but it may be related to psychological problems for some students. It has been estimated (Havens, 1963) that at any given time 12% of college students have a critical concern, or even an acute crisis, due to their religious conflicts.

#### General Societal Trends in Religious Attitudes

Some researchers have attempted to assess the changes in societal religious values over a period of time. For example, Young, Dustin, and Holtzman (1966) conducted three surveys at the University of Texas and found that attitudes toward organized religion had become less favourable over a nine year period from 1955 to 1964. They used a 23-item "Religion" scale developed by Holtzman and Young (1966), and found that the mean scores for favourability toward religion showed a significant drop from 63.44 in 1955 to 55.51 in 1964.

Gallup polls conducted in the United States in March, 1965, and April, 1969, showed an overall drop in church attendance as indicated by responses to the question, "Did you, yourself, happen to attend church in the last 7 days?" Forty-seven per cent responded affirmatively in 1965 compared to only 42% in 1969 (Alston, 1971). Several other authors similarly concluded that there exists a general societal trend away from more traditional religious orientations (Boroff, 1961; Danesino & Layman, 1971; Davis, 1948; Eddy, 1963; Lerner, 1957; Weber, 1946).

However, a few studies have shown a trend in the opposite direction. Lenski (1961) for example, compared more recent Catholic immigrants to

the United States with those who were more Americanized, and found the latter to be more often active devotionally and doctrinally orthodox than the former. He concludes that this evidence suggests a general trend among Catholics in the United States toward increased devotionism and increased doctrinal orthodoxy. However, this conclusion seems unwarranted, since many factors could cause a temporary decrease in devotionism and orthodoxy among immigrants to a new country. For instance, immigrants have generally gone through a general uprooting and transplanting of their families' lives - both physically and psychologically. The confusion, the unpredictability of the future, or even the trauma involved, may cause a temporary reaction to religious values. The fact that, as the immigrants' lives began to stabilize in their new homeland, they also tended to become more "religious" would certainly not indicate a trend toward increased devotionism and orthodoxy in the United States in general.

Another possibility is that the trend found by Lenski is indicative of a decrease in orthodoxy in the home country rather than an increase in the United States. In addition, a considerable difference in age is likely to exist between recent immigrants, and more Americanized Catholics. The more Americanized immigrants are probably older than more recent immigrants, and thus the "trend toward increased devotionism and orthodoxy" may simply reflect the differences in the religious orientations of different age groups.

Lenski further suggests that social trends would have the effect of weakening the trend toward devotionism and orthodoxy among white Protestants. That is, he found the more orthodox Protestants to be more numerous among the southern-born, first- and second-generation immigrants, working-class people, and the less well-educated. "Since all of the (above) groups are likely to decline in the future, heterodoxy is likely to increase, barring some major change originating in the churches themselves (p. 59)." A few other authors have suggested that there may at least have been an increase in interest in religion, and possibly a



trend toward greater religiosity in society since the 1940's (Argyle, 1958; Jacob, 1957; Schneider, 1952).

Thus, while there is some disagreement regarding overall trends in society, the bulk of the evidence seems to indicate a movement away from a conservative institutional religion. Of course, general changes in societal values reveal nothing about changes which may be taking place within subgroups of the population.

### Reaction to Religious Values

Earlier it was mentioned that several authors have noted a tendency for adolescents to react against the religious values and beliefs of their parents. In this section we will consider specific factors which may be related to this reaction.

#### Is Reaction to Religious Values Lasting?

When I was a boy of fourteen my father was so stupid I could scarcely stand to have the old man around, but by the time I got to be twenty-one I was astonished at how much he had learned in the last seven years.

- Mark Twain

If youthful disaffection with traditional values is as great as some authors indicate, then one might be led to wonder how it happens that institutionalized religion continues. Allport (1953) offers two explanations: (1) after the "irreligious 20's" comes a return to religion in the 30's; and (2) many rejectors of traditional religion are "nominal" church members (i.e. occasional attenders). Thus, as Mark Twain has suggested, the initial reaction may not be permanent, and the reaction may not be total (i.e. "nominal" church membership may be retained). Allport suggests that the rejection of parental religious values may simply<sup>be</sup>/a striving for independence, or possibly a result of the "fashion of the times."

The return to religion in the 30's may be merely the beginning of a more general trend to become more religious as one grows older. For instance, Bell (1971) studied 60 United Methodist males in the latter stages of the "family life cycle" (i.e. their children were by and large grown and married). Religiosity was measured by means of the subjects' responses to 25 "belief statements." He found statistically significant correlations of +.39 and +.45 between religiosity and chronological age on two subscales. However, since this was not a longitudinal study, it may reflect long-run societal changes rather than personal changes over a period of time.

Thus, while the present concern focusses on the actual rebellion or conformity of young adults to their parents' values, it should be noted that different processes may be operating in later years. That is, there are indications that youthful rebellion against parental religious values, if it occurs at all, may be of a temporary nature.

#### Differences in Religious Upbringing

As was mentioned above, Allport et al. (1948) concluded that about two-thirds of all children who eventually go to college react against parental and cultural teaching, with about one-half of the rebellion occurring before the age of 16. In addition, while approximately 25% of their sample replied that they did not need any sort of religious orientation in their lives, only 40% of those students who did feel such a need found the system in which they were reared satisfactory to their needs (although the corresponding percentage for Roman Catholics was 85%). Allport et al. also found that approximately one-quarter of those students brought up in more traditional Protestant churches turned irreligious, and only 42% were content to stay within the tradition in which they were reared. It would seem therefore that there is a rather dramatic turning away from religious tradition in orthodox Protestant churches.

Table 1 illustrates this tendency. Harvard and Radcliffe university

Table 1

Nature of Religious Background and Present Choice<sup>a</sup>

	Percentages			
	Radcliffe (N=77)		Harvard (N=389)	
	Background	Choice	Background	Choice
Roman Catholic	14	14	16	11
Anglo-Catholic, Eastern Orth.	2	3	4	2
Protestant Christianity	40	28	44	18
Liberalized Protestantism	9	9	7	6
Ethical Christianity	5	5	7	6
Judaism	18	8	17	6
Other	12	8	8	5
New type needed	--	11	--	11
None needed	--	8	--	17
Doubtful about need	--	6	--	13

Note. - This table is taken from Allport et al. (1948), p. 13.

<sup>a</sup>From this table are omitted the relatively few cases reporting that there was no religious influence in their upbringing.

students taking an introductory psychology course were asked (in a questionnaire): (1) which (if any) of certain religious systems they felt satisfactorily met their own present religious needs; and (2) in which of these systems they were brought up.

However, Allport et al. included most major Protestant denominations in their "Protestant Christianity" category (i.e. "Orthodox Protestantism"). "Liberal Protestantism" on the other hand, included only Unitarianism and Universalism. Thus, when orthodox Protestantism is referred to by Allport et al., they are including a very great range of religious orientations. Great differences might well exist between the more liberal Protestant churches such as the United Church, and more fundamentalist religions such as the Baptist or Mennonite churches.

At any rate, the Allport, Gillespie and Young (1948) study does indicate that overall there was considerably more reaction to the home religion among Protestant students than there was among Roman Catholics. This finding has been supported by a number of other studies of college students (e.g. Burchard, 1965; Ferman, 1960; Greeley, 1963; and Trent, 1967). In fact, Feldman (1970) has concluded, after an extensive review of the relevant literature, "almost all studies show that Catholic students have lower apostasy rates than other students, typically make smaller decreases in religiosity, and are less likely to move toward religiously liberal, nonorthodox positions (p. 121)."

#### The Effect of Peer Groups

Allport (1953), Cole and Hall (1970), Garrison (1965), Newcomb (1962), and Powell (1963) have emphasized the importance of peer groups in influencing adolescents. However, few studies of peer influence which focus specifically on the religious values or practices of young people are available. At least two studies have found that students reported that fellow students were important sources of influence on their religious thinking (Arsenian, 1943; Educational Reviewer, 1963).

In addition, Carey (1971) studied 102 seventh grade students at a Catholic grammar school in Chicago. Confederates (previously chosen by their seventh grade classmates as delegates to a state leadership conference) expressed either compliant or noncompliant opinions in class, in response to a short talk by a Nun on "Why a Catholic should go to daily mass." A control group involved "free discussion" by the class members, of the Nun's talk. It was found that male leaders had a significant effect in influencing female students in attending daily mass. However, no significant effect was in evidence regarding the attendance at mass of male classmates.

Rosen (1955), in a study of the effects of parent-peer group cross-pressures on Jewish adolescents, found that his sample of high school students tended to conform more closely to the norm of their peers on the issue of observing dietary laws (proscriptions regarding the use of non-kosher meats in the home). However, parent pressures were also important. Thus, while the adolescents tended to conform more closely to their peers than to their parents, Rosen noted that both parents and peers exerted considerable influence. Rosen concluded "The peer group provides the teen-ager with a sense of belongingness at a time when conflicting loyalties, identifications, and values make him unsure of himself. Within the peer group the adolescent is able to acquire the status often denied him in the adult world - a status more predictable and based upon values and expectations he understands and can fulfill (p. 161)."

Thus, there are relatively few studies which might be cited in support of the "conventional wisdom" that peer group influences have important consequences for the religious beliefs and behaviours of young people. It is also conceivable that whatever influence peer groups have over such matters might be stronger in early adolescence than during the years students are attending university.

### The Effects of High School and College

By far the majority of studies of religious attitudes and behaviours have been carried out using college and occasionally high school students as subjects, since these groups are often the most accessible to the researcher and may readily lend themselves to such research. As noted below, a few of these studies have shown little or no change in religious beliefs over the high school and college years, but a rather large body of research has indicated that substantial changes may indeed occur.

Changes during high school. The changes which take place during high school are unclear, since by far the majority of studies have concentrated on the college years. And those studies which do take into account the high school years often do so through the retrospective remembrances of college students (e.g. Allport et al., 1948).

A few studies have utilized high school students as subjects, and have indicated that important changes may be taking place during those years. For instance, Meissner (1961) administered a free-response questionnaire to 1,278 high school boys to determine the major sources of anxiety in adolescent boys. The sample was drawn from nine private schools under Catholic direction and the schools were scattered throughout the eastern United States. Meissner found that over the high school years, religion became more and more prominent as an issue, until it was listed as the primary source of doubts for juniors and seniors. While only 12.3% of the high school freshmen said that they had the most doubts over religion (of nine possible sources of doubt), this proportion increased to 18.2% for sophomores, 28.3% for juniors, and 29.2% for seniors.

In a cross-sectional study now nearly 30 years old, Kuhlen and Arnold (1944) administered questionnaires to adolescents in the sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades. They found: (i) many rather specific beliefs

which were acquired during early childhood were no longer held in the late teens; and (ii) a greater tolerance with respect to the religious beliefs and most practices of others was apparent among the older subjects. Overall, there was more wondering about belief than not believing among Kuhlen and Arnold's subjects.

In general, it would seem that religion plays a more and more important role throughout the high school years for adolescents. In addition, while some changes in religious orientation may take place during the high school years, the scanty evidence which is available indicates that religious issues are not settled in the minds of most adolescents by the end of high school.

Changes during college. Studies of college students are generally consistent with the suggestion that the religious orientations of students leaving high school have not yet crystallized. Rather, some changes in orientation have been found to occur during the college years.

In an extensive review of more than 40 studies focusing on changes in religious orientation during college, Feldman (1969) concluded that these studies

...generally show mean changes indicating that seniors, compared with freshmen, are somewhat less orthodox, fundamentalistic, or conventional in religious orientation, somewhat more skeptical about the existence and influence of a Supreme Being, somewhat more likely to conceive of God in impersonal terms, and somewhat less favorable toward the church as an institution. Although the trend across studies does exist, the mean changes are not always large, and in about a third of the cases showing decreasing favorability toward religion, differences are not statistically signifi-

cant (considering only those studies that have given results of statistical tests of significance (p. 23).

Some researchers, while finding trends toward "liberalism" over the college years, have tempered their findings with various qualifications. For instance Hites (1965) found in a longitudinal study that over four years of college (1956-1960) students became less literal in religious interpretation, and more naturalistic in their interpretation of the world. However, Hites discovered that it was the "extremely conservative" freshmen who were more likely to change, and there was little evidence that particular peer groups (e.g. fraternities, or dormitories) affected attitude change. Also, participants in religious groups and organizations, while more conservative when entering college, changed as much or as little as nonparticipants over the four years. In general, Hites suggests that the shift in attitude is not from a strong "conservatism" to "liberalism," but rather a shift from strong agreement to not-so-strong agreement or uncertainty, and while nearly everybody changed in the same direction, the amount of change differed.

A significant decline in religious belief was found (Poppleton & Pilkington, 1963) among 500 British University students in the Faculties of Arts and Pure Science during the early years at university, but this decline continued only for the Science students. Medical students and those in teacher training had the highest (i.e. most religious) scores, women were more religious than men, and Catholics and small evangelical sects tended to score highest on their religiosity scale. In a further study, Pilkington, Poppleton, and Robertshaw (1965) again found significant decreases in religious activity and belief over three years of university. They found that these tendencies were most pronounced for women and members of devout religious denominations.



Webster, Freedman, and Heist (1962) concluded that studies done prior to World War II showed that, in general, students in college changed in the direction of greater liberalism and sophistication in their political, social, and religious outlooks, and that there was also evidence of broadening interests during the college years. They went on to note that more recent findings have been more complex, although value changes similar to those found in earlier studies are still commonly found. For instance, Webster et al. cite a study by the Center for the Study of Higher Education which concerned National Merit Scholarship winners. It was found that these students exhibited considerable drops in their need to believe in a religion over the four years from their entrance to college to the end of their junior years. While 88% of the men expressed a need to believe in a religion at the time of their entrance to college, this percentage dropped in succeeding years to 70%, 61%, and 51%. The corresponding percentages for women were 91%, 76%, 74%, and 69%. It is noteworthy that for both men and women, most of the drop occurred in the freshman year (18% and 15% drops respectively).

In general then, the trend towards liberalization of religious values over the college years is a consistent finding. In addition to the studies discussed above, numerous others have found support for the "liberalization" trend (Arsenian, 1943; Barkley, 1942; Brown & Lowe, 1951; Burchard, 1965; Ferman, 1960; Hassenger, 1966; Havens, 1964; King, 1967; MacNaughten, 1966; Nelson, 1940; Pickering, 1965; Trent, 1967).

However, Feldman and Newcomb (1969) have emphasized that different individuals may change in different directions (i.e. become more or less liberal with respect to religious matters), and while the net change in such studies may indicate trends toward liberalization, this may serve to mask a substantial change in the opposite direction.

Feldman and Newcomb summarized 12 studies dealing with perceived changes in religious orientation, and concluded: (1) as a rule, about one half or more of the students sampled felt they had changed their orientation toward religion during college; (2) students did not picture themselves as changing uniformly in one direction. Some students indicated that religion had become less important to them, or that they were less committed to a set of religious beliefs. Others, however, reported that they had an increased concern with religious questions, or that they were more favourable to religion. Some studies indicated a net change toward strengthened religious beliefs, and interest in religion, while other studies showed a net change toward weakened religious faith and lessened religiosity; and (3) finally, it was evident that the net change obscured the amount as well as direction of change.

This tendency for differing amounts and direction of change is well-illustrated by Newcomb's (1943) famous study of Bennington coeds. While the study does not deal specifically with religious attitudes, Newcomb found that some girls rejected the liberal attitudes prevalent at Bennington, and instead adhered to the more conservative attitudes of their parents, as illustrated by the following girl's statement:

Family against faculty has been my struggle here. As soon as I felt really secure here I decided not to let the college atmosphere affect me too much. Every time I've tried to rebel against my family I've found out how wrong I am, and so I've naturally kept to my parents' attitudes (p. 124).

Contrasted with the above is the following more typical response:

I came to college to get away from my family, who never had any respect for my mind. Becoming "radical" meant thinking for myself, and figuratively thumbing my nose up at my family. It also meant

intellectual identification with the faculty and the students I most wanted to be like (p. 131).

Thus, while many studies have found a tendency toward "liberalization" over college years, it is important to consider not just the net change in such studies, but also differential responses among subgroups of the general population being studied.

Parochial versus public schools. Presumably an important function of the parochial school is to maintain or instil certain values in its students. A number of studies have attempted to evaluate the effects of parochial elementary and high schools as opposed to public schools, on students' religious beliefs and practices. Yet the accumulated research does not clearly indicate attendance at such schools accomplishes these ends.

At first glance the record seems clear. Lenski (1961) for example, found that Catholics who had received most of their education in Catholic schools tended to be more regular church attenders, more highly devotional, and more doctrinally orthodox than Catholics who had received most of their education in "public" schools. Similarly Greeley (1967) interviewed 3,500 Catholics between high school age and 57, and found that attendance at Catholic parochial schools was related to higher incidences of church and communion attendance, confession attendance, daily praying, church contributions, religious knowledgeability, and religious orthodoxy.

However, the above studies did not control for background factors. Rather, they assumed that differences between parochial and public school students were caused by the environments of the particular

schools in question. Mueller (1967) has challenged this assumption. He builds on Fichter's (1958) finding that children in parochial schools come from stronger religious backgrounds than public school children and they have a higher incidence of parents with parochial school educations.

Thus, Mueller held religious background constant while comparing factors of religious orthodoxy and institutional involvement. That is, he compared only subjects of similar religious upbringing, as determined by a score derived from items regarding family religious beliefs and activities. He found that, for his sample of 60 Lutheran college students, when religious background was held constant, there was no significant difference between the mean orthodoxy scores of parochial as opposed to public elementary school attenders. Mueller suggests that "high orthodoxy is a direct function of a strong religious background rather than specifically of parochial school attendance (p. 51)."

