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Mennonite Identities: Exploring Relationships Between Peoplehood and Social Capital in a Multi-denominational Mennonite Community

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Mennonite Identities: Exploring Relationships between Peoplehood and Social Capital in a Multi-denominational Mennonite Community" submitted by Lynden Neudorf in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Work.

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This is to certify that the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board at the University of Calgary has examined the following research proposal and found the proposed research involving human subjects to be in accordance with University of Calgary Guidelines and the Tri-Council Policy Statement on *"Ethical Conduct in Research Using Human Subjects"*. This form and accompanying letter constitute the Certification of Institutional Ethics Review.

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Date: Sept 10/2009

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Abstract

Little health or social science research exists about Mennonites in North America other than studies on conservative denominations. Researchers have generally split the term "Mennonite" into religious and ethnic components, despite the fact this split may not be accurate. A failure to attend to the distinctions between groups may lead to culturally inappropriate interventions in clinical settings, including stereotyping individuals or groups based on superficial information.

Peoplehood conceptually incorporates religious and ethnic histories, allowing researchers to identify core values that defy categorization but that have remained consistent throughout the history of a particular group. Social capital provides an instrument for analyzing and understanding the effects of peoplehood beliefs at the bonding, bridging, and linking levels, thus addressing the superficial understandings that may predominate clinical interventions. This study explored affiliation to peoplehood within various categories of social capital for Mennonite adults of three denominations in the town of La Crete, Alberta.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Much of the health-related research about Mennonite people is specific to uni-denominational conservative populations such as the Kanadier and Old Order Mennonites in Canada and the United States (Hall, Kulig, Campbell, Wall & Babcock, 2005; Snyder & Bowman, 2004; Treaster, Hawley, Paschal, Molgaard & St. Romain, 2006). However, Anabaptists in North America alone are separated into more than 50 distinct denominations (Gingerich, 2004, p. 3). Aside from a few social science and health studies on individual conservative Mennonite groups, the author is not aware of any research that has been conducted with communities including a range of Mennonite denominations and identities.

Consequently the general public, as well as clinical practitioners, may make generalizations across groups based on studies of particular or specific groups. Such generalizations in turn translate to poor clinical practice on the basis of misinformation, or practicing according to generalizations. An example of generalizations about Mennonite societies includes the concept of "embedded" Anabaptists, which is defined as Anabaptist groups such as Old Colony Mennonites, Hutterites, and Amish who maintain "traditional" modes of dress and do not use certain types of technology (Hurd, 2006, 557-558). In contrast, the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) Code of Ethics (2005) mandates social workers to "challenge views and actions that stereotype particular persons or groups" (p. 5), which in turn strengthens culturally appropriate clinical interventions.

Not only are assumptions of Mennonite homogeneity made that overlook variation across groups, but also these generalizations are often made on the basis of the visible characteristics of specific groups or denominations that catch the attention or the imagination of the general public rather than on the basis of theological or ideological views that are the foundation for Mennonite existence and practice in the first place. For example, although essential theological doctrines have characterized the Mennonites as a separate and distinct people since their beginnings, often past research on Mennonite populations has focused only on observable aspects of identity common in particular or specific groups, such as use of technology or modes of dress, and have then applied either well-researched or superficial findings to the variety of Mennonite denominations. Such findings do not capture a multi-layered approach to understanding self and group identity across Mennonite denominations.

The concept of *peoplehood* as understood by Mennonites is unique because it does not arbitrarily split aspects of identity, but instead incorporates them into the total history of a group held together over generations by common values and beliefs, and allows for a sufficiently complex understanding of differences within and across denominations. Because peoplehood characteristics may occur differently within different levels of community, these characteristics may be helpfully organized into distinct facets that correspond with relevant social categories, viewed in this thesis as categories of social capital. These three categories of social capital are bonding, bridging, and linking and are respectively conceptually related to micro, mezzo, and macro levels of community organization.

Objectives of the Study

The two objectives are:

1) To determine if the concept of social capital can help illuminate a nuanced understanding of Mennonite communities. Specifically, Mennonite concepts of Peoplehood will be examined using subjective and objective definitions of social capital along with bonding, bridging and linking categories.