However, this study is itself somewhat limited, as Mueller points out, since a small and select sample was involved. In fact, the most religious graduates of parochial grade schools were probably not included in the study, because most likely they attended small parochial colleges which were not included in Mueller's investigation. In addition, only subjects' grade school education (i.e. parochial versus public) was taken into account, when it may be during the high school and college years that the influence of parochial schools is most important. Finally, Mueller's findings may apply only to Lutheran students. Further research is needed to determine the generality of Mueller's findings, and whether they hold when one considers high school and college parochial education - not merely elementary school education.

### Reaction to Orthodoxy Per Se

A number of authors have suggested that conservatism or traditionalism per se may instigate young people to react against their parents' religious values. For instance, Crow and Crow (1965) suggested that:

A child reared in the home of strict adherents to certain specific denominational observances and taboos is likely to experience such mental confusion and emotional conflict when, as an adolescent, he is exposed to more liberal religious attitudes. For example, for religious reasons parents may disapprove of activities such as dancing, smoking, card playing, engaging in recreational activities on the Sabbath, or attending theatrical performances and motion-picture programs. These taboos may not affect a child to any great extent, especially if his peer neighbours are similarly restricted. When he attends high school, however, his own changing interests and the less restricted behavior of his classmates may constitute for him an intolerable situation...The adolescent child of religious but liberal parents is likely to have less difficulty in readjusting childish religious concepts in terms of increasing maturity and broader experiences (p. 355).

Similarly Cole and Hall (1970) have suggested:

Parents who insist upon a fundamentalist view of religion force their children into conflict between schoolwork and home beliefs. Parents who will not

tolerate smoking, use of cosmetics, or social dancing are almost sure to have maladjusted children. If boys and girls from such homes insist upon maintaining their parents' standards, they will become ostracized by their own social group; if they secretly abandon parental ideas, they develop a chronic habit of deceit; if they show the proscribed behavior openly, they are forced into revolt against their homes (p. 408).

Powell (1963) also observes that "If the home environment insists on a strict adherence to specific religious observances and imposed strict taboos, the child may be more confused in adolescence than if he comes from a more liberal home (p. 286)." Other authors have similarly argued that a very conservative religious background may lead to psychological problems in adolescence and quite possibly to an eventual rejection of the family's religious beliefs and practices (Stewart, 1967; Douvan & Adelson, 1966).

Allport (1953) has suggested that the tendency for young people from very conservative religious homes to react to the family religion may be due to the fact that "In the American Protestant culture perhaps the most significant influence upon religious development is the fact that youth is normally encouraged to question authority (p. 35)." He goes on to suggest that "The fashion of the times therefore encourages youth to join the attackers rather than the defenders...Finally, to reject the church of the parent is one way of stepping forth as an independent adult in a culture where the child is expected to outstrip his parents in occupational, social, and educational accomplishments (p. 36)."

However, we are again confronted by the problem of an overabundance of conjecture, and a dearth of direct evidence. Our only consolation

is that the conjecture of various authors is in general agreement - that is, that a conservative and traditional upbringing is likely to lead to problems and maladjustment in adolescence, and reaction to parental teachings is a relatively common phenomenon among such young people.

A relevant study was carried out some 30 years ago by Arsenian (1943) who administered the Allport-Vernon Study of Values to three successive freshman classes. His data led him to posit that "Many difficult cases of religious agnosticism and of emotional upheaval occur in persons in whom religious beliefs are too rigid and are too greatly at variance with scientific knowledge, so that contact with the latter often leads to a wholesale repudiation of religion (p. 349)."

Indirect support for the above proposition (i.e. rejection of conservative parental values) is offered by Alexander (1967) who concluded that in some instances, alcoholism represented a symbolic rejection of strict parental teaching. Alexander has pointed out that Mormons strongly condemn the consumption of alcohol on religious grounds. The use of alcohol is not merely a matter of individual deviance, but a threat to the maintenance of group values. However, Alexander goes on to point out that while Mormons are less likely to use alcohol than various other groups, they have an extremely high rate of problem drinking.

Elaborating on an hypothesis by Bales (1959), Alexander takes the "father" in a given family as symbolizing the authority of the normative order. He then studied the rebellious use of alcohol by adolescent males in communities where abstinence norms were prevalent, and found that when fathers were opposed to the adolescents' use of alcohol, the incidence of drinking was inversely related to the closeness of the

adolescent to his father. When the father was permissive there was no linear relationship between closeness to father and drinking. Thus, a strict and conservative family orientation regarding the use of alcohol seemed to be related to adolescent rejection of the parental abstinence value.

In spite of a paucity of empirical research then, most authors seem agreed that conservatism per se in the adolescent's home life may influence him to reject his parents' religious values. The two studies discussed above seem to lend some support to this possibility.

#### A Summary of the Relevant Literature

We have seen that religion assumes a relatively important role in the lives of many young people - by far the majority express a need for some sort of religious orientation (Allport et al., 1948; Webster et al., 1962) and most engage in some religious practices (Allport et al., 1948; Pickering, 1965). There are indications that a general societal trend away from conservative religion may exist (Alston, 1971; Boroff, 1961; Danesino & Layman, 1971; Eddy, 1963; Young et al., 1966) although a few studies have found a trend in the opposite direction (i.e. toward increased religiosity) (Lenski, 1961; Jacobs, 1957; Schneider, 1952). In addition, it has been found that many young people react to the religious teachings of their parents (Allport et al., 1948; Allport, 1953). Particularly, youth from Protestant denominations have been found to rebel against religious teachings moreso than do Roman Catholics (Allport et al., 1948; Burchard, 1969; Ferman, 1960; Greeley, 1963; Lenski, 1961; Trent, 1967).

Peer groups have been found to have important effects in influencing



adolescents and young adults in some respects (Allport, 1953; Cole & Hall, 1970; Garrison, 1965; Newcomb, 1962; Powell, 1963), and a few empirical studies suggest that similar relationships may hold regarding the religious attitudes and practices of young people (Carey, 1971; Arsenian, 1943; Educational Reviewer, 1963; Rosen, 1955). Religion does seem to become a more important issue to many adolescents over their high school years (Meissner, 1961), and at least one study has found a shift in religious orientation toward greater religious tolerance of others over the high school years (Kuhlen & Arnold, 1944).

With a few exceptions, a rather large body of research indicates that college students tend to become "less religious" in a number of ways over their university years (Allport et al., 1948; Hites, 1965; Pickering, 1965; Poppleton & Pilkington, 1953; Webster et al., 1962. For a more extensive review of the research relevant to this point, see Feldman, 1969).

The issue of parochial as opposed to public school attendance is somewhat ambiguous. There are indications that studies which found a positive relationship between parochial school attendance and religiosity (Lenski, 1961; Greeley, 1967), may have overlooked an important mediating variable - the effects of students' religious backgrounds (Mueller, 1967; Fichter, 1958).

Finally, it has been suggested that a conservative approach to religion may itself provoke reaction against that religion among young people (Arsenian, 1943; Alexander, 1967; Crow & Crow, 1965; Cole & Hall, 1970).

## Part II - The Present Study

As the reader has perhaps by now noticed, a certain ambiguity surrounds the use of the term "religion" in the literature just reviewed. It may be used to refer to physical buildings, personal attitudes, behaviour, values, or beliefs oriented toward a Supernatural Being or other concepts, and it is sometimes used with respect to individual philosophies of life. In the present study the term religion is used as it relates to a formal institution in society - the church. Thus, our focus is on various aspects of individuals' perception of their orientation to institutionalized religion. The variables of interest include self-reports of both attitudes and behaviours, and in a general way, values.

A number of interesting questions arise from the preceding literature review: Do, among university students, different religions enjoy similar levels of acceptance, or are there differences between "conservative" and "liberal" religions? Does university education have any effect on religious acceptance, and if so, is the effect similar for different religions? Does the home experience regarding religion relate to university effects? What effect does church-related school attendance have on religious beliefs and practices?

The present study attempts to investigate these questions for three particular religions at several Manitoba institutions of higher learning. The religious groups are Mennonites (a "conservative" Protestant group), the United Church (a "liberal" Protestant group), and Roman Catholics.

### The Mennonite Population

As was seen above, there seems to be considerable speculation (in lieu of scientific research) that conservative Protestant sects have the highest incidence of reaction to religious teaching. One such group, who have also played an important role in Manitoba's development, are the Mennonites.

The Mennonite church evolved in the turmoil of the sixteenth century Reformation and was a facet of the Anabaptist movement. Thus, Mennonites are "close relatives" to other Anabaptist denominations such as Baptists and Quakers. The Mennonite church, while experiencing frequent splinterings into subgroups, has largely maintained a conservative approach to life. While doctrine may vary somewhat depending on which subgroup or splintering one is dealing with, general beliefs among Mennonites would include a strong reliance upon - and literal interpretation of - the Bible, a strong belief in an all-powerful and personal God, and, for instance, a strong stand in favour of pacifism. In addition, activities such as smoking, drinking, dancing, card playing, and attending movies are either directly or indirectly proscribed. And Augsburg (1965) has pointed out that deviation from Mennonite values is considered a serious breach of loyalty to God, the church, and the home.

Thus, religion is expected to be an exceptionally important issue to Mennonite young people. Religion is continually stressed as Mennonite children are growing up, and indeed, is almost certain to be of central importance to their lives.

While Mennonites have traditionally been a rural, farming population, there has been a recent movement toward the cities, and the once relatively isolated Mennonite populations are now coming into more direct contact with the larger society. Thus, Mennonites might be

considered to be a cultural group in the process of transition (Thiessen, Wright, and Sisler, 1969; Francis, 1955; Kurokawa, 1971).

Thiessen et al. compared 204 Mennonite young people with a control group of 200 non-Mennonites using a battery of five psychological tests. They found that, while rural Mennonites may still adhere largely to their tradition of isolation and religious fundamentalism, urban Mennonites are increasingly being influenced by the impact of modern society.

It is apparent that the young urban Mennonite is beginning to challenge the convictions of his elders with respect to the sinfulness of dancing, wearing make-up, attending movies, etc....as the urban Mennonite moves in the direction of the larger society, he feels increasingly anxious about his moral worth (p. 136).

Thus, many Mennonite young people would seem to be caught in the midst of two powerful forces - a very strong, traditional, isolationist religious orientation, and a similarly strong and appealing society which surrounds them. Many of society's values directly conflict with traditional Mennonite values. As evidence for such anxiety, Thiessen et al. (1969) found that 67% of the urban Mennonites expressed a feeling of guilt regarding religious standards versus only 16% for the control group ( $p < .001$ ). Mennonites themselves have expressed considerable concern over the frequent occurrence of youthful reaction to traditional religious teaching (Augsburger, 1965; Gingrich, 1972).

It should be pointed out that the Mennonites in Manitoba could not be considered a homogeneous group (Francis, 1955). While many Mennonite churches are directly connected to the "mainstream" of the Mennonite church (although differences certainly occur within this group

too), a large population of "Mennonites" in Manitoba belong to a group which broke away from other Mennonites about 100 years ago. This splinter group established its own denomination - the Mennonite Brethren - because they felt that many Mennonites were too liberal.

Precisely in such areas as Bible reading, witnessing to others, a more puritan style of life, and a more rigid adherence to a literal interpretation of the Bible, this denomination has consistently defined its existence as separate from that of other Mennonites. The extent of the division between these two groups of Mennonites can be appreciated by noting that the Mennonite Brethren group has its own hymn books, its own educational schools, its own corporate structure, and in addition has generally refused to have pulpit fellowship and intercommunion with the other group.

Thus, it must be recognized that within the label of "Mennonite" lie widely divergent groups. At the same time, these "internal" differences appear relatively insignificant when Mennonites as a whole are compared to religious denominations such as the United and Roman Catholic churches. Thus, in the present study both "Mennonite" and "Mennonite Brethren" subjects were included under the general label of "Mennonite."

One area where these two different types of Mennonites were isolated in our comparisons, was with respect to two church-related college samples. While the main sample of Mennonites in the present study was drawn from the University of Manitoba (a provincial university), two smaller samples were obtained from two church-related colleges.

The Mennonite Brethren Bible College caters almost exclusively to students of the Mennonite Brethren faith, and is affiliated with the University of Winnipeg (a provincial university). The Canadian Mennonite Bible College on the other hand draws most of its students

from the more general population of Mennonites and is affiliated with the University of Manitoba. Both schools offer mainly introductory university courses, and more advanced courses in the areas of theology and music. While a substantial proportion of the Bible college students attend the college for three to four years, to earn diplomas or degrees almost exclusively in the areas of theology and music, other students transfer to the affiliated provincial university after one or two years at a Bible college.

#### The United Church Population

More students at the University of Manitoba are affiliated with the United Church than with any other Protestant denomination (Altemeyer, 1973). Historically, the United Church came into being through a union of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist churches in Canada, in 1925.

While both the Mennonite and United Church faiths are Protestant religions, there are actually considerable differences in their beliefs and practices. Of course, differences in orientation occur within the broad context of the "United Church," but in general the United Church has much more "liberal" policies than the Mennonite church regarding various beliefs and practices. A more liberal orientation to the existence of God is evident in the United Church than among Mennonites, and much less emphasis is placed on a strict adherence to and literal interpretation of the Bible. And while adult baptism plays a very important role in the Mennonite church, the United church practices infant baptism and places much less emphasis on adolescent commitment to God and Christ.

Behavioural differences are evident with respect to activities such as smoking, drinking, card playing, dancing, and attending movies -

activities which are generally accepted or at least tolerated among United Church members.

#### The Roman Catholic Population

A sample of Roman Catholic students was included in this study as a contrast to the two Protestant groups. Again, as with the Mennonite and United churches, a wide diversity of beliefs and practices occurs within the Roman Catholic church. However, no formal split has occurred in the Roman Catholic church, and thus there is no practical institutional way of differentiating between "conservative" and "liberal" Roman Catholics.

The present sample of Catholic students was drawn from two sources. The majority of the Catholics were registered at the University of Manitoba, but a sample of Catholics attending St. Paul's College was also included. St. Paul's College is an institution sponsored by the Roman Catholic church and affiliated with the University of Manitoba. It should be noted that the relationship of St. Paul's College to the university is much more direct than the analogous relationship of the two Mennonite church-related colleges. St. Paul's College is located on the campus and is very much a part of the University of Manitoba, while the Mennonite colleges are several miles away from their respective affiliated institutions, and tend to be much more isolated from the mainstream of university life.

### Issues of the Present Study

The three religious groups described above were selected for comparison on a number of different issues regarding university students' acceptance or rejection of the religious beliefs and practices they were taught as they were growing up. Specifically, three related issues in this area were investigated.

#### Issue I. Religious Denomination, Parental Emphasis, and Agreement with Parents' Religious Teachings

As we have noted, a number of authors have concluded that conservative Protestant sects have the greatest incidence of reaction to religious teaching. At the same time, research has indicated that Catholics react relatively little.

However, pilot data for the present study, involving a sample of over 500 introductory psychology students at the University of Manitoba, indicated that there was considerably more acceptance of parents' religious teachings among Mennonites than among students from United Church or Roman Catholic backgrounds. Subjects were classified as "high acceptors," "moderate acceptors," or "rejectors" according to their responses to a short questionnaire. While 19 of the 28 Mennonites were "high acceptors" of parental religious teachings (68%), corresponding figures were 38 of 93 Catholics (41%) and only 40 of 138 Uniteds (29%). At the same time, only two of the Mennonites were "rejectors" of parental religious teachings (4%), while 15 of the Catholics (16%), and 27 of the Uniteds (20%) were "rejectors" ( $\chi^2=15.79$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p<.01$ ).

These findings are of course directly contrary to the results the aforementioned literature might lead one to expect. That is, the pilot data indicated that there may be less rejection, and more accep-



tance of parents' religious teachings in the case of a conservative Protestant group than for a more liberal Protestant group. Also, there appeared to be more rejection and less acceptance for Catholics than for the conservative Protestant group.

An important variable in the pilot findings was the amount of emphasis placed on religious teachings while the students in the sample were growing up. Subjects were classified as having grown up in homes where religion was "strongly emphasized," "moderately emphasized," or "weakly emphasized," according to their responses to a questionnaire item involving a 6-point scale. Over half of the Mennonite students (54%) grew up in homes where religion was strongly emphasized, while only 28% of the Catholics and 5% of the Uniteds grew up in such "strong emphasis" homes ( $X^2=54.57$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

While previous research (Arsenian, 1943; Cole & Hall, 1970; Crow & Crow, 1965; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Stewart, 1967) seems to indicate that greater emphasis on religious teaching in childhood should lead to a polarization of religious views, especially among very conservative religions (i.e. rejection by some students, acceptance by others, with few students being "middle-of-the-road"), the pilot data offered no support for this hypothesis. In fact a moderately strong positive relationship was found between emphasis placed on religion, and agreement with parents' religious teachings. The correlations between these two variables were +.67, +.32, and +.31 for Mennonites, Uniteds, and Roman Catholics respectively (all correlations were significant at the .01 level).

The present study attempted to confirm these indications with a more refined measuring instrument than that used in the pilot study, and with a more extensive and controlled sampling of students. The crux of the first issue is the question: Do university students from

the three religious groups sampled, vary in the extent to which they accept and reject their parents' religious orientation, and is this acceptance and rejection related to the degree to which religion was stressed in the home as these students were growing up?

#### Issue II. Liberalization of Religious Beliefs Over University Years

As was outlined above, studies have quite consistently found an overall trend towards liberalization in religious beliefs and practices over the university years. That is, one would expect students in their third year at university to be less accepting of their parents' religious teachings than students in their first year. In addition, in light of previous findings, one would expect third-year students to reveal more "liberal" religious attitudes, and to be less active behaviourally with respect to religion. These expectations were investigated in the present study.

#### Issue III. Church-Related School Attendance

As discussed earlier, previous literature has found a tendency for students attending parochial schools to be "more religious" than students of the same religious denomination attending public schools. In the context of the present study, we would expect students attending church-related colleges to be in greater agreement with parental religious teachings than students of the same religious denomination attending a provincial university. This would be consistent with the tendency for some church-related schools to perceive themselves as much more "in loco parentis" than the public university.

It is possible though, that such a relationship (if it does exist) is mediated by the emphasis placed on religion in the childhood home. It will be recalled that Mueller (1967) found little net difference in

the religious beliefs and practices of Lutheran university students, when those who had spent more than half of their elementary school years in parochial schools were compared with those who had spent less time in such schools, if religious background was held constant. However, Mueller's study dealt only with the elementary school years of Lutheran students, and thus the question remains: Are there differences between public and church-related school attenders when high school attendance is taken into account, and do Mueller's findings apply to other religious groups?

It seems plausible that those students who have spent longer periods of their education in church-related elementary and high schools (as opposed to public schools) will have been exposed to more homogeneous backgrounds (pro-religious backgrounds), have had fewer instances when they have questioned their religious beliefs (either on their own, or because of the influence of others), and thus may be more accepting of the religious beliefs taught to them as they were growing up.

Controlling statistically for religious background then (i.e. emphasis placed on religious teachings in childhood), it is expected that there is a positive correlation between number of years spent in church-related elementary and high schools and present agreement with parents' religious teachings.

Thus, we will examine possible differences in agreement with parents' religious teachings between church-related college students and public university students, in addition to studying the role of emphasis of religion in the home on this relationship. Also, the possibility of a correlation between years of parochial school attendance and agreement with parental teachings will be investigated.

## Method

### Subjects

Subjects included first- and third-year students<sup>1</sup> from each of the following institutions: University of Manitoba, St. Paul's College, Canadian Mennonite Bible College (CMBC), and Mennonite Brethren Bible College (MBBC). Data were analyzed for subjects who reported that they were raised in the Mennonite, United, or Roman Catholic religions (as indicated by item B1 in the questionnaire shown in Appendix IV).

In order to ensure some degree of homogeneity of ages within the present sample, subjects were eliminated from the analysis if, in the first-year sample they were more than 24 years old. Six students were excluded in this manner (1 Mennonite and 2 United university students, and 1 St. Paul's, 1 CMBC, and 1 MBBC student). Similarly, 10 students were eliminated from the third-year sample because their age was greater than 26 years (1 Mennonite, 2 United, and 2 Roman Catholic university students, and 1 MBBC and 4 CMBC students). The sample sizes included in the data analysis for each particular group are shown in Table 2.

The number of subjects who participated in the present study differed considerably from group to group, largely because of the availability of different groups of subjects. For instance, while relatively large populations of Roman Catholics and United Church students attend the

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<sup>1</sup>Some fourth-year students were also included in the "third-year" sample. While most students at the University of Manitoba take a three-year degree program, some students are involved in a four-year undergraduate program, and these students were considered "eligible" for the present study.

Table 2

Sample Sizes, by Background Religious Denomination, Institution of Enrollment, and  
Year in University

	Mennonite			Roman Catholic		United	
	U of Man	CMBC	MBBC	U of Man	St Paul's	U of Man	Total
First Year	41	22	8	112	48	159	390
Third Year	20	13	23	44	16	82	198
Total	61	35	31	156	64	241	588

University of Manitoba, a much smaller number of Mennonites are in attendance. These differences in a general way reflect the differences in the populations of these three religious denominations in the province of Manitoba. In addition, the manner in which senior university students came to participate in the present study (as described below) necessarily restricted the sample sizes available. Thus, the "third-year" samples in the present study are considerably smaller than the corresponding freshman samples.

Finally, the church-related colleges - particularly the Mennonite Bible colleges - had relatively small populations from which to draw subjects. Enrollment at each of the Mennonite colleges is approximately 100, so that the present sample includes about one-third of the total student population at each Mennonite college (second-year and part time students were of course not eligible for the present sample, although these students constitute over one-third of the populations at the colleges.).

Thus, for some groups, the present sample included a very large part of the entire population potentially available. For other groups, the seemingly large sample sizes actually constituted only a small part of the available population. These samples were as representative as possible of the populations, subject to the circumstances described below.

#### Procedure

The first-year subjects at the University of Manitoba and St. Paul's College were sampled through the "Subject Pool" of the Psychology Department at the University of Manitoba. Subjects were usually recruited in numbers of 10-50 at a time to fill out the questionnaires in a single room in the Duff Roblin Building. The oral instructions

given to subjects at the testing sessions are shown in Appendix I. Subjects were given one experimental credit (required as part of their introductory psychology course) for participating in the study. A small number of third-year students (20) who were taking introductory psychology were also obtained in this manner.

The majority (81%) of the 162 third-year subjects at the University of Manitoba and St. Paul's College were sampled as similarly as possible to the first-year subjects, but of course no experimental credit could be given for their participation, and they could not be recruited through the "Subject Pool." However, attempts were made to recruit only those subjects who participated in a "psychometric questionnaire" study conducted in 1970 with students then enrolled in introductory psychology (and still attending the University of Manitoba in 1972-73). These subjects (i.e. "third-year") were contacted by mail and asked to participate voluntarily in a "study of student attitudes." The letter sent to potential subjects is shown in Appendix II. Attempts were made to contact by phone those potential subjects who did not respond to the initial mail contact (see Appendix III).

An exception to this procedure was made in the case of the third-year Mennonite sample. Because the number of third-year Mennonites obtained through the procedures described above was small (15), the sample size was increased (to 20) by locating through university records five more "senior" Mennonite students who had taken or were taking introductory psychology (even though they had not participated in the 1970 "psychometric questionnaire" study). Two additional United Church students and two Roman Catholics were also (inadvertently) recruited in this manner. Thus all University of Manitoba and St. Paul's College students included in the present sample had in common the fact that they

had taken introductory psychology, or were taking it at the time of the present study.

A substantial attrition rate occurred in the recruitment of University of Manitoba and St. Paul's subjects, as described above. That is, of the 451 students of Mennonite, United Church, and Roman Catholic background who participated in the 1970 study, only 131 were eventually subjects in the present study. A number of circumstances played a role in this attrition.

First, many 1970 subjects could not be traced since they had dropped out of school, or graduated since 1970, or because insufficient information was available (i.e. some had signed their names illegibly while others had no address listed in 1973). For those 1970 subjects it was possible to trace in 1973, no attempt was made to contact those whose given address was more than 50 miles from Winnipeg, or those who it was determined would be ineligible for the present study (i.e. they were too old, were attending university on a part-time basis, or had been at the university for more than four years by 1973).

After the attempted contact(s) many subjects did not actually participate in the study because: (i) they declined to participate, either directly to the experimenter, or by not appearing at the appointed test session; or (ii) the contact attempt was in fact not successful. It was sometimes unclear whether the letters had reached their intended destination, since follow-up phone contacts were not always possible.

Finally, a number of subjects who participated in the study were rejected from the data analysis, largely because of failures in the previous screening processes (i.e. some participating subjects were found to be ineligible because of age, inappropriate university status, or multiple religious backgrounds). A breakdown of the numbers of subjects who were eliminated at each stage of this process, for each religious group, is shown in Table 3.



Table 3

Attrition of 1970 Subjects with Respect to the Present Sample, by Background Religious  
Denomination

	Mennonites (U of Man)	Roman Catholics (U of Man., and St. Paul's)	United Church (U of Man)	Total
Number who served in 1970 study	40	202	209	451
Number traceable for 1973 study	15	104	123	242
Number of attempted contacts by letter and/or phone	14	95	109	218
Number who participated in 1973 study	11	58	76	145
Number included in general (1973) data analysis	11	52	68	131
Additional subjects obtained in other ways (i.e. had not participated in 1970 study)	9	8	14	31

The Mennonite Bible college subjects (both first- and third-year) were recruited directly through the colleges themselves,<sup>2</sup> under circumstances approximating those of their University of Manitoba counterparts as closely as possible. Certain differences were unavoidable however. For instance, contrary to the situation for the University of Manitoba and St. Paul's College subjects, students at the Bible colleges received their questionnaires in class, as a rule, but filled them out in their spare time, thus returning the questionnaires on a different day.

Specifically, at MBBC, an instructor administered the questionnaires to the available students, using instructions closely approximating those used in the University of Manitoba testing sessions. Some subjects also filled out the questionnaires at an informal gathering at the home of an instructor. Most subjects filled out the questionnaire at their residence and returned it to an instructor several days later.

At CMBC the author gave the oral instructions (Appendix III) to students in two classroom situations - one composed entirely of first-year students, and the other entirely of "senior" students. Subjects then filled out the questionnaire at their residence and returned it either to their instructor, or to the office of the Dean of students, several days later.

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<sup>2</sup>The author would like to thank Professor V. Retzlaff and Professor W. Janzen for their cooperation and assistance in obtaining the subjects from Mennonite Brethren Bible College and Canadian Mennonite Bible College respectively.

### The Questionnaire

The questionnaire, "A Survey of Religious Attitudes" (see Appendix IV) was given to all subjects involved in the study. It consists of 44 items soliciting information on such things as the religious upbringing of the subjects, their present religious beliefs, and factors which may have affected their religious beliefs, in addition to some background information. The questionnaire took approximately 30 minutes to complete.

The first part of the questionnaire (mainly background and demographic information) is labelled "Section A" and items from this section are referred to in the present text as A1, A2, etc. Similarly, the second and larger part of the questionnaire (concerned with religious information) is called "Section B" and items from this section are referred to as B1, B2, and so on. While several items are of particular interest to the purposes of this investigation (e.g. B2, B9), many others are not directly related to the present study, and are not included in the data analysis.

In order to assess the reliability of the questionnaire, a subsample of 45 subjects filled it out a second time, approximately one week after the original administration of the questionnaire. These subjects included 8 Mennonites, 23 Uniteds, 7 Roman Catholics at the University of Manitoba, and 7 students from St. Paul's College. A second subsample of 40 subjects similarly completed the questionnaire a second time - two weeks after they had first completed the questionnaire. These subjects included 9 Mennonites, 11 Uniteds, 11 Roman Catholics at the University of Manitoba, and 8 Catholics from St. Paul's College. The second experimental session for each group was similar to the first, except that subjects were asked at the second session to fill out the questionnaire as they felt "right now" - not necessarily

as they had filled it out during the previous session. The oral instructions given to these subjects are shown in Appendix V.

### The Interviews

Supplementary data regarding the three issues under study were obtained from interviews with 50 third-year students from the questionnaire study (15 from Mennonite, 16 from Roman Catholic, and 19 from United Church backgrounds). Attempts were made to interview both strong "rejectors" and strong "acceptors" of parents' religious teachings, in each religious group.

Interviewees were contacted by telephone and asked if they were willing to be interviewed in connection with the study on religious attitudes they had participated in previously. Appendix VI gives the complete explanation and request subjects heard over the phone. Three United, one Mennonite, and three Roman Catholic students who were contacted declined to participate in the interviews. All other subjects appeared for their interview appointment, and were paid \$2.00 for their participation.

Essentially, the interviews were directed toward a more intensive investigation of the factors which may have influenced the individual in maintaining or changing his religious beliefs. The complete interview schedule is given in Appendix VII. Each interview was approximately 45 minutes to one hour in duration, and was conducted in a small room in the Psychology building at the University of Manitoba. A tape recorder was used (with each subject's permission) to record the interviews.

## Results

### Reliability of the Questionnaire

The test-retest reliability of items on the questionnaire, for both one-week and two-week groups are shown in Table 4. The reliabilities were assessed by means of Pearson product-moment correlations. The questionnaire items which bear on our purposes and which hence are analyzed in this paper are indicated by an asterisk (\*). As can be seen, the reliability coefficients ranged from +.78 to +1.00 for the various questionnaire items used in the data analysis for the present project. The evidence thus indicated that the measurements were sufficiently reliable to proceed with the data analysis.

### The Possibility of Selection Bias

Comparisons were made of the "religious acceptance" of those 1970 first-year students who were included in the present analysis, and those who, for some reason were not included, for each of our three University of Manitoba religious groups. St. Paul's College Roman Catholics are included in this analysis with the University of Manitoba Catholics, since there was no way to distinguish between these two groups in the 1970 study.

The above comparison was based on an item included in the psychometric questionnaire filled out by virtually all "potential" third-year subjects when they were freshmen in 1970: "How completely would you say you now accept the beliefs of your faith?" This item, which is identical to item B11 on the present questionnaire, was scored such that 0= "not at all," and 3= "completely." Thus, the higher the score, the more accepting the subject was of the beliefs of his faith. The

Table 4

## Reliability of Questionnaire Items

Questionnaire Item	1 week		2 week	
	Correlation	<u>N</u>	Correlation	<u>N</u>
A1 (age)	1.00	40	.96	40
*A2 (sex)	.96	40	1.00	40
*A3 (year in university)	1.00	40	1.00	40
*A5(i) (elementary school attendance)	.99	43	.83	39
*A5 (ii) (high school attendance)	1.00	43	.93	39
A5(iii) (university attendance)	1.00	43	.93	39
A5(iv) ("other" education)	.81	43	1.00	39
A6 (extent away from home)	.97	43	.96	39
A7 (get along with parents)	.74	43	.85	39
*A8(a) (college affiliation)	.93	43	1.00	40
A8(b) (parents' understanding and acceptance)	.79	40	.76	39
A11 (parents' income)	.94	40	.92	40
*B1 (background religion)	1.00	43	1.00	40
*B2 (parental emphasis of religion)	.92	43	.89	39
B3-4 (doubt religious teachings)	.87	43	.92	37
B6-7 (reaction to religious teachings)	.84	43	.95	39
*B9 (agreement with parents' teachings)	.80	43	.88	39
B10 (present religion)	.95	41	.93	37
*B11 (acceptance of beliefs of one's faith)	.78	38	.89	34
B12 (importance of beliefs)	.93	38	.85	34
B13 (firmness of beliefs)	.79	38	.56	34
B14 (religious influence)	.71	38	.62	39
B15 (orientation to deity)	.76	41	.77	39
B16 (institutionalized religion necessary?)	.79	42	.74	39
B17 (religious needs)	.92	42	.89	39
*B18 (frequency of church attendance)	.96	42	.98	39
B19 (church benefit)	.78	42	.81	39
B20 (reasons for church attendance)	.85	34	.77	30
*B21 (frequency of prayer)	.96	42	.96	39
*B22 (frequency of Scriptural/devotional reading)	.95	42	.96	39
B23 (science-religion conflict)	.91	35	.78	35
*B24 (belief in God)	.89	35	.96	35
*B25 (belief in Jesus Christ)	.89	35	.81	34
*B26 (belief in the Bible)	.89	35	.89	34
*B27 (belief in miracles)	.79	35	.86	34
B28 (friends' religion)	.93	38	.86	43
B29 (which religion would you change to?)	.89	38	.86	35
B30 (friends' pressure)	.83	42	.52	39
B31 (university pressure)	.82	42	.68	37

Note. - Sample sizes vary because not all subjects responded to all items.  
 Items A4, A9, A10, B5, B8, and B32 did not lend themselves to the reliability check because of the open-ended nature of the items and problems in classification.

mean scores of the 1970 subjects included and not included in our present investigation are given in Table 5.<sup>3</sup>

Overall, there was no difference in the scores of included and non-included subjects ( $t=1.21$ ,  $df=415$ ,  $p>.10$ ). Within the religions, however, the United Church students included in our sample were more accepting (in 1970) of their religion than the non-included Uniteds ( $t=2.26$ ,  $df=190$ ,  $p<.03$ ). Similarly, the Mennonites exhibited a tendency for included subjects to be more accepting than non-included subjects. However, while the difference between the means of the two groups of Mennonites was greater than the difference between the two United groups, it was not statistically significant.

Table 6 shows that among the first-year University of Manitoba groups, males comprised very similar percentages of the samples for each of the three religious groups. For third-year subjects, however, the proportions varied, particularly for the Mennonites (60.0%) as opposed to the Uniteds (35.4%) and Roman Catholics (34.1%). Thus, while the sexual composition of the samples was quite similar for Catholics and United Church respondents, it was notably different in the case of Mennonites.

### Issue I

Issue I is concerned with differential tendencies among the three religious groups to agree with or reject the religious teachings of

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<sup>3</sup>It should be noted that these (included) subjects constituted only a part (about 73%) of the total third-year sample (University of Manitoba subjects), particularly in the case of the Mennonites where only 8 of the 20 subjects in our sample could be included in the analysis presented in Table 5. For a more detailed discussion of this aspect of the present sample, see page 37.

Table 5

Mean 1970 "Acceptance" Scores for Subjects Included and Subjects not Included  
in the Present Third-Year Sample, by Religious Denomination

	Mennonites (U of Man)	Roman Catholics (U of Man, + St. Paul's)	United Church (U of Man)	Overall
Included	2.38 (8)	1.63 (48)	1.55 (62)	1.64 (118)
Not Included	2.04 (28)	1.68 (141)	1.28 (130)	1.54 (299)

Note. - The higher the score, the greater the acceptance of the beliefs of one's faith in 1970.