2) To consider how an understanding of diversity, informed by social capital theory, may contribute to the development of culturally appropriate guidelines for social workers and other health professionals working with this population based on the findings. These guidelines would be focused on shifting from stereotyped assumptions of identity (i.e. more outwardly conservative groups as being "more Mennonite") to recognizing the complexities and subtleties of the various Mennonite identities. In turn, this recognition would provide for a keener awareness of identity issues in social work assessment and intervention.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter two begins with a discussion about the foundational beliefs of Anabaptism and Mennonites. Various migrations from Europe are traced. Central aspects of the Mennonite faith including adult baptism, separateness and pacifism are also described. The concept of social capital, including subjective and objective dimensions, and bonding, bridging, and linking categories is employed in order to more fully understand affiliation to core values and beliefs within and across denominations. Various core values and beliefs (peoplehood facets) are assigned to subjective and objective aspects of bonding, bridging, and linking categories. Specifically, within the

bonding category, objective and subjective attributes are paired respectively with the facets of believer's baptism and community belonging. Within the bridging category, objective and subjective attributes are paired respectively with the facets of separateness and being in the world but not of it. Lastly, within the linking category objective and subjective attributes are paired respectively with the facets of pacifism and the quiet in the land. peoplehood facets are combined with social capital categories in this way because of the fit between a particular facet and the level of community within which affiliation to that facet is best measured, and as the basis to determine whether the construct of social capital helps to illuminate a nuanced understanding of Mennonite communities.

Chapter three describes the design and methodology of the data collection. Chapter four outlines the findings of the survey based on modal scores for total and by denomination for the six peoplehood facets, as well as for results about voting participation and levels of trust for various organizations and professions within bridging and linking categories.

Chapter five elaborates on the findings in chapter four based on the review of the literature in chapter two. These findings are discussed in light of understanding common themes as well as diversity within denominations and across groups. The limitations of the study are addressed, including conceptual limitations involved in operationalizing social capital categories. Despite some operational limitations, the concept of social capital is found to be a good fit for illuminating a nuanced understanding of Mennonite communities. Recommendations for future research are made, including specific recommendations for research with Mennonite populations as well as for future research

based on the findings of this study. Lastly, implications for social justice and social work practice are discussed. These include an understanding the concept of peace as a possible means to address social justice issues for Mennonite individuals and groups, as well as the need to practice clinical social work based on a recognition of the complexity and subtlety of values and beliefs for various Mennonite individuals and groups.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical and Cultural Background

Foundational Beliefs

Anabaptist origins. The Mennonite story began as part of a larger Anabaptist (i.e., re-baptizers) movement that sought radical religious reform in Europe in the early 1500s when, it was believed, Martin Luther's reforms had fallen short. The movement appears to have had its earliest beginnings in Switzerland under Ulrich Zwingli (d. 1531) when he left his position as priest in the Roman Catholic Church in 1522. While Zwingli's actions appeared to favour slow systemic state reform, new leaders including Andreas Karlstadt, Conrad Grebel, and Felix Manz, initially drawn to Zwingli, soon became disenchanted with his reluctance to separate from state control over religious affairs, especially regarding the issue of infant baptism. These leaders denounced all state involvement within the church, opting for a Free Church while converting others to their movement. Anabaptism quickly spread through Germany, reaching Belgium by 1530 and extending as far as England by 1535 (Keeney, 1967b; Lewis, 2006).

Specifically, the Anabaptists taught that a literal interpretation of the Bible must apply to everyday life, that adult baptism as opposed to infant baptism is the only true baptism, since infants are not capable of conscious choice, and that the Christian life must be marked by pacifism as exemplified in scripture (Hall, Kulig, Campbell, Wall & Babcock, 2005, p. 96). A complementary summary of core Anabaptist beliefs was provided by Bender (1944) in his lecture *The Anabaptist Vision.* He stated that "the essence of Christianity is discipleship, based on the concept of *Nachfolge Christi*

(following after Christ) as an 'outward expression of an inner experience'"; that "the church is a voluntary community of believers living in mutual accountability"; and that "the ethic of love and 'nonresistance' applies to all human relationships (p. 20, in Bishop, 2005, p. 11). Together, the beliefs identified here sustain the notion of peoplehood.

Despite these core Anabaptist ideals, parts of the movement quickly chose extreme and sometimes violent means to achieve their eschatological purposes. The most telling examples occurred in the German cities of Strasbourg and Münster. Melchior Hoffman (b.1493) was a German-born Anabaptist through whom the movement reached the Netherlands. As Hoffman increasingly emphasized the nearness of Christ's return to earth, he began to believe that "Strassburg [sic] would be the spiritual Jerusalem, and that he himself was Elijah, chosen to proclaim the coming event to all people" (Keeney, 1963a, p. 76). Hoffman was imprisoned until his death, but not before he had influenced his own group of disciples to take up even more radical beliefs.