The number of subjects in each cell is given in parentheses.



Table 6

Percentages of Males in Sample (University of Manitoba Subjects) by Background  
Religious Denomination and Year in University

	Mennonites	Roman Catholics	United Church
First Year	36.5% (15/41)	37.5% (42/112)	37.7% (60/159)
Third Year	60.0% (12/20)	34.1% (15/44)	35.4% (29/82)
Total	44.3% (27/61)	36.5% (57/156)	36.9% (89/241)

one's parents as a function of the emphasis placed on religion in the home.

A 3x2x3 factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA), fixed effects model, was computed for the University of Manitoba subjects, using "agreement" scores (obtained from item B9 of the questionnaire) as the dependent measure.<sup>4</sup> In order to correct for unequal subclass numbers in this and subsequent ANOVA's, an unweighted means solution was employed (Kirk, 1968). Independent variables included background religious denomination (Mennonite, Roman Catholic, or United, as indicated by item B1), year in university (first or third), and parental emphasis of religion (high, moderate, or low).<sup>5</sup> It is to be noted that this ANOVA is larger than necessary for the study of Issue I. The variable of year is of importance to Issue II, and in order to assess its interaction with other variables of interest (i.e. religious denomination and emphasis) it was included in the present ANOVA.

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<sup>4</sup>Scoring of the dependent variable (item B9) was done such that a score of "0" was assigned to "I do not agree at all with the beliefs taught," while "I am now in complete agreement with the beliefs taught" was scored "5." Thus, the higher the individual score, the more agreement the subject perceived as existing between his own present beliefs and those taught him while he was growing up.

<sup>5</sup>"Parental emphasis" was determined from the responses to item B2 such that if the subject checked "no emphasis was placed on religion," or "a very slight emphasis was placed on religion," he was classified as "low emphasis." Those subjects who responded "a mild emphasis was placed on religion," and "a moderate emphasis was placed on religion," were classified as "moderate emphasis," while "high emphasis" subjects included those who had checked either "a strong emphasis was placed on religion," or "a very strong emphasis was placed on religion."

Only those subjects registered at the University of Manitoba (i.e. not St. Paul's and Bible college students) were included in the analysis. The mean scores for each group are shown in Table 7, while the results of the ANOVA are given in Table 8.

The ANOVA showed significant main effects for religion ( $F=7.55$ ,  $df=2/435$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and emphasis ( $F=78.51$ ,  $df=2/435$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Thus overall, Mennonites are in significantly greater agreement with the beliefs taught as they were growing up (Mean=3.46) than are United subjects (Mean=2.28), with Roman Catholic subjects being intermediary (Mean=2.71). Post hoc comparisons in this and subsequent analyses were made using Tukey's HSD test, with Kramer's correction for unequal sample sizes (Kramer, 1956; Kesselman, 1973; Smith, 1971). The mean for the Mennonites was thus found to be significantly greater than the mean for the Roman Catholics ( $p<.01$ ) and of course the Uniteds ( $p<.01$ ), but the difference between Roman Catholics and United subjects was not significant ( $p<.06$ ).

However, as noted above, the main effect for emphasis was also significant. Tukey's HSD test indicated that the moderate emphasis group reported significantly more agreement with parental religious teachings than did the low emphasis group ( $p<.01$ ), but significantly less agreement than the high emphasis group ( $p<.01$ ). The possibility arises that our different religious groups place differing degrees of emphasis on religious teachings for their children, and this may account for the differential agreement among religious groups. That is, the religious background from which students come may not be particularly important in determining their agreement with parental teachings. What may be much more important is how strongly religion was emphasized as they were growing up. This possibility is made more salient by the existence (over all University of Manitoba subjects) of a moderately

Table 7

Mean "Agreement" Scores by Background Religious Denomination, Year in University,  
and Reported Parental Emphasis of Religion

		Mennonites (U of Man)	Roman Catholics (U of Man)	United Church (U of Man)
First Year	High Emph	3.52 (31)	3.09 (70)	3.50 (22)
	Mod Emph	3.63 (8)	2.55 (38)	2.27 (101)
	Low Emph	2.00 (2)	1.50 (4)	1.44 (36)
Third Year	High Emph	3.73 (15)	2.71 (28)	2.64 (14)
	Mod Emph	3.75 (4)	2.00 (11)	2.52 (48)
	Low Emph	0.00 (1)	1.00 (5)	1.53 (15)

Note. - The higher the score, the greater the reported agreement.  
The number of subjects in each cell is given in parentheses.

Table 8

Analysis of Variance of "Agreement" Scores by Background Religious Denomination,  
Year in University, and Reported Parental Emphasis of Religion

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Religion (A)	2	11.67	7.55*
Year (B)	1	15.51	10.04*
Emphasis (C)	2	121.28	78.51*
A x B	2	.97	.63
A x C	4	3.55	2.30
B x C	2	3.55	2.30
A x B x C	4	2.41	1.56
Within Cells	435	1.54	

\* $p < .01$

strong correlation between emphasis scores (item B2) and agreement scores (item B9) ( $r=+.44$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

A 2x3 factorial ANOVA (fixed effects) was calculated using emphasis scores (item B2) as the dependent variable,<sup>6</sup> and year in university (first or third) and religious background (Mennonite, Roman Catholic, or United Church) as independent variables. As shown in Table 9, the ANOVA revealed a main effect for religion ( $F=59.36$ ,  $df=2/451$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Thus, Mennonites perceived their parents as having emphasized religion to a significantly greater degree ( $M=3.95$ ) than did United Church subjects ( $M=2.42$ ). Tukey's HSD test indicated that Roman Catholics ( $M=3.56$ ) perceived their parents as having emphasized religion significantly less than Mennonites ( $p<.05$ ), but significantly more than United subjects ( $p<.01$ ).

Thus, even though the religion by emphasis interaction in Table 8 was not significant ( $F=2.30$ ,  $df=4/435$ ,  $p<.06$ ) the above analysis indicated that differential agreement among our three religions might be attributable to the effects of differential emphasis among these three groups. In order to test this possibility, an analysis of covariance was carried out on the agreement scores controlling for emphasis scores, over the three religious groups. Results indicated that a significant main effect for religious denomination remained for the adjusted group means ( $F=5.14$ ,  $df=2/448$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Controlling for the effects of reported emphasis, the (nonsignificant) difference previously seen between

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<sup>6</sup>For this analysis, item B2 (emphasis) was scored such that 0="no emphasis was placed on religion," and 5="a very strong emphasis was placed on religion."

Table 9

Analysis of Variance of "Emphasis" Scores by Background Religious Denomination,  
and Year in University

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Religion (A)	2	68.24	59.36*
Year (B)	1	.02	.02
A x B	2	.35	.31
Within Cells	451	1.15	

\* $p < .01$

Roman Catholics and United Church subjects virtually disappeared. In fact, a slight reversal in position took place such that United Church subjects were in slightly greater agreement with their parents' religious teachings ( $M_{adj}=2.56$ ) than were Roman Catholics ( $M_{adj}=2.46$ ), controlling for the effects of emphasis. It was the Mennonites who were still in significantly stronger agreement with parents' religious teachings ( $M_{adj}=3.06$ ). Thus, even though emphasis is related to the agreement or disagreement of university students with their parents' religious teachings, there would seem to be something distinctive about the Mennonite religion which produces greater agreement with religious teachings, even after notable differences in reported parental emphasis are taken into account.

#### Issue II

Issue II focusses on the possibility that a trend may exist for third-year university students to be in less agreement with parents' religious teachings than first-year students.

Cross-sectional findings. The ANOVA of agreement scores shown in Table 8 reveals a significant main effect for year in university ( $F=10.04$ ,  $df=1/435$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Thus, overall, third-year subjects are in less agreement with their parents' religious teachings ( $M=2.52$ ) than are first-year subjects ( $M=2.63$ ). This is consistent with the expected trend away from institutionalized religion over university years. However, it is to be noted that this tendency is very small overall.

And even though the religion by year interaction in the ANOVA (Table 8) is not statistically significant, it is evident that the main effect for year in university is significant only by virtue of the difference existing for Roman Catholic subjects. While the means for first-year and third-year Mennonites (3.46 versus 3.55) and United



Church subjects (2.25 versus 2.35) both showed slight trends toward greater agreement for third-year subjects than for first-year subjects, a relatively large difference exists for Roman Catholics to be less religious in third-year than in first-year (2.85 versus 2.34). These differences are illustrated in Figure 1.

Longitudinal data. The relevant longitudinal data (see Table 10) provided no indication of a general trend away from acceptance of religious teachings. None of the mean scores for item B11 ("acceptance scores") of the third-year religious groups differed significantly from the corresponding first-year scores, nor was the overall comparison of first- as opposed to third-year students' scores significant.

### Issue III

This issue is concerned with the correlates of public versus church-related school attendance. Specifically, do students attending church-related colleges accept their home religion to a greater extent than do students attending public schools - and if so, is the effect due to a difference in the emphasis reportedly placed on the religion in the home? Secondly, does the amount of schooling in church-related elementary and secondary schools correlate with present agreement with the perceived parental religious teachings? Both of these questions were examined for Mennonite and Roman Catholic subjects.

Differences in agreement between parochial and public college students. A 3x2 analysis of variance was computed for Mennonite students, using item B9 (present agreement with parents' religious teachings) as the dependent variable. Independent variables included institution of enrollment (University of Manitoba, Canadian Mennonite Bible College, or Mennonite Brethren Bible College), and year in university (first or third). Although there was a tendency for MBBC students to be in greater

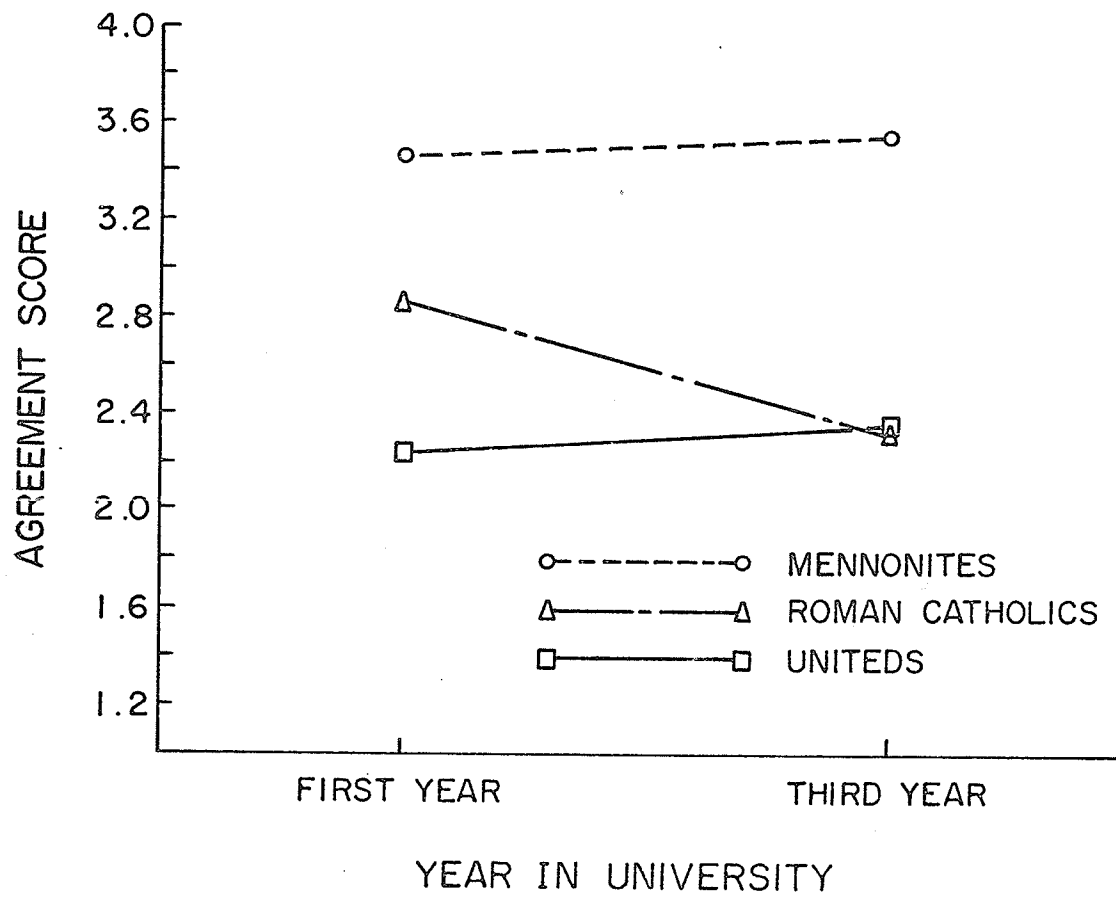


FIG. 1 Mean agreement scores by year in university and background religious denomination

Table 10

Mean "Acceptance" Scores (Item B11) for First-Year Students in 1970 and the Same Students in 1973, by Background Religious Denomination

	Mennonites (n=8)	Roman Catholics (n=28)	United Church (n=52)	Overall (n=88)
1970 Scores	2.38	1.61 <sup>a</sup>	1.69 <sup>a</sup>	1.73
1973 Scores	2.38	1.71	1.54	1.67

Note. - The higher the score, the greater the acceptance of the beliefs of one's faith. The scale ranged from 0 ("not at all") to 3 ("completely").

<sup>a</sup>These means are not the same as the corresponding means shown in Table 4 (p. 43a) because of the different sample sizes. The above sample sizes are smaller than those shown in Table 4, because some subjects did not respond to item B11 both in 1970 and in 1973, and thus they were necessarily excluded from this table.

agreement with parental teachings than University of Manitoba or CMBC students, none of the ANOVA effects was significant. Table 11 shows the mean scores, and Table 12 gives the analysis of variance for the above test.

A similar ANOVA was calculated for Roman Catholics attending the University of Manitoba and St. Paul's College (i.e. a 2x2 ANOVA). St. Paul's Roman Catholics were found to be in significantly greater agreement with their parents' religious teachings (item B9) than were University of Manitoba Catholics. The means for this analysis are shown in Table 13, and the ANOVA in Table 14.

An analysis of covariance was computed to control for the effects of emphasis in the home in the above ANOVA. The covariance analysis revealed an F of 7.18 ( $p < .01$ ).

Present agreement and amount of elementary and secondary education in church-related schools. Correlations were computed between the number of years of both church-related elementary and high school attendance, and students' present agreement with parental teachings regarding religion (item B9). The number of church-related high school and elementary school years was determined from subjects' responses to item A5. These correlations are shown in Table 15.

Only one of the correlations in the above table achieved an acceptable level of statistical significance - the correlation for the high school education of MBBC students - and this was a negative correlation. In addition, the one significant correlation was little more than one might expect by chance, given the .05 level of significance, and the fact that 12 such correlations were assessed. Thus, there was little indication of a relationship between number of years in church-related elementary and high schools, and current agreement with the religious beliefs taught by one's parents.

Table 11

Mean Agreement Scores by Institution of Enrollment (Mennonite Subjects Only) and  
Year in University

	Univ of Man	CMBC	MBBC	Overall
First Year	3.46 (41)	3.57 (21)	3.63 (8)	3.51 (70)
Third Year	3.55 (20)	3.00 (11)	4.04 (23)	3.65 (54)
Overall	3.49 (61)	3.38 (32)	3.94 (31)	

Note.- The higher the score, the greater the agreement.

The sample sizes for each cell are given in parentheses

Table 12

Analysis of Variance of Agreement Scores by Institution of Enrollment (Mennonite Subjects Only) and Year in University

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	2	2.86	2.65
Year (B)	1	.01	.01
A x B	2	2.00	1.85
Within Cells	118	1.07	

Table 13

Mean Agreement Scores by Institution of Enrollment (Roman Catholic Subjects Only)  
and Year in University

	U of Man	St. Paul's	Overall
First Year	2.85 (112)	3.32 (47)	2.99 (159)
Third Year	2.34 (44)	3.19 (16)	2.57 (60)
Overall	2.71 (156)	3.29 (63)	

Note. - The higher the score, the greater the agreement.

The sample sizes for each cell are given in parentheses.

Table 14

Analysis of Variance of Agreement Scores by Institution of Enrollment (Roman Catholic Subjects Only) and Year in University

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	1	19.48	11.73*
Year (B)	1	4.45	2.68
A x B	1	1.22	.74
Within Cells	215	1.66	

\* $p < .01$



Table 15

Correlations Between Number of Years in Church-Related Elementary and High Schools  
With Present Agreement with Parental Teachings

	Mennonites			Roman Catholics		United
	U of Man (n=61)	CMBC (n=32)	MBBC (n=31)	U of Man (n=154)	St Paul's (n=60)	U of Man (n=235)
Elementary School	+ .14	+ .10	- .21	+ .05	+ .10	- .07
High School	- .08	- .08	- .36*	+ .02	- .08	- .01

\*p<.05

Supplementary Findings Regarding Religious Ideology and Practice

While not directly related to the issue of "agreement with parental religious teachings," supplementary analyses of a number of measures of religiosity are of particular interest to the three issues of concern in the present study.

Issue I. The pattern of differential agreement with parents' religious teachings for the three different religious groups (University of Manitoba subjects), as revealed by the ANOVA of agreement scores (Table 8, p.50), also held for a number of different measures of religiosity. That is, United Church subjects were consistently found to be significantly "less religious" than Mennonites, with Roman Catholics being intermediate.

For instance, with respect to belief in God (item B24), 25% of the 239 United subjects were agnostic or atheistic. That is, they responded "I don't know whether there is a God, and I don't believe there is any way to find out," or "I don't believe in God." At the same time, only 13% of the 153 Roman Catholics replied similarly, and just 3% of the 59 Mennonites fell into these categories. This pattern was significant ( $X^2 = 63.04$ ,  $df = 8$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

Other items also reflected this trend. Responses to item B25 (belief in Jesus Christ) indicated that 16% of the United subjects felt "Jesus was not only human but also is the Divine Son of God and I have no doubts about it." Corresponding percentages for Roman Catholics and Mennonites were 42% and 65% respectively ( $X^2 = 63.04$ ,  $df = 8$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Similar significant trends were found for items B26 (belief in the Bible) ( $X^2 = 124.13$ ,  $df = 8$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and B27 (belief in miracles) ( $X^2 = 64.88$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

In addition, further ANOVA's (similar to the 3x2x3 ANOVA of item B9 given earlier in Table 8) indicated significant main effects for

religion for items B18 (frequency of church attendance), B21 (frequency of prayer), and B22 (frequency of Scripture or devotional reading).<sup>7</sup> That is, Mennonites reported attending church significantly more frequently ( $M = 3.28$ ) than did United subjects ( $M = 1.18$ ) while Roman Catholics were intermediate ( $M = 2.51$ ) ( $F = 24.41$ ,  $df = 2/450$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Mennonites also tended to pray more frequently ( $M = 3.80$ ) than did Uniteds ( $M = 1.76$ ) with Roman Catholics intermediate ( $M = 2.83$ ) ( $F = 7.06$ ,  $df = 2/450$ ,  $p < .01$ ). And finally, Mennonites tended to read Scriptural and devotional readings more frequently ( $M = 2.86$ ) than did United subjects ( $M = .68$ ). Roman Catholics were again intermediate ( $M = 1.11$ ) ( $F = 39.90$ ,  $df = 2/450$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Tukey's HSD test indicated that in each of the above comparisons (i.e. church attendance, prayer, and Scriptural reading), the frequency reported by Roman Catholics was significantly greater than the frequency reported by United subjects ( $p < .01$ ), but significantly less than that reported by Mennonites ( $p < .01$ ). Tables A, C, and E in Appendix VIII show the mean scores for these analyses while Tables B, D, and F show the ANOVA's for these three dependent measures.

These results well establish the differential religiosity among our three religious groups, with Mennonites being consistently significantly more religious than United subjects, and the mean scores for Roman Catholics consistently fell between the Mennonite and United mean scores (but significantly different from each).

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<sup>7</sup> Because of the multiple nature of these ANOVA's, a more stringent alpha level (.01) was used to assess the statistical significance of the results.

Issue II. Tables B; D, and F in Appendix VIII show that the three supplementary ANOVA's also yielded significant main effects for year at university. Third-year subjects, as opposed to first-year subjects, attended church less frequently (Means: 1.56 versus 2.08;  $F = 20.19$ ,  $df = 1/438$ ,  $p < .01$ ), prayed less frequently (Means: 2.16 versus 2.50;  $F = 8.30$ ,  $df = 1/427$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and read Scriptural or devotional readings less frequently (Means: 1.00 versus 1.16;  $F = 12.87$ ,  $df = 1/431$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

While the overall (i.e. main effect) comparisons were significant for each of the three variables (church attendance, prayer, and Scriptural reading), individual comparisons of first- versus third-year subjects for each of the three religious groups for each variable revealed that only two of the nine comparisons were significant. First-year Roman Catholics reported attending church more frequently than did third-year Catholics (Means: 2.75 versus 1.89;  $t = 2.98$ ,  $df = 154$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and similarly first-year United subjects reported greater frequency of church attendance than did third-year United subjects (Means: 1.31 versus .94;  $t = 2.31$ ,  $df = 238$ ,  $p < .03$ ).

Little indication of a trend away from religion over university years is drawn from  $X^2$  tests of items B24 (belief in God), B25 (belief in Jesus Christ), B26 (belief in the Bible), and B27 (belief in miracles). Comparing first- and third-year subjects for all University of Manitoba subjects (excluding St. Paul's subjects), only one of these four variables revealed a significant effect. This was the comparison made for belief in Jesus Christ ( $X^2 = 10.27$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and was due to a greater proportion of first-year subjects (66%) than third-year subjects (55%) reporting a belief in Jesus as the Divine Son of God.

When similar comparisons were made for each of the three religious groups, the only  $X^2$  which attained significance was that computed for United Church subjects for item B25 ( $X^2 = 13.34$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The

significant effect is due to a greater percentage of first-year subjects (20%) responding to "Jesus was not only human but also is the Divine Son of God and I have no doubts about it," than did third-year subjects (9%). In addition, a greater percentage of third-year subjects (52%) checked categories two and three (i.e. those viewing Jesus as not a divine being), than did first-year subjects (34%). Thus, there seemed to be a tendency for third-year United Church subjects to view Jesus Christ as a "human being" while first-year United subjects were more likely to view him as divine.

Issue III. Two by three ANOVA's similar to the ANOVA of "agreement scores" shown in Table 12 (p. 59) were computed using items B18 (frequency of church attendance), B21 (frequency of prayer), and B22 (frequency of Scriptural or devotional reading) as dependent variables. A significant tendency emerged such that the MBBC students reported attending church more frequently than did University of Manitoba Mennonites. Tukey's HSD test revealed that CMBC students' reported frequency of church attendance was significantly greater than that of University of Manitoba Mennonites ( $p < .01$ ), but not significantly different from MBBC students.

Similarly, MBBC students tended to report praying more frequently than did the University of Manitoba Mennonites, with CMBC students reporting frequency of prayer only slightly greater than that of the University of Manitoba Mennonites (but not significantly less than MBBC students as tested by Tukey's HSD test). Finally, MBBC students tended to report reading Scriptural writings with greater frequency than did University of Manitoba Mennonites. For this comparison, Tukey's HSD test indicated that the reported frequency of CMBC students was significantly less than that of the MBBC students ( $p < .05$ ), but not significantly different from University of Manitoba Mennonites. A summary of the relevant means and F ratios for the main effects for

institution of enrollment is given in Table 16. None of the main effects for year, nor the interactions were significant.

Similarly, 2x2 ANOVA's revealed that St. Paul's College students attended church more frequently, prayed more frequently, and read Scriptural readings more frequently than did University of Manitoba Catholics. Table 16 shows the means and F ratios for these main effects. Only in the case of church attendance was the main effect for year significant, such that first-year Roman Catholics attended church more frequently ( $M = 2.88$ ) than did third-year Catholics ( $M = 2.19$ ;  $F = 4.29$ ,  $df = 1/215$ ,  $p < .05$ ). None of the interactions was significant.

Chi square analyses revealed similar differences between students attending church-related colleges and their University of Manitoba counterparts, although these differences were not always significant. A chi square was calculated for both Mennonites and Roman Catholics attending different institutions, for items B24 (belief in God), B25 (belief in Jesus Christ), B26 (belief in the Bible), and B27 (belief in miracles).

MBBC students were consistently more conservative in their beliefs than were University of Manitoba and CMBC students. However, only items B26 (belief in the Bible) and B27 (belief in miracles) revealed significant chi squares. For instance, 83% of the MBBC students responded to item B26, "I believe the Bible is the divinely inspired and infallible Word of God, the only trustworthy guide for faith and life." This compared with 52% of the University of Manitoba Mennonites and 52% of the CMBC students replying to the item ( $\chi^2 = 71.52$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

Similarly, 81% of the MBBC students replied to item B27, "I believe the miracles were supernatural acts of God which actually happened just as the Bible says they did." On the other hand, only 59% of the University of Manitoba Mennonites, and just 50% of the CMBC students responded similarly ( $\chi^2 = 14.26$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

Table 16

Summary of Means and F Ratios for Frequency of Church Attendance, Frequency of Prayer, and Frequency of Scriptural/Devotional Reading, for Mennonites and Roman Catholics Enrolled at Different Institutions

	Mennonites			ANOVA
	Means			
	U of Man	CMBC	MBBC	<u>F</u>
Church Attendance	3.28	3.97	4.06	4.29*
Frequency of Prayer	3.80	3.94	4.71	5.17**
Frequency of Script. Reading	2.86	3.32	4.23	6.91**
	Roman Catholics			
	U of Man	St. Paul's		<u>F</u>
Church Attendance	2.51	3.14		12.28**
Frequency of Prayer	2.83	3.66		12.50**
Frequency of Script. Reading	1.11	1.48		5.19*

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

### Sex Differences

Females appeared consistently to be "more religious" than were males. For instance, they were in greater agreement with parental religious teachings (item B9) than were males ( $t = 2.84$ ,  $df = 450$ ,  $p < .01$ ). They also reported attending church more frequently than males (item B18;  $t = 3.67$ ,  $df = 455$ ,  $p < .001$ ), praying more frequently than males (item B21;  $t = 4.30$ ,  $df = 444$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and reading Scriptural or devotional writings more frequently than males (item B22;  $t = 3.02$ ,  $df = 448$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

In addition, females tended to report a more conservative belief in God than did males (item B24;  $\chi^2 = 13.34$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Tendencies for females to be more traditional in their belief in Jesus Christ, the Bible, and miracles were not significant by  $\chi^2$  tests.

These trends were quite consistent within each religious group, for both first-year and third-year students, with only occasional exceptions.



## Discussion

### Potential Sample Bias

As mentioned previously, a substantial number of those people "eligible" for the third-year sample in the present study did not actually participate in the experiment. That is, since many subjects who had filled out the psychometric questionnaire in 1970 (thus making them "eligible" for this (1973) study) were no longer at university, were unable to be located, or in a few cases declined to participate in this study, only part of the potential third-year sample was actually included in the present study. Thus the possibility exists that some sort of selection bias occurred within this population. For instance, more religious students may be more (or less) likely to drop out of university before graduation, or more religious students might be more (or less) likely to agree to serve in the study once contacted. Thus, those subjects actually included in the present sample may have tended to appear more or less religious than a first-year sample simply because of sample bias. It is also possible that such trends might differentially affect the Mennonite, Catholic, and United Church samples.

Results indicated that overall the included subjects did not differ significantly from the non-included subjects on "acceptance" scores. However, comparisons for each religious group indicated a significant tendency for included United subjects to be more "religious" than non-included subjects. A similar tendency for Mennonites was not significant.

Another possible form of sample bias might arise if different proportions of males and females were included in different religious groups. Since females have often been found in previous studies to be more religious than males (e.g. Allport et al., 1948), a greater proportion of females in one particular sample could make it appear more

religious than would a similar non-biased sample.

Results indicated that while the sexual composition of the samples was quite similar for (University of Manitoba) Catholic and United Church respondents, in both first- and third-year samples the third-year Mennonite sample included a higher proportion of male subjects.

These potentially biasing influences on the data must be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

#### Relevance of Supplementary Findings Regarding Religious Ideology and Practice

While the present study is concerned primarily with university students' reported agreement with the religious beliefs they were taught as they were growing up, it is also instructive to examine various aspects of these students' present religiosity. First, present religiosity is likely to be related to agreement with parental religious teachings, since only those students who were brought up in the context of a specific religious denomination (i.e. Mennonite, Roman Catholic, or United Church) were included in the present study. Particularly, students from agnostic and atheistic family backgrounds were excluded.

Second, much of the previous research related to the present study, has dealt with religiosity rather than "agreement" with religious teachings. Thus, analyses of religiosity relate more directly to the previous literature. A discussion of these measures of religiosity is therefore included in the discussion of each of the three issues of concern.

Measures of religiosity included "ideology" items B24 (belief in God), B25 (belief in Jesus Christ), B26 (belief in the Bible), and B27 (belief in miracles), and also "behaviour" items B18 (frequency of church attendance), B21 (frequency of prayer), and B22 (frequency of Scriptural or devotional readings). The results relating to these items were given on pages 63 - 67.

### Issue I. Denominational Differences in Agreement

The data indicated there were significant differences in the extent to which university students from different religious backgrounds reported agreement with the religious beliefs of their parents. Consistent with the findings of our earlier pilot study, University of Manitoba Mennonites in this investigation reported significantly greater agreement with parental religious teachings than did United Church subjects, while University of Manitoba Roman Catholic subjects were intermediate in their agreement, differing significantly from the Mennonites only.

In addition, chi square tests indicated that these differences among religious groups were not restricted to perceived agreement with parental teachings, but also applied with respect to more direct measures of religiosity. That is, Mennonites tended to report significantly firmer beliefs in God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the importance of the Bible, and the reality of Biblical miracles than did United Church subjects. Roman Catholics were consistently intermediate in their beliefs with respect to these topics. And finally, Mennonites reported attending church significantly more frequently, praying significantly more frequently, and reading Scriptural or devotional readings significantly more frequently than did Uniteds, with Roman Catholics again falling consistently (and significantly) between these two groups. Not only were the above differences statistically significant, but they were "practically significant" as well. That is, considerable differentiation occurred on the scales used, with sizeable differences in means visible for scaled items.

Recalling the potential sample biases noted earlier, it might be pointed out that the potential sex bias would serve to minimize the above finding. That is, the greater proportion of males in the Mennonite sample would tend to decrease the overall agreement score for Menno-

nites (since third-year Mennonite males were in less agreement with their parents' teachings than were females). Thus, in spite of this potential counteracting influence, Mennonites are in significantly greater agreement with parental religious teachings than are either Roman Catholics or Uniteds. The possible effects of this potential sample bias on the measures of religiosity would be similar to the above. That is, the bias would tend to minimize the findings of differential religiosity for our three religious groups. However, the findings attain statistical significance in spite of this possible counteracting influence.

Similarly, the possible tendency for United subjects included in the present sample to be more religious than those not included, works against the present findings, since United Church subjects scored lowest on "agreement." That is, United subjects in the present sample may appear to be in greater agreement with parental teaching than is actually the case among United Church university students, because of sample bias. The similar tendency for Mennonites (although it was not significant) would, if it had any effect at all, cause a parallel shift to that for Uniteds, and thus should not seriously affect the overall differences found between United and Mennonite subjects. The only possible change would seem to be that, relatively speaking, Roman Catholics may appear to be further away from Mennonites, and closer to the United Church subjects in their agreement (and religiosity) scores than they in fact are.

The findings of differential agreement and religiosity then seem to contradict previous findings of greater rejection of religious teaching among orthodox Protestant sects (Allport et al., 1948; Arsenian, 1943; Hites, 1965; Lenski, 1961; Stewart, 1967; Thiessen et al., 1969).

The contradictory nature of these findings may be due to a number of factors. First, previous research has failed to distinguish among various Protestant groupings. Rather, studies have often included Unitarians, Universalists and other similar groups in the category of "liberal Protestantism," while lumping all other Protestant groups in a category of "orthodox Protestantism." The present data indicate that these groupings may be inappropriate.

In addition, many authors have accepted as "common sense" the notion that children raised in a system of "orthodox" teachings and yet within the context of today's "secular society," should react to the conservative teachings of their upbringing. That is, when a child has a rather "narrow" religious ideology forced upon him, while at the same time he is also exposed to other more liberal ideas, he may be disposed to reject the "narrow" teachings of his parents. A number of adolescent psychology books seem to accept this "common sense" line of reasoning with little or no recourse to empirical data (e.g. Cole & Hall, 1970; Crow & Crow, 1965; Douvan & Adelson, 1966). "Common sense" notwithstanding, the above line of reasoning is contradicted by the present findings. On the other hand, it is possible that Mennonites (the only conservative Protestant group investigated in this study) are for some reason, an exception to a pattern that may hold for other such denominations.

As indicated by the pilot study, the emphasis parents placed on religion as their children were growing up seems to play a very important role in the eventual agreement or disagreement of university students with their parents' religious teachings. Thus, it was found that homes in which religious teachings were perceived to be strongly emphasized were considerably more likely to produce young adults who reported agreement with those teachings. And "moderate emphasis"

homes were associated with significantly less agreement than "strong emphasis" homes, but significantly more agreement than "weak emphasis" homes.

It was also noted that there was a strong tendency for Mennonite homes reportedly to emphasize religion to a greater extent than Roman Catholic homes, which in turn emphasized religion more than United Church homes. However, as indicated by the analysis of covariance, the influence of emphasis in the home was not sufficient in itself to explain differential agreement with parental teachings among our three religious groups. Mennonites still differed significantly from the other two religious groups, when the effects of emphasis were statistically controlled. This "uniqueness" of the Mennonite effectiveness in retaining agreement with parental teachings could be due to a number of factors.

For instance, Mennonites may be reared in a more "closed environment" than some other religions. That is, there may be a greater tendency for Mennonites to come from homes where family, relatives, and acquaintances are of the same religion, than for other religions. It is possible that certain beliefs unique to the Mennonite faith, or various cultural or social aspects of Mennonite life which may accompany the religious teachings may be relevant factors. For example, a tendency may exist for Mennonites to view themselves as an ethnic group separate from the rest of society.

One thing which became apparent in the interviews was that Mennonites may be able to "isolate" their religious beliefs from other aspects of life. That is, they may enter high school or university determined to separate education and religion. This is illustrated by B. L., a Mennonite youth who stated:

I came to university to learn "secular subjects,"

or subjects that aren't related to Christianity or religion and that's about all I've learned... I consider university to be separate from church, from Christianity. So university and my religious life are completely separate, except that I live my religious life in university.

Further research is necessary to assess the above possibilities.