By 1534, many Dutch Anabaptists, heavily influenced by Hoffman, had relocated to the German city of Münster. In contrast to Hoffman, the new leaders embraced violence as a means to achieving the New Jerusalem at Münster, having changed its location from Strasbourg through self-proclaimed prophecy. Soon these leaders forced all city residents to join the new movement or leave. Leaders introduced polygamy as part of a revitalization of Old Testament rule. Münster finally fell to German state and church forces in 1535, but not before many residents had succumbed to starvation and disease and the entire Anabaptist movement had been labeled and judged as extremist revolutionaries (Keeney, 1963a, p. 77-78; Williamson, 2000).

Dutch Anabaptism. As these more extreme elements of the Anabaptist movement in northern Europe were expelled, starved, and executed for their threat to the state, Menno Simons (1496-1561), a Dutch Frisian Roman Catholic Priest, converted to Anabaptism, and under his leadership Dutch Anabaptism changed into a peaceful movement (Friesen, 1998, p. 353). The major factors that most likely caused Simons to leave the church of Rome were his increasing disbelief in transubstantiation (the Roman Catholic belief in the conversion of the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper into Christ's actual body and blood) validated when he finally read the Bible for himself; hearing of and subsequently researching believer's baptism in scripture; his own brother's political martyrdom which may have shamed and consequently inspired Simons to also live fully for what he believed (Friesen, 1998); and his belief of the Roman Catholic teaching of purgatory as "accursed idolatry and abomination" which had no basis in scripture (Hiebert, 2008, p. 188). Simons became a politically moderate and religiously influential leader in the movement and Mennonites derive their name from him.

As Mennonite faith and practice solidified into identifiable tenets, certain themes emerged. Grimsrud (2004) writes that the

> central distinctive Mennonite conviction is … the commitment to holding belief and practice together. In the Mennonite tradition, the key word has been "following." Mennonites' faith does not focus on the "mysteries" or on abstract creeds or on the sacraments so much as listening to Jesus' teaching and seeking to walk in his way. (p. 14)

The Mennonites, like Luther, recognized the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, each essentially symbolic celebrations of the Christian life. Despite this apparent

simplicity of belief, Mennonites soon established other rites including foot washing, practicing the ban (i.e. excommunication), and denouncing "worldly" activities. The decision to migrate however for religious freedom would both directly and indirectly influence the course of Mennonite history.

Mennonite Migrations

European migration. From their beginning, Mennonites migrated in order to secure freedom from religious persecution. From the beginning of the Anabaptist movement to 1574, between 1500 and 2500 Anabaptists were killed in Belgium and the Netherlands. While Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, required Luther's political and military support in Germany, the Anabaptists were the major Reformation group in the Netherlands and he was resolute in extinguishing their presence there, due to the obvious threat they posed to Catholicism in that region. Anabaptist martyrdom encompassed torture and death on the basis of rebaptism, including being broken on the rack, being burned at the stake, strangulation, beheading, drowning, being buried alive, and hanging (Keeney, 1967a, p. 86-87). The martyrdom motif became an important part of Anabaptist and Mennonite theology and collective memory, and is broadly documented in the "Martyrs Mirror," a collection of martyr testimonies during this period (p. 88).

The first Mennonite migrations were within Europe, where congregational splits and mutual excommunications became increasingly common (Bottos, 2008, p. 217). In West Prussia the various Mennonite groups "adopted German over Dutch as their written and liturgical language, while Plautdietsch became their everyday language" (p. 218). This dialect of German is the language still commonly spoken as a mother tongue in the town of La Crete, AB.

In 1786, Catherine the Great promised the Mennonites religious freedom in return for their promise to farm Russian land. The Chortitza Colony (Old Colony) in Russia was founded by Mennonite settlers in 1789, and was followed soon thereafter by the Molochna Colony. On September 6, 1800 "the Mennonite settlers received a charter of privileges from Catherine II's son Tsar Paul I" which "included permanent immunity from military service" (Pohl, 2009, p. 268-269). However, the *Privelegium*, as this agreement was known, was ended by Tsar Alexander II through the 1870s due to the perceived security threat posed by these "German islands" within Russian territory, in the face of the newly unified German state (pg. 270). Russian reforms during this period led to state interference in Mennonite schools in 1871, the revocation of self-government, also in 1871, and the institution of conscription for Russian Germans in 1874 (Bottos, 2008, p. 218-219; Pohl, 2009, p. 270). Russian reforms and the canceling of the privelegium forced Mennonite leaders in Russia to search again for a place where they believed they would be free to practice their religion and way of life and to consider emigration abroad.