#### Issue II. Changes in Religious Acceptance Over the University Years

It may be recalled that previous research has in general found that university students become more religiously "liberal" over the course of their college education (see for example, Feldman, 1969). Our results indicate at most a weak tendency in this direction however. All things considered, religious beliefs seem to persist among our University of Manitoba students, rather than change.

There was, it is true, a significant difference in agreement with parental teachings between our first- and third-year subjects in the cross-sectional experiment. However, it was apparent that this effect was due entirely to a significant difference between first- and third-year Roman Catholics - slight changes in the opposite direction occurred for Mennonite and United Church subjects. The drop among Catholics was appreciable but not overwhelming (2.85 to 2.34). In turn it is possible that the rise in agreement among the Mennonite and United Church subjects was due to a tendency for more religious students from these denominations to appear in our third-year samples. However, it is very unlikely, given the apparent small size of this bias (Table 5, p. 45) that an unbiased sample of these students would produce a significant drop in agreement between first- and third-year students.

In addition, the disproportionate number of males in the third-year Mennonite sample would not seem to have been a biasing factor since both Mennonite males and females showed very similar differences between first- and third-year subjects. Third-year males tended to be in greater agreement with parental religious teachings ( $M = 3.25$ ) than did first-year males ( $M = 2.93$ ), and third-year Mennonite females also showed greater agreement ( $M = 4.00$ ) than did the first-year Mennonite females ( $M = 3.77$ ). Neither of these differences was significant.

The evidence for a drop in agreement with parental religious teachings then seems to rest mainly on the cross-sectional data on Catholics.

The evidence that no major changes occur over university years is somewhat stronger. There were no significant changes in acceptance in any of the groups involved in the longitudinal study. And only one of the 12 chi square analyses of belief in God, Jesus, the Bible, and Biblical miracles (i.e. for each University religious group) showed a significant change. It is true that overall, the indices of religious practice (church attendance, prayer, and Scriptural reading) each showed a significant drop over time. But this is a small effect which seems to attain statistical significance because of large sample sizes, as is shown by the fact that only two of the nine religion-by-religion comparisons attained significance.

Some of these findings indicating no substantial drop in religiosity are weaker than they seem. The longitudinal item (B11: "How completely would you say you now accept the beliefs of your faith?") is probably more ambiguous than the cross-sectional item measuring agreement (B9: "To what extent would you say you still hold the religious beliefs taught you when you were growing up?"), and the latter offers a more detailed set of responses. And if the religious practices and ideology show few significant changes on a religion-by-religion



analysis, there was usually a tendency for Catholic and United subjects to show a drop over time.

But, taking all things into account, it does seem that if shifts in religious acceptance (or ideology or practice) did occur over the time our subjects attended the University of Manitoba, they were certainly not large, dramatic shifts. It seems far more likely, in view of the data, that there were small shifts, or none at all.

This conclusion is strongly borne out by the contents of the interviews held with a subsample of our third-year subjects. The 50 interviewees almost invariably perceived their religious beliefs as having changed very little or not at all since their arrival at university some two and a half, or three and a half years previously. With very few exceptions, any "change" which was reported was perceived to be essentially a crystallizing or solidifying of earlier beliefs. Quite typical, for example, were the remarks of M. P., a male student from a United Church background. When asked how his religious beliefs had changed since coming to university, he replied:

I can't see that they've changed too much.

Possibly I've gotten more definite opinions on what I think is right and possibly that there is someone else up above more or less who has...we are partially under their control. I've been exposed to different speakers and so on, but I don't think it's changed my opinions. It's just made them more confirmed.

And similarly, M. D., a girl from Mennonite background, said:

I think I have made my beliefs more personal

and I think I know now why I believe...Basically, I have the same beliefs I had before but I know now to a great extent why I believe them. ...I've thought through some of these issues. I've made them my own beliefs instead of just something I've been taught and didn't really know why I believed them. I think I've looked around and I know why I believe them now.

Changes which were mentioned were often changes in peripheral beliefs only - the more important tenets of subjects' religious orientation at the same time did not change to any great extent.

For example, D. F., a girl from a Mennonite home, mentioned that while she has not changed her position on basic religious issues (e.g. the existence of God, the divinity of Christ, the place of the Bible in her life), she has changed her orientation on some "moral issues" related to religion. For instance, she now "accepts" dancing, movies, and drinking, whereas these were not accepted when she was younger. However, while she is willing to "accept" them, D. points out that she doesn't let them "become the important things in my life."

L. W., another Mennonite student, similarly pointed out:

My basic religious beliefs have remained the same... um...you know, the doctrines of Christianity - there's been no change of mind. I've become maybe a little more liberal on the outlook of...more openminded to other people's ideas, maybe. You know, because you are exposed to a wider range of different people and different beliefs, and you learn to get to know other people.

A Roman Catholic student, E. D., responded:

My beliefs I don't think have changed at all... my attitude maybe might have...I think my whole attitude towards it (religion) is a more natural type - part of my everyday life...it's a more mental thing.

Contrary to previous research (Meissner, 1961; Kuhlen & Arnold, 1944), many students in the present interview sample seemed to have made up their minds about religion before they came to university, as exemplified by S. G., a Roman Catholic:

I don't think they've (religious beliefs) really changed that much. I think if I had filled out your questionnaire three years ago, it would have been basically the same. I think I had my mind made up then.

Suppose then, to put this matter in perspective, one were to ask, "What has shaped a student's religious outlook as he graduates from the University of Manitoba?" The results of this study seem to indicate clearly that the most important factor is the outlook he had when he first entered the university. This in turn seems related to the emphasis the parents placed on religion, socio-cultural factors associated with the religion, and so forth. But the university's effect on its students' religious acceptance (and beliefs and practices) would seem to be minimal compared to the forces that shaped the student during the prior 18 years. By and large it seems that when a class graduates, it is not very different in overall religious outlook than

it was when it first entered university.

Finally, it is to be noted that virtually all of the research which has investigated changes in religious orientation over university years, has been carried out in American universities. Thus, the possibility exists that the present finding of little or no change over the university years, may "conflict" with previous findings of a distinct trend toward "liberality" because of certain differences between the University of Manitoba, and many American universities.

For example, while students often live away from home while attending American universities, a substantial proportion of students attending the University of Manitoba still live with their parents. In a study carried out about a decade ago (Pickering, 1965) it was found that 55% of over 1,000 senior students at the University of Manitoba reported spending at least three (of their three or four) years at home (i.e. while attending university). Many others had spent at least one or two years living at home. Thus, the home influence is likely to be quite strong for the majority of students attending the University of Manitoba.

In addition, there is no strong "liberal" atmosphere among the faculty at the University of Manitoba such as that found by Newcomb (1943) in his study of Bennington College coeds. Thus, a confounding variable at some particular schools such as Bennington may have been a strong "liberal" atmosphere. This "liberal" atmosphere may be absent in other schools, such as the University of Manitoba.

The possibility that the present findings are unique to the University of Manitoba, or possibly in a more general sense to Canadian universities as opposed to American universities, is in need of further investigation.

### Issue III. Correlates of Church-Related School Attendance

Results indicated no significant tendency for either Canadian Mennonite Bible College or Mennonite Brethren Bible College students to report greater agreement with parents' religious teachings, than

University of Manitoba Mennonites (although the difference between MBBC and University of Manitoba subjects approached significance). Items relating to religious practice revealed significant tendencies for MBBC students to report greater frequency of church attendance, prayer, and Scriptural reading than University of Manitoba Mennonites. CMBC students differed significantly from their University of Manitoba counterparts on only one of these items - frequency of church attendance.

Regarding religious ideology, significant differences were found for two of the four items tested, and these differences were attributable largely to a tendency for MBBC students to be more conservative in their beliefs regarding the Bible, and Biblical miracles.

The evidence thus indicated no substantial tendency for Mennonite students at our two church-related schools to be in greater agreement with their parents' religious teaching than their University of Manitoba counterparts. In addition, few ideological differences were found between University of Manitoba and church-related school Mennonites. The two differences found seem to apply to only one of the two Mennonite colleges (MBBC). Differences in religious practices were consistent for MBBC students only (as opposed to University of Manitoba Mennonites).

With respect to the Roman Catholic students, a significant tendency was found to exist for St. Paul's College students to report greater agreement with parents' religious teachings than University of Manitoba Catholics. This effect remained significant, controlling for the effects of parental emphasis placed on religion, thus indicating that the above finding could not be attributed solely to any differences in reported parental emphasis between St. Paul's students and University of Manitoba Catholics.

Similarly, St. Paul's students reported significantly greater frequencies of church attendance, prayer, and Scriptural reading, than did their University of Manitoba counterparts. However, with respect to religious ideology, no significant differences were evident between the two groups of subjects. Thus it would seem that, for the Catholic students, the difference found in agreement with parents' religious teachings, is more related to behaviour than to ideology.

In view of the findings for both Mennonites and Roman Catholics, one could not conclude that there is a clear relationship between acceptance, religious beliefs, or practices, and church-related school attendance. Even though students at two church-related schools reported consistently greater frequencies of religious practices, the third church-related school did not reveal such consistent differences. Thus, in the case of the Mennonites in particular, differences may be due to distinctive features of the Mennonite Brethren (see pages 26-27), rather than church-relatedness per se. So, while some evidence exists that persons attending particular religious schools may be more accepting of religious teachings, more religiously active, and possibly exhibit ideological differences, no across the board generalization is possible.

It is possible, of course, that differences in the methodology which were unavoidable in the administration of the questionnaires to the Mennonite church colleges (see p. 40), may have in some way biased the results obtained from these two groups. The findings for the Mennonite church colleges must thus be regarded with a certain degree of caution.

The data also indicated there was no tendency for present agreement with parents' religious teachings to be related to the number of years spent at church-related elementary or high schools. This finding is contrary to previous findings insofar as Mueller (1957) and others have found a

relationship between extent of parochial school attendance, and religiosity (i.e. not "agreement"). It is possible that earlier findings were specific to religious groups not included in the present study, or to specific aspects of "religiosity" rather than "agreement." The present findings provide no indication that church-related schools achieve a purpose for which they may be intended - that is, to encourage young people to accept the "faith of their elders."

In fact, the interviews indicated that it may not be unusual for the opposite to occur. That is, attendance at church-related schools may lead some students to reject early religious teachings (particularly for Roman Catholic students). This may have been occasioned by being forced to attend one (parochial) school, while one's neighbourhood friends attended a different (public) school. But another factor which was mentioned a number of times was the effect of seeing priests and/or nuns as "human beings." That is, they did not live up to the expectations which the young Roman Catholics held for them. This was the case for instance, for J. T., who attended a Jesuit high school:

I suppose I was the typical 13-year-old very Catholic-oriented kid. And I guess during the next year or so...I suppose around grade 10, was just a very eroding experience. I suppose mostly because of my first-hand look at the priests who taught us, and finding out that in fact they were just like everybody else. And I suppose this is one thing that most Catholics don't really have the opportunity to see, if they only meet their priest - the Parish priest - on Sundays. He's sort of above and beyond. But we would see cases of 24 being delivered to the

door, and that sort of thing. So it was a very eroding thing of respect for authority.

In summary then, church-related colleges are not necessarily filled with more ideologically committed students. While some church-related schools' students do seem to practice religion more, this may hold for particular schools only. It is possible that the (particular) schools cause this greater frequency of religious practice, but it is also plausible that a self-selection fact may be operating. In addition, attendance at church-related elementary and high schools does not seem to be linked with later acceptance of parents' religious teachings.

#### Further Observations

The interviews and open-ended questionnaire items yielded additional information of a subjective nature, which may be of some help in casting additional light on the present findings. While the interviewed subjects did not constitute a random sample of our third-year University of Manitoba sample, attempts were made to obtain a sampling of both "acceptors" and "rejectors" of parental religious teachings in each of the three religious groups.

As pointed out earlier, interviewees generally reported very few and very small changes in religious orientation over the university years. Many students indicated that their minds were "made up" before they entered university. However, for a minority of students, there was still a considerable amount of conflict over religious issues after three or four years of university. For instance, K. W., who came from a Mennonite background, stated:

I think when I first came to university, I didn't think about (religion) too much either way



and I sort of went away from religion...and now I'm undecided...I'd sort of like to believe in it but sometimes you'd like to have a little proof of things.

Similarly, a United student answered:

I feel that my answers of today could be different tomorrow because my uncertainty is that great.

In extreme cases, the conflict may be very great, and one way of dealing with such a situation may be to refuse to even think about religion. This was the case with K. E., a young man whose parents were rather questioning and "unsure" on some religious issues. At the same time, K.'s grandfather was very religious, having been a Mennonite minister, and he also exerted a strong influence on K.:

So I don't know what to believe. So I'm put in this middle position, I don't...I guess throughout all the...maybe that's one of the reasons I decided to drop it temporarily or permanently, whatever the case may turn out to be. The fact that I was a little tired of trying to decide which way to turn, to resolve this conflict...I think the arguments against God which I have experienced out here, in an analytical approach to religion, have only helped to make my own position of, I think, really basically wanting to believe, but having so many conflicts, and exposures to people...that don't believe, increasing the conflict in my own life, have eventually made me even

turn out or turn off religion for now - more than I have in the past before I went to university... so that I wouldn't have to constantly sort of worry about it. So if anything, it's sort of tended to reject religion on a wholesale basis, by not even considering it...as much. I've shoved it out of my mind.

It is interesting also, that very few subjects indicated that they expected their religious beliefs to change at all in the future. Almost invariably, those subjects who did foresee the possibility of change, felt they were likely to become more religious in the future.

For example, K. E., whom we have just seen was in considerable conflict about religion, was asked how he might change his beliefs in the future. He replied:

I think I'll always think about religion and God to the degree I've done. Those cells have developed in my body now and they're here to stay. So to this extent I'll always have my own personal religion. Whether or not I subscribe more or not in an institutionalized form will remain to be seen. I think there is a chance that I may. Say, once I have children.

I can't see myself going any less (religious). As far as going more (religious), on the other side, becoming more devout, I think, um...probably what will help a lot is once I settle down. Right now I am very active in a lot of things. I never take the time to think about it, and I never take the time to read about it. Now this is another thing - maybe I'll always be like

this, you know. But I don't think so. I think once I settle down, and have time to read and think about religion specifically, then I think there may come a time when I'll (at least in my own mind) become a little stronger. Maybe not - I don't know.

And similarly, J. S., who had essentially rejected her parents' Roman Catholic teachings (a relatively rare phenomenon among subjects in the present sample), replied:

I think I'll be more religious (in the future)... because I will be influencing my children, in a way, ...uh...I will probably attend church more if I...when I find a church I really like or, uh, shares some ideas I do, or something that is changing with the times.

Four socializing influences were frequently mentioned by the respondents as influencing them with respect to religion, as they were growing up. These major influences included the home, the church, the school, and peers. By far the most important of these was the home influence. When asked to mention anything which particularly influenced their religious beliefs as they were growing up, the majority of subjects mentioned their home background. Many subjects were impressed by the example set by their parents. For instance, M. P. thought that his (United Church) parents had had a "subtle" influence on him:

...(they) didn't preach (religion) to us. By observing what they did every day, they have had some in-

fluence on me. But they didn't preach to us. It was more or less the way they lived, and it seemed right to me, so I more or less adopted their ways. I think my parents have led a good life - they haven't put on a facade.

Similarly, E. B., a Roman Catholic, essentially accepted the religious beliefs her parents had taught her, because:

I grew up under the guidance of very sincere people, and of course you can never help but be impressed by people who are very sincere about what they're trying to teach you. And it was never really forced on me...

Students were not merely influenced to accept their parents' teachings by the home atmosphere, but may also have been influenced to reject religious teachings because of their parents' doubt and uncertainty regarding those same beliefs. Thus, while they would be technically classified as "rejectors" of religious teachings according to their responses to the questionnaire, these subjects might in many cases be considered "acceptors" of parental influence. L. R. was such a person. She was more influenced by what her parents did than by what they said;

I can't see how my father can say, "Well, you go to church," when he doesn't even go himself, you know. So after I went for a year I just refused to go after that. I just said, "Well lookit, you don't go to church. I'll go if you go." And that was the end of the argument. As far as I'm concerned he doesn't

lead a very religious life.

Another girl from a Roman Catholic family, M. B., bluntly stated of her parents:

Because they were doubtful, I grew up to be doubtful. Whereas if they were ardent, I might have grown up to be ardent.

Other subjects, such as L. B., emphasized that the fact that their parents had not forced religion on them was an important factor in their acceptance of that religion:

I think what really was most effective and I think is probably still the most effective way is that they didn't force the religion upon you - it just sort of snuck in. You just seemed to get a better understanding of it. But there was no force - like "You believe this," or "Believe that." Just the way they talked about it, there was never, you know, they never insisted upon that. I think I probably would have rebelled.

Only two subjects in the present interviews perceived their parents as having "forced" religion on them. Both of these subjects, one a Roman Catholic and the other a Mennonite, essentially rejected the beliefs they felt had been forced upon them. On the other hand, many subjects mentioned that there had been a very strong emphasis placed on religion when they were younger - but they were quick to point out that religion was never pressured or forced on them. These subjects usually accepted the beliefs which had been strongly emphasized.

Thus, there would seem to be a very thin line drawn between perceiving "strong emphasis" and perceiving "force" in the emphasis placed on religion by one's parents. And it would seem that this perception may affect the students' acceptance or rejection of parental religious teachings. On the other hand, it is also possible that students' acceptance or rejection of parental teachings may affect their perception of the manner in which religion was presented to them. A number of factors may come into play of course, in the perceptions of parental teachings. For instance, the parents who accompanied their children to church and behaved in a manner consistent with religious teachings during their everyday lives were more likely to be seen as "good examples," while the parents who sent their children to church alone, and who behaved inconsistently with respect to their religious teachings, may have been more likely to have been perceived as having forced religion on their children.

A number of differences became apparent among the three religious groups with respect to how they viewed the institutional church. United Church subjects tended to mention the social aspects of church-going. It was a group of people, and this group provided a basis for helping others which may have been impossible on an individual basis. In addition, United students often mentioned a particular usefulness of the church in giving meaning in life to some (rarely themselves) - for example, older people. At the same time, it was rare for a subject to mention that the church played a particularly important role in his own life - church was there, it could be useful, but it certainly wasn't something around which to center one's life.

While Mennonites also mentioned social aspects of the church, the Mennonite religion tended to play a much more important part in their lives. "Fellowship," and "sharing experiences with others" were impor-

tant, as well as worshipping. Also very important, the church was seen as a service organization, in assisting people in need both in foreign countries, and in Canada and the United States. In addition, church was not to be taken lightly for these subjects. While United Church subjects tended to be much more skeptical, almost a "convince me and then I'll believe" sort of approach, Mennonites were much more likely to do just the opposite - "I'll believe until you convince me otherwise." As one Mennonite, B. L., put it:

I think that going to church is like driving on a road - you've really got no reason to slow down or to turn off the road unless somebody convinces you that there's a bridge out at the end of the road, or that it's a dead end, or that it's really, really rough at the end of the road. So until somebody comes up and says, 'Christianity is obsolete and I can prove it,' I'll continue right along that road. I've no reason to stop.

While ritual and ceremony seemed to play relatively minor roles for both of the Protestant groups, these aspects were quite important to some Roman Catholics. Others mentioned that while they were not as impressed by the "pomp" as they had been in the past, they felt it could be useful in impressing young people and drawing them to the church. Roman Catholics also tended to relate to the institutional church on an individual basis, rather than seeing the church as a group of people, or a "fellowship of believers." The church was rather a place to worship, a "place to go when things go wrong." It afforded security, a "sense of peace," and it "makes you feel good." Or as

one Roman Catholic girl put it, "you get 'vibes' there."

And while the Protestant subjects tended to view their religious denomination as certain beliefs and practices accompanied by a label or name (i.e. if the beliefs changed, then one would have to change the accompanying label), Roman Catholics on the other hand tended to see themselves as Roman Catholics because they were born Roman Catholics, just as one is "born a Canadian." That is, the "label" applied to their religious denomination was a more permanent fixture for Roman Catholics, even though they did not necessarily agree with the church's teachings. This is illustrated by M. B., a girl who had rejected many (possibly most) of the beliefs and practices associated with the Roman Catholic faith taught to her by her parents:

I always thought that when you were baptized a Roman Catholic you were a Roman Catholic for the rest of your life, even if you decided to leave the church and practice...because although I am in a great state of doubt and everything, I still put down Roman Catholic on forms...and I guess I should.

Finally, the interviews served to reemphasize what the questionnaires had already shown - that the present sample of university students were generally quite "religious" in many ways. Thus, it would seem that the stereotype of the university as a successful purveyor of atheism and/or agnosticism is incorrect. At least in the present sample, only a very small minority of the subjects could be classified as "agnostic" or "atheistic." In addition, those subjects who may have appeared on paper to be strong rejectors of their parents' religious teachings, often were found in the interviews to be religious in their own way. That is, they often seemed to have a "personal religion,"



even though it may not have coincided with that of a common religious denomination. For instance, K. E. had rejected the Mennonite faith he had been taught as a child, but said:

I guess I have a personal religion...my religion centers strictly around God, not around anything else. ...and my idea of really being honest, and being...you know, do unto others type of thing. And I know when I'm not being that way, and this is my basic Christianity, or the way my Christianity life-style would properly be lived...As far as basic religion goes, it only revolves around one God for me. I don't think about Jesus Christ, I don't think about the Holy Ghost, or anything like that. But up to that point, I do have a religion.

Similarly, J. T., a "rejecting" Roman Catholic felt that he was "on parallel courses with (Christian) religion." And J. D., who had rejected many of the United Church teachings of her parents, felt that she had actually become more religious over her university years, "but it's just I don't require an institution to do it. I think it's something that's in you and it's your sort of feelings toward fellow-man." She felt that she had a "personal religion."

Even those subjects who were the most anti-religious, or non-religious of the present interview sample, often said that they intended to give their children formal religious training. This is well-illustrated by C. M., who came from a Roman Catholic family, but agreed with little of what she had been taught with respect to religion:

If I have children, I'd really like to expose them to religion, and - uh - all of the same kinds of things that I've had. And I've had a little bit of difficulty with that because I've felt that if I dragged them to church and did all these kinds of things that I'd be being a hypocrite in my own way... but then that would just be because I've already formulated my opinions, and I'm still formulating it. But at the same time I'd like to expose them to - um - things, so that they can judge for themselves and formulate their own opinions.

One theme seemed prevalent in the responses to the questionnaires and interviews - within the context of the present sample, institutional religion may have its problems, but the danger of its dying out or decreasing dramatically in size and influence in the near future, would seem to be rather remote.

#### Limitations of the Present Study, and Suggestions for Future Research

The present study, like other questionnaire studies, is subject to certain limitations. It is possible to study only that which subjects are willing to write and able to express on paper. Many problems arise during the "questionnaire" process. Is the question clear? Is it phrased properly? Is the subject really telling us what he thinks/ believes? Is the subject just trying to make a good impression? Is he striving to confirm what he believes the experimenter's hypothesis to be? Is he anxious that he is being evaluated? And so on.

The test-retest reliability checks indicated that the items used

in the present questionnaire were reasonably reliable, and the interviews disclosed no indications that the validity of the results were in error due to subjects' misunderstanding questions, or similar difficulties. However, the interviews have of course only limited value in assessing the validity of the questionnaire. Thus, we are still left with the interpretative problem of what our results mean - given that the measurement was restricted to pencil and paper questionnaires. At the present time however, the pencil and paper approach seems to be the most practical and efficient means to study issues such as those of concern in the present project.

Even if we could assume that students were reporting "truthfully" and reliably, we would still be getting merely their perception of the issues being studied. Their actual behaviour, or their actual past history, for instance, may contradict their perception of the situation.

In addition, of course, the present study is restricted to the religious groups studied. The generalizability of these findings to other religions, locales, and universities is as yet undemonstrated. In particular, the investigation of possible Canadian-American differences with respect to the present issues of study, would seem to be desirable, as well as a consideration of possible differences which may exist between students who live at home while attending university, and those who live away from home.

The present research indicated that if religious changes occur in young people, these changes may occur during the high school years, or possibly the post-college years. That is, the present questionnaires and interviews revealed virtually no major shifts in religious orientation among our subjects. At the same time, subjects not infrequently mentioned that their orientation had changed during the high school

years and/or that they expected their orientation to change after university. Very little research has concerned itself with these possibilities, and it could prove to be a productive area for future research projects.

Finally, probably the weakest aspect of the present study involved the church-related colleges. Unavoidable problems arose with respect to small sample sizes, differences in administration and collection of the questionnaires, differential proportions of males and females in the samples, differential response rates to questions, and so on. Thus, the findings, particularly with respect to the church colleges, must be regarded as quite tentative, and further research is needed to assess the present findings more fully.

The above limitations must be kept in mind when interpreting the present results. These problems will hopefully be minimized in future research projects of this nature.

### Conclusions

In summary, the main findings of the present research project included the following:

#### Issue I

1. Contrary to previous research, orthodox Protestants agreed with parents' religious teachings to a greater extent than did more liberal Protestant university students. Roman Catholics were intermediate in their agreement. These findings were generalizable to a number of other measures of religiosity.
2. Emphasis of religion in the home played an important part in

the above relationship, with a strong tendency for subjects from "high emphasis" homes to be more religious than subjects from "moderate emphasis" homes, who in turn were more religious than subjects from "low emphasis" homes. In addition, a tendency existed for Mennonite homes to emphasize religion to a greater extent than Roman Catholic homes, who in turn emphasized religion more than United Church homes.

3. Emphasis alone, however, could not explain the differential agreement of the three religious groups, since differences among the present religious groups were still evident, controlling for emphasis.

#### Issue II

4. In general, little evidence was found to suggest that first-year students agree with parents' religious teachings more than third-year students.

5. While overall measures of religious practice showed third-year subjects to be less active than first-year subjects, the tendency was weak. A religion-by-religion breakdown of this tendency showed virtually no such trend for individual religious groups. Similarly, very little evidence was found to suggest that differences in religious ideology exist between first- and third-year students.

#### Issue III

6. Indications of greater agreement with parents' religious teachings, greater frequency of religious behaviour, and more conservative religious ideology were found for some church-related college students, but these tendencies seemed to be related to particular circumstances and situations, rather than church-related schools per se.

7. No relationship was found between extent of church-related elementary and high school attendance, and agreement with parents' religious teachings.

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Appendices

Appendix IInstructions Used at Questionnaire Testing Sessions

This experiment is part of an attitudes survey, and involves filling out a questionnaire which asks your opinion about a number of issues. We will get into that in a few minutes, but there are a few things I want to say first about our general procedures here today.

First of all, you will soon see that your booklet has a survey number written on it in red ink. I'm going to pass an attendance sheet around during the period, on which I'd like you to print your survey number, and your name. This information is used for a number of purposes. If you are an introductory psychology student, it will provide proof that you have served in my experiment, just in case you lose your experimental credit card between now and April - thus entitling you to credit even if you lost your card. In addition, it will enable me to keep the records required by the Subject Pool office in the Department of Psychology.

On the other hand, if you are a senior student, I will need your names in order to determine (for instance) who has and who has not served in my experiment, so that I may contact those people in the limited sample available to me, who were unable to attend these sessions.

In addition, I would like to point out that you do not have to answer any particular item on the questionnaire if you do not wish to. But please fill it out as honestly and as completely as possible. If you feel that a particular item on the survey does not allow you to express yourself clearly, check the position that comes closest, and feel free to add explanatory comments in the margin of the survey.

OK, enough for preliminaries. Please fill in your answers right on the survey booklet, as indicated. When you have finished the entire

## Appendix I (cont'd)

booklet, then bring it to the front of the room, and you may leave.

If you are an introductory psychology student, please have your experimental cards ready - I will sign them when I come around with the attendance sheet. Is there anyone present who has already filled out this survey at another time?

I would like to thank each of you very much for participating in experiment "Attitudes." Your cooperation will help me a great deal in completing my thesis. All right, please turn over your survey booklet and begin.



## THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

WINNIPEG, CANADA  
R3T 2N2

Feb. 23, 1973.

Recently, I have undertaken a project for my doctoral thesis, for which I would like to ask your assistance. The project involves obtaining a sampling of the attitudes of University students here in Winnipeg, on a number of different topics, and your name is included in the sample. Thus, I would appreciate it greatly if you could manage to set aside 30 minutes of your time to fill out a short questionnaire for me. The success of the study is dependent upon the participation of those whose names are in the sample.

Thus, if it is at all possible, I would be indebted to you if you could come to the Duff Roblin Building for a half-hour at one of the times listed below:

Tues., Feb. 27	at	3:40 pm (slot 15)	in Room P230
Tues., Feb. 27	at	4:40 pm (slot 11)	in Room P230
Wed., Feb. 28	at	9:40 am (slot 3)	in Room P230
Wed., Feb. 28	at	7:30 pm (evening)	in Room P210
Thurs., Mar. 1	at	10:40 am (slot 2)	in Room P210
Thurs., Mar. 1	at	1:40 pm (slot 7)	in Room P230
Fri., Mar. 2	at	10:40 am (slot 5)	in Room P210
Fri., Mar. 2	at	1:40 pm (slot 10)	in Room P230
Fri., Mar. 2	at	2:40 pm (slot 13)	in Room P230

If you have any questions concerning this project, or if you are unable to attend at any of the available times, please contact me at my office in the Duff Roblin Building (P502), or at my home phone (269-7863).

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Bruce Hunsberger,  
Department of Psychology,  
Rm. 502, Duff Roblin Building,  
University of Manitoba

Appendix IIITelephone Request Made to Those Subjects Who Did not Respond to the  
Letter Request

Hello, my name is Bruce Hunsberger. I'm doing some research for my doctoral thesis at the University of Manitoba - I sent you a letter about my project last week, but it may not have reached you. Did you get the letter?

(If the subject denied having received the letter, he/she was given a brief description of the research project, and then told what participation in the study would entail, as described in the letter shown in Appendix I. Then, whether or not the subject acknowledged receipt of the earlier letter, he/she was asked:)

I'm still in need of more subjects, so I've set up some new times in the next couple of weeks for those people who couldn't make it to last week's sessions. Do you think you might be able to come to a half-hour session this week or next week?

(If the subject agreed, an appointment was scheduled.)



## Appendix IV

SURVEY OF RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

This survey constitutes part of a doctoral student's PhD dissertation at the University of Manitoba, and your help is important if this project is to be a success. Its purpose is to help us better understand why some people are more "religious" than others; why some people change their religion and others don't; how "nonreligious" people are different from "religious" people; and so on.

All answers given in this survey will be kept in the strictest confidence. Your cooperation in filling out this survey as completely as possible is appreciated.

Please answer the questions as honestly and frankly as possible, as that is the only way this study will provide insight into the issues involved.

If you feel that a particular item on the survey does not allow you to express yourself clearly or completely, check the position that comes closest, and feel free to add explanatory comments in the margin of the survey.

Bruce Hunsberger,  
Department of Psychology,  
Room 502, Duff Roblin Bldg.,  
University of Manitoba.



(Question #5 continued)

<u>Year in University</u>	<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Was it a church-related school?</u>
1	_____	_____
2	_____	_____
3	_____	_____
4	_____	_____
Other Education	_____	_____

6. To what extent have you lived away from your parents' home, if ever?

7. How well would you say that you and your parents get along when you are together?

4 \_\_\_ very well

3 \_\_\_ reasonably well

2 \_\_\_ "so-so"

1 \_\_\_ rather poorly

0 \_\_\_ very poorly

\_\_\_ does not apply

Are you an affiliated member of any of the colleges listed below?

\_\_\_ St. Andrew's

\_\_\_ St. John's

\_\_\_ St. Paul's

\_\_\_ University College

\_\_\_ MBBC

\_\_\_ CMBC

\_\_\_ Other (Specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

8. How well do you feel that your parents are able to understand you and accept you for the person you are?

- 4 \_\_\_ totally understanding and accepting
- 3 \_\_\_ strongly understanding and accepting
- 2 \_\_\_ moderately understanding and accepting
- 1 \_\_\_ only somewhat understanding and accepting
- 0 \_\_\_ not understanding and accepting at all
  
- \_\_\_ does not apply

9. What kind of work did your father do when you were growing up?

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10. What kind of work does your father do now?

---

11. Considering all sources of income, what would you estimate to be the total income of your parents in 1972?

- \_\_\_ less than \$5,000
- \_\_\_ \$5,000 to \$7,500
- \_\_\_ \$7,500 to \$10,000
- \_\_\_ \$10,000 to \$15,000
- \_\_\_ \$15,000 to \$20,000
- \_\_\_ over \$20,000

Section B: Religious Information

The following questions deal largely with your religious background and your present religious beliefs. When "religion" is referred to in the questions, it means an organized, institutional type of religion which might have anywhere from a few to millions of members, rather than an individual's unique personal philosophy of life.

1. In which of the following religions were you raised?
- Protestant (Which denomination? \_\_\_\_\_)
- Catholic (  Roman,  Greek, or  Ukrainian?)
- Jewish (  Orthodox, or  Non-orthodox?)
- A religion not listed above (Specify: \_\_\_\_\_)
- No religion (If no religion, go to question #10)
2. To what extent would you say your parents emphasized observing the family religion and religious practices as you were growing up?
- 5  a very strong emphasis was placed on religion
- 4  a strong emphasis was placed on religion
- 3  a moderate emphasis was placed on religion
- 2  a mild emphasis was placed on religion
- 1  a very slight emphasis was placed on religion
- 0  no emphasis was placed on religion
3. If you were brought up under some religious influence, has there been a period in which you have doubted the religious beliefs taught?
- Yes  No (If No, go to #6)

4. If Yes (to #3), to what extent have you doubted the beliefs taught?

- 4  I have had very strong doubts about the beliefs
- 3  I have had strong doubts about the beliefs
- 2  I have had moderate doubts about the beliefs
- 1  I have had mild doubts about the beliefs
- 0  I have had only slight doubts about the beliefs

5. What do you think caused this doubt?

6. If you were brought up under some religious influence, has there been a period in which you have reacted against the religious practices and observances taught by your parents? That is, have you purposely disregarded or acted contrary to the religious teachings?