Canadian migration. Regehr (1999) states that Mennonite migrations to Canada occurred in five distinct patterns. According to Regehr:

> Between 1786 and 1825, approximately 2,000 so-called Old Mennonites went to Upper Canada from Pennsylvania. Approximately 1,000 Amish Mennonites from Alsace and adjacent German and Swiss territories joined them between 1825 and 1850. The third major migration in the 1870s brought 7,343 Russian Mennonites to Manitoba, but many later settled in other Western provinces. These first three waves founded relatively

> compact settlements because land was readily available. The fourth and largest wave occurred in the 1920s when 20,201 Mennonites from the Soviet Union settled in Ontario and the Western provinces. A fifth wave of Mennonite migrants, involving 7,698 individuals, arrived in Canada in the late 1940s from the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. (p. 34)

The participants in this research belong mainly to the third wave of migration, to Manitoba, in the 1870s. Important to note is that significant numbers of Mennonite immigrants also settled in the United States, and in various countries in Central and South America.

The established Mennonite churches represented in La Crete today (Old Colony, Sommerfelder, Bergthaler, and Evangelical Mennonite Conference) did not neatly and uniformly transplant themselves from Russian to Canadian soil, but ended up there after having originally settled in Manitoba and then migrating in response to religious divisions within different Mennonite communities. In this way, their social and religious boundaries remained permeable as they co-mingled and further developed in their new Canadian homeland, and their movements to and within Canada highlight the differences between denominations that are frequently overlooked.

At this point, it is necessary to review denominational terminology, as some of the names were translated into English and sometimes came to mean different things. Within this research the following terms were used as consistently as possible. Groups and the terminology that define them however constantly evolve. For that reason, when a group must be identified in a particular time and place, the originally identifying term will be used. The Chortitza Colony was, and is, referred to as the Old Colony because it was the

first Mennonite Colony in Russia. The Bergthal Colony was a daughter colony of the Chortitza Colony in Russia. The Furstenland Colony was another daughter colony of the Chortitza Colony in Russia although its name is not attached to any of the current denominations in La Crete.

In the 1870s the Mennonite migrants to Manitoba were from the Chortitza (Old Colony), Bergthal and Furstenland Colonies. These groups settled in two areas: thirty-five miles south of Winnipeg on the East Reserve, and west of the Red River in the southern part of the province, on the West Reserve. Bottos (2008) describes how 4,202 Bergthal families, joined by some Chortitza families, first moved to the East Reserve in Manitoba from Russia in 1874. In 1875, an additional 3240 Russian Mennonites (2/3 from Chortitza and 1/3 from Furstenland) settled in the West Reserve in Manitoba.

Increasing tensions involving political and religious systems led to a split in the 1880s and contributed to the creation of the Altkolonier Reinlaender Mennoniten Gemeinde in the West Reserve (Dyck, 1967, p. 219), although this group is not represented today in La Crete. During the 1880s, approximately 300 families (Bottos, 2008) representing half of the Bergthal members (Dyck, 1967) moved to the West Reserve due to poor land conditions in the east, resulting in conflict between groups when many Bergthal members wanted to abandon old village patterns for individual farming which resembled farming norms in Manitoba. The Bergthal members also favoured progressive education with trained teachers (p. 230-231).

These conflicts culminated in a further reorganization of church loyalties during the 1890s when "Bergthal members living in the West Reserve and opposed to the new progressive movement came to be known as the Sommerfeld Church", those "in the East

Reserve and sharing the same fear of progress came to be known as the Chortitza Mennonite Church", and "the progressives in both Reserves retained the name of Bergthal Mennonite Church" (Dyck, 1967, p. 231). The Old Colony Mennonites remained the largest and most conservative group in the area, and established settlements in Saskatchewan, in Rosthern and Swift Current (p. 231). This spectrum of belief regarding education can still be seen in La Crete, with Old Colony groups operating private schools and generally embracing conservatism the most, followed by Sommerfelder and Bergthaler groups.

The final major denomination in La Crete was known historically as the Kleine Gemeinde, literally the "small group," a derisive term initially given by other groups but which the group adopted as its own (Dyck, 1967, p. 135). The Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites formed out of the Molotschna Colony in Russia in 1812, due to spiritual and political criticisms of the colony, including opposition to Mennonite war contributions against Napoleon and the desire for a "restoration of authentic Biblical-Anabaptist Christianity" (Epp, 1967, p. 134-135). This group again split in 1952 when the Evangelical Mennonite Conference (EMC) formed out of the Kleine Gemeinde in Steinbach, Manitoba.