Yes  No (If No, go to #9)

7. If "Yes" (to #6), to what extent have you reacted against the practices and observances taught?

- 4  I have reacted very strongly
- 3  I have reacted strongly
- 2  I have reacted moderately
- 1  I have reacted mildly
- 0  I have reacted only slightly

8. What do you think caused this reaction?

9. To what extent would you say you still hold the religious beliefs taught you when you were growing up?

- 5  I am now in complete agreement with the beliefs taught
- 4  I am now in nearly complete agreement with the beliefs taught
- 3  I am now in moderate agreement with the beliefs taught
- 2  I am now in mild agreement with the beliefs taught
- 1  I am now in very slight agreement with the beliefs taught
- 0  I now do not agree at all with the beliefs taught

10. With which religion do you presently identify yourself or think of yourself as being?

- Protestant (Which denomination? \_\_\_\_\_)
- Catholic (  Roman,  Greek, or  Ukrainian?)
- Jewish (  Orthodox, or  Non-orthodox?)
- A religion not listed above (Specify: \_\_\_\_\_)
- No religion (If "No religion", go to #14)

1. How completely would you say you now accept the beliefs of your faith?

- 3  completely
- 2  substantially
- 1  somewhat
- 0  not at all

2. How important would you say that your present religious beliefs are to you?

- 5  very important
- 4  quite important
- 3  moderately important
- 2  mildly important
- 1  slightly important
- 0  not important at all

3. Which of the following would you say best describes the firmness of your religious belief at present?

- 3  consistently firm
- 2  usually quite firm
- 1  somewhat wavering
- 0  very wavering and unfirm

14. Place a check beside each of the following which has influenced you in arriving at the religious beliefs you now hold. Also, place a double check beside the one strongest influence.

- Friends
- Elementary or high school teacher(s)
- A particular elementary or high school
- University teacher(s)
- Particular university or college course(s)
- The church and/or minister(s)
- Books, television, movies, magazines, etc.
- Fear, insecurity
- Experiences in life (Specify: \_\_\_\_\_)
- Other (Specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

5. Do you feel that you require some form of orientation toward a supernatural deity in order to achieve a fully mature philosophy of life?

Yes       No       Doubtful

6. Do you feel that you require an institutionalized orientation to religion (i.e. a religion centered about a church) in order to achieve a fully mature philosophy of life?

Yes       No       Doubtful

7. How would you say that your own religious needs compare with those of other students at this university/college?

- +2  Much stronger than average
- +1  Slightly stronger than average
- 0  About average
- 1  Slightly less than average
- 2  Much less than average

18. On the average, how often do you now attend formal religious services (not including weddings, funerals, etc.)?

- More than once a week
- About once a week
- About once every other week
- About once every month
- A few times a year at most
- Never



19. On the occasions when you have gone to church in your life, would you say that in general going to church has been:

- of great benefit to you  
 of some benefit to you  
 of little benefit to you  
 of no benefit to you

in fact harmful to you in one way or another

20. When you do attend church services, which of the following reasons would you say are reasons why you attend? (Please check all reasons which apply, and then place a double check beside the main reason that you attend church.)

- Because I've always gone  
 To meet my friends  
 Family or friends expect it  
 To worship God or pray  
 God expects it  
 To hear the sermon  
 To learn how to be a better person  
 Makes me feel better  
 Other (Specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

21. During the past year, how frequently have you prayed? (For your own spiritual welfare, not just while attending weddings, funerals, or the like)

- daily or more frequently  
 several times a week  
 about once a week  
 once or twice a month  
 a few times at most  
 not at all

22. During the past year, how frequently have you read Scriptural or devotional writings? (For your own spiritual welfare, not just while attending weddings, funerals, or the like)

- daily or more frequently  
 several times a week  
 about once a week  
 once or twice a month  
 a few times at most  
 not at all

23. How do you feel about the frequently mentioned conflict between the findings of science and the basic contentions of religion?

- Religion and science clearly support one another
- The conflict is negligible (i.e. more imagined than real)
- The conflict is considerable, but probably reconcilable
- The conflict is considerable, perhaps irreconcilable
- The conflict is definitely irreconcilable

24. Which one of the following statements comes closest to expressing what you believe about God? (Check one only)

- I know God really exists and I have no doubts about His existence
- While I have doubts, I feel that I do believe in God
- I don't believe in a personal God, but I do believe in a higher power of some kind
- I don't know whether there is a God and I don't believe there is any way to find out
- I don't believe in God

25. Which of the following statements comes closest to expressing what you believe about Jesus Christ?

- Jesus was not only human but also is the Divine Son of God and I have no doubts about it
- While I have some doubts, I feel basically that Jesus is the Divine Son of God
- I feel that Jesus was a great man and very holy, but I don't feel Him to be the Son of God any more than all of us are children of God
- I think Jesus was only a man, although an extraordinary one
- Frankly, I'm not entirely sure there was such a person as Jesus

26. Which one of the following statements comes closest to expressing what you believe about the Bible?

- I believe the Bible is the divinely inspired and infallible Word of God, the only trustworthy guide for faith and life
- I believe the Bible is the authoritative Word of God and a reliable guide, but is not infallible
- I believe that the Bible is a record of God's revelation and thus contains God's Word, but I cannot say that the Bible as such is the Word of God
- I think the Bible was written by human authors, some of whom were highly inspired, and should be read and interpreted like any other great book
- I see no value in using words like inspired, infallible, authoritative, trustworthy, and Word of God when talking about the Bible, which has never impressed me as having much relevance for the twentieth century

27. The Bible tells of many miracles, some credited to Jesus and some to prophets and apostles. Generally speaking, which of the following statements comes closest to what you believe about Biblical miracles?

- I believe the miracles were supernatural acts of God which actually happened just as the Bible says they did
- I believe the miracles happened, but most of them can be explained by natural causes
- I am not sure whether these miracles really happened or not
- I believe miracles are stories about events that never really happened

28. What are the religious denominations of your three best friends? (Please be specific)

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_

29. If you were to join a different religious group, which one do you think you would be most likely to join?

- I have no preference for any religious group other than my own
- Protestant (Which denomination? \_\_\_\_\_)
- Catholic (  Roman,  Greek, or  Ukrainian?)
- Jewish (  Orthodox, or  Non-orthodox?)
- A religion not listed above (Specify: \_\_\_\_\_)
- No religion

30. Do you feel that in general your classmates and/or friends are exerting pressure on you to be

- +2  Very "pro-religion" and to hold religious beliefs
- +1  Somewhat positive towards religion and religious beliefs
- 0  Neither "pro-religion" nor "anti-religion"
- 1  Somewhat negative towards religion and religious beliefs
- 2  Very "anti-religion" and to avoid holding religious beliefs

31. Do you feel that in general the "atmosphere" of the university or college you are attending is in any way exerting pressure on you to be

- +2  Very "pro-religion" and to hold religious beliefs
- +1  Somewhat positive towards religion and religious beliefs
- 0  Neither "pro-religion" nor "anti-religion"
- 1  Somewhat negative towards religion and religious beliefs
- 2  Very "anti-religion" and to avoid holding religious beliefs

32. Do you have any further comments that you would like to add?

Appendix VInstructions Used at the Second Session of the Test-Retest Reliability Groups

(As subjects entered the testing room they were reminded of their "survey number" given to them at the previous session. Then, when all subjects knew their survey number, and were seated, the following instructions were given.)

This experiment is part of what is called a "reliability check" - something which you may have talked about in your introductory psychology class. Essentially, we want to see how consistent a particular questionnaire is.

So I am going to ask you to fill out a survey which you filled out last/two weeks ago. This is exactly the same questionnaire that you filled out before - it is necessary to give you the same survey in order to obtain our reliability measure.

We are not interested in how consistent you are as an individual, but rather in how consistent our measuring instrument is. So, please fill it out as you feel now - do not try to fill it out as you did the last time. Just answer the questions as you would answer them now.

I will again pass around an attendance sheet on which I would like you to print your survey number and your name. Your survey number will be the same as that you used last week/two weeks ago. In addition to signing this week's attendance sheet, I would like you to print your survey number on the front page of your survey booklet.

Again, if you are an introductory psychology student, I will sign your experimental credit card when I bring the attendance sheet around. When you are finished, bring your booklet to the front of the room, and you may leave. Thank you for participating in this experiment.

Appendix VITelephone Contact Made to Potential Interview Subjects

Hello, it's Bruce Hunsberger speaking. A few weeks ago you filled out a questionnaire on religious attitudes for me at the university. I am trying to carry that research project a little further now, and I'm interviewing a subsample of the people who filled out the questionnaire. Your name is included in this subsample, and I hope you might be able to spare a bit of time for an interview.

Let me explain what would be involved. The interview would be mainly to give you a chance to elaborate on some of the things you were asked about in the questionnaire. The session would take about 45 minutes, and I could pay you \$2.00 for the interview. Do you think you could spare this much time within the next couple of weeks?

(If the potential interviewee agreed, an appointment was scheduled.)

Appendix VIIInterview Schedule

Some time ago, you were one of many hundred people who filled out a questionnaire for me regarding your religious beliefs and attitudes. Those questionnaires have been very valuable in finding out about people's religious beliefs, but as you know questionnaires do not usually let people express themselves as completely and as accurately as they might like. So I decided to ask a number of people randomly selected from those who filled out the questionnaire, if they would be willing to talk to me for three-quarters of an hour or so and elaborate a little on their religious attitudes and beliefs. Essentially, I would like to find out more about the things that have affected your religious beliefs over the years. I will ask you a number of different questions, but you should feel free to tell me about other things which may come to your mind as we are talking. The whole point to the interview is the same as that of the questionnaire: I am trying to determine the kinds of factors which determine the religious attitudes of university students.

I would like to remind you that everything you say will be considered confidential - my final report will not refer to anyone by name, and anything which might give away your identity will be omitted. I would like to use a tape recorder to keep a record of our conversation - otherwise, I just won't be able to get everything written down that I would like to during our conversation. I'll be taping an interview with someone else over top of this interview just as soon as I've managed to write down what we talked about. So, do you mind if I use the tape recorder?

Would you like to ask me any questions before we get started?

## Appendix VII (cont'd)

1. OK, first of all, I wonder if you would think back to the time when you were growing up - elementary school, high school. Can you think of anything of particular importance during those years which may have influenced your religious beliefs?
  - a) Name the influence
  - b) How did it affect you?
  - c) Why do you think it affected you in this way?
2. Was religion important to you as you were growing up?  
Why?/Why not?
3. Has there been a particular event or trauma in your life which you think has seriously affected your religiosity? I'm thinking here of things like a serious car accident, the death of a close friend or relative, and so on. Some people feel that such an event has influenced them to be either very religious or very anti-religious.  
(Why do you think it influenced you to be religious/antireligious instead of the opposite?)
4. Did any of your teachers or professors particular influence your religious beliefs?
  - a) What was it about this particular person that affected you?
  - b) How were you affected?
5. Regardless of whether or not you were influenced, were there any teachers or professors who you think tried to influence your religious beliefs?
  - a) Which course?
  - b) In what manner did this teacher/prof try to influence you?
  - c) Was the attempt to influence you in any way successful?
  - d) Why was the attempt successful/unsuccessful?
6. In general, have the schools you attended had any particular influence on your religious beliefs?



## Appendix VII (cont'd)

- a) Which school(s)?
  - b) What sort of effect did it have?
  - c) Why do you think it affected you in that way?
7. What about your parents? Were they particularly effective or ineffective in instilling their religious beliefs and ideals in you?
- a) Why would you say this?
  - b) In what sense would you say your parents have influenced your religious beliefs?
8. Looking back to the time you first entered university a few years ago, how have your religious beliefs changed since that time?
- a) What do you think caused these changes?
- or
- b) Why do you think you did not change?
9. When you first came to university, were your parents at all worried or concerned about the influence that university life might have on your religious values?
- (If yes) How did they communicate this concern?
- Did they give you any particular advice in this respect? (e.g. Did they warn you against getting mixed up with radical students, non-Christian professors, or the like?)
10. Were you yourself at all concerned about what effect university might have on your religious values?
- a) In what sense?
11. Did you take any steps at all which may have helped you maintain your religious values? (e.g. Some people join religious clubs or groups here at university, or maintain close ties with religious groups they belonged to before coming to university.)
- Did you take any steps in the opposite direction? That is, things which may have changed your religious beliefs? (e.g. Some people purposely take certain philosophy courses, stop going to church, etc.)

## Appendix VII (cont'd)

12. Have you maintained close ties with your home church, since coming to university?

Do you think this has affected your religious beliefs?

13. Have you maintained close ties with the friends you had while you attended high school?

Do you think this has affected your religious beliefs?

14. How do your parents feel now about your religious beliefs? Do you think they would like you to be more or less religious?

How do you feel about this?

15. One of the things which came out of the questionnaires I gave out was that university students often fell into one of three groups - some felt that the organized institutional church was very important in their lives, and that it probably should be in other peoples' lives; others seemed to think that the institutional church itself was irrelevant, or possibly "bad" in some ways, but they still considered themselves to be "religious" people - even though they didn't attend church. They felt they had a kind of "personal" religion. Still others didn't seem to have much use for religion in any form, whether institutional, personal, or otherwise.

I would be interested in getting your thoughts on this. For instance, where do you yourself stand on this matter?

a) Why is/isn't the church relevant today?

b) What are the most positive and most negative aspects of the formal church, in your estimation?

c) What do you see happening to institutional religion in the future? Do you see it as "dying out" or as increasing in size and influence in our society?

16. I wonder about you yourself and your religious beliefs (or anti-religious beliefs). Do you feel that your religious beliefs are likely

## Appendix VII (cont'd)

to change much in the next few years? That is, have you come to the point where you feel you have made up your mind about religious matters, and your beliefs are now quite stable?

a) What do you think might influence you to change/stabilize your religious beliefs in the future?

b) Looking even further into the crystal ball, how do you think your religious beliefs in 10 years or more will differ from what they are today - that is, when you have a job and possibly a family?

17. Well, we've talked about a number of things in this interview, but quite possibly we've missed some things which you think may have been important in how you have arrived at your present religious beliefs - things which might have influenced you one way or another, but which we haven't touched at all in this interview. What sorts of things come to mind which you think might add to what we've discussed?

Appendix VIIITable A

Mean "Frequency of Church Attendance" Scores by Background Religious Denomination, Year in University, and Reported Parental Emphasis

		Mennonites (U. of Man)	Roman Catholics (U of Man)	United Church (U of Man)
First Year	High Emph	3.26 (31)	3.21 (70)	2.30 (23)
	Mod Emph	3.75 (8)	2.13 (38)	1.26 (99)
	Low Emph	1.00 (2)	0.50 (4)	0.81 (37)
Third Year	High Emph	3.75 (16)	2.36 (28)	1.29 (14)
	Mod Emph	2.33 (3)	1.18 (11)	1.00 (49)
	Low Emph	0.00 (1)	0.80 (5)	0.47 (17)

Note. - The higher the score, the greater the reported frequency of church attendance.

The number of subjects in each cell is given in parentheses.

## Appendix VIII (cont'd)

Table B

Analysis of Variance of "Frequency of Church Attendance" Scores by Background Religious Denomination, Year in University, and Reported Parental Emphasis of Religion

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Religion (A)	2	37.55	24.41**
Year (B)	1	31.06	20.19**
Emphasis (C)	2	133.17	86.55**
AxB	2	.12	.08
AxC	4	4.95	3.22*
BxC	2	2.03	1.32
AxBxC	4	2.22	1.44
Within Cells	438	1.54	

\*  
p<.05

\*\*  
p<.01

## Appendix VIII (cont'd)

Table C

Mean "Frequency of Prayer" Scores by Background Religious Denomination, Year in University, and Reported Parental Emphasis of Religion

		Mennonites (U of Man)	Roman Catholics (U of Man)	United Church (U of Man)
First Year	High Emph	3.84 (31)	3.25 (69)	2.32 (22)
	Mod Emph	4.00 (8)	2.49 (37)	1.85 (96)
	Low Emph	0.00 (1)	3.25 (4)	1.44 (36)
Third Year	High Emph	4.13 (15)	2.89 (28)	2.40 (15)
	Mod Emph	3.67 (3)	1.80 (10)	1.65 (48)
	Low Emph	0.00 (1)	0.50 (4)	0.94 (17)

Note. - The higher the score, the greater the reported frequency of prayer.  
The number of subjects in each cell is given in parentheses.

## Appendix VIII (cont'd)

Table D

Analysis of Variance of "Frequency of Prayer" Scores by Background Religious Denomination, Year in University, and Reported Parental Emphasis of Religion

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Religion (A)	2	20.11	7.06**
Year (B)	1	23.64	8.30**
Emphasis (C)	2	136.55	47.96**
A x B	2	10.47	3.68*
A x C	4	12.23	4.29**
B x C	2	7.67	2.69
A x B x C	4	1.25	.44
Within Cells	427	2.85	

\*  
p<.05

\*\*  
p<.01

## Appendix VIII (cont'd)

Table E

Mean "Frequency of Scriptural Reading" Scores by Background Religious Denomination,  
Year in University, and Reported Parental Emphasis of Religion

		Mennonites (U of Man)	Roman Catholics (U of Man)	United Church (U of Man)
First Year	High Emph	2.81 (31)	1.32 (69)	1.43 (23)
	Mod Emph	3.43 (7)	0.92 (37)	0.60 (97)
	Low Emph	1.00 (2)	1.25 (4)	0.59 (37)
Third Year	High Emph	3.33 (15)	1.07 (28)	1.07 (15)
	Mod Emph	2.00 (3)	0.60 (10)	0.57 (49)
	Low Emph	0.00 (1)	0.50 (4)	0.24 (17)

Note. - The higher the score, the greater the reported frequency of Scriptural reading.

The number of subjects in each cell is given in parentheses.



## Appendix VIII (cont'd)

Table F

Analysis of Variance of "Frequency of Scriptural/Devotional Reading" Scores by  
Background Religious Denomination, Year in University, and Reported Parental  
Emphasis of Religion

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Religion (A)	2	57.18	38.90*
Year (B)	1	18.91	12.87*
Emphasis (C)	2	45.48	30.94*
A x B	2	.85	.58
A x C	4	6.85	4.66*
B x C	2	3.33	2.27
A x B x C	4	1.17	.80
Within Cells	431	1.47	

\*  
p<.01