Loewen (2006) attributes this split to ideological differences between conservatism and outside cultural influences. Some of these "ideological issues" included permitting of elaborate weddings, choral music as opposed to simple songs, the permitting of alcohol consumption, the collection of debts through provincial courts, attendance at Bible schools, open as opposed to closed communion services, women not wearing the headdress, and involvement in sports (p. 112). This split led, on the one

hand, to a migration of eighty-five families (15% of the colony's population), representing the conservative faction of the Manitoba Kleine Gemeinde, to Chihuahua State, Mexico in order to preserve their identity and, on the other hand, to an embrace of North American evangelicalism, demonstrated by the formation of the EMC which was composed of the 85% of members who remained in Manitoba (p. 113-116).

Establishment in Northern Alberta. The present-day Mennonite population of La Crete is grouped into broadly five different denominations. These include the Old Colony Churches, the Sommerfelder Mennonite Church, the Bergthaler Churches, the Evangelical Mennonite Conference (EMC), and the Peace Mennonite Church. Each group has various numbers of churches in the community attached to it. A group of Old Colony (Chortitza) Mennonites from Saskatchewan was the first to settle in the area in 1936, and were soon joined by other Mennonite groups returning to Canada from Mexico (Bowen, 2001, p. 465). These settlers were followed by more liberal Mennonite groups from Saskatchewan and British Columbia in the 1950s (p. 465-466). The Sommerfelder Mennonite Gemeinde in La Crete was created through migration from Manitoba and began services in 1959 (Epp, 2008). As the Sommerfelder church experienced division, the La Crete Bergthaler Mennonite church was formed, with services beginning in 1964 (Epp, 1986a). Lastly, the EMC church in La Crete began services in 1973, having been created "through division from Bergthaler, Sommerfelder, and Old Colony Mennonites" (Epp, 1986b). Today, the community is home to over 2,000 mostly Mennonite people with an additional significant rural farming population (La Crete Visitors Guide, 2008).

As indicated earlier, research shows that the first four groups developed in close geographical, historical and ideological relationship to each other, both in Russia and in

Manitoba. Although this author has found no record of the Peace Mennonite Church in the literature, the church is mentioned in a locally produced history book by the La Crete and Area Then and Now Society (1989) as having been established by a visiting pastor beginning in 1979 (p. 93). However, there is no mention of how this church and/or denomination is theologically, geographically or historically related to the other four groups. Because the links between the Peace Mennonite Church and the other four churches is not well known, the Peace Mennonite Church was excluded as a subgroup for sampling in this research.

Conceptualizing Mennonite Identities

Community and Peoplehood. Much of the published research specific to Mennonite populations has attempted to divide social and individual identity into distinct ethnic and religious components (Winland, 1993, p. 110-111). These components however are not easily distinguishable (Hall & Kulig, 2004, p. 361). Furthermore, Mennonite people themselves may make no such separation regarding their own sense of self. One need only look at how professionals working with Mennonite people have felt the need to explain to them how their "social, physical, and psychological dimensions of health and wellness" are separate and distinct (Hall et al., 2005, p. 102) to realize that this population may not conceptualize health and wellness in these terms, or that such a compartmentalized sense of self and community may not fit a Mennonite worldview. Furthermore, as already noted, even the idea of a singular Mennonite worldview may be inaccurate because the concept of one worldview does not take into account present-day diversity or the "plurality of Mennonite origins" (Winland, 1993, p. 118).

Interestingly, Mennonite scholars frequently make use of community- and culturally-specific expressions that invoke a larger sense of group belonging. Smucker (1986) states, "central to Mennonite religious beliefs is the concept of 'community'" (p. 273). Research on Old Order Mennonite social structures however reveals that "the church and the community are one and the same" (Snyder & Bowman, 2004, p. 94). The literature describes how terms like Gemeinde (community) connote a sense of peoplehood or community membership (Driedger, 1982, p. 232; Winland, 1993, p. 118).

To be a Mennonite is essentially to belong to the "fellowship of believers" (Smucker, 1986, p. 282). Across the spectrum of Mennonite identities, the admonition against being "worldly" asserts the need for being in the world but not of it (Bishop, 2005, p. 12). Mennonites often describe themselves as "Die Stillen im Lande" (the quiet in the land), a phrase that describes the role of a quiet witness to the world (Gingerich, 2004, p. 3; Smucker, 1986, p. 283). Conceptually related to the seminal Anabaptist belief in pacifism, and most strongly characterized in the literature by the Swiss Brethren, is the notion of *yieldedness* or Gelassenheit (resignation) (Bender, 1950 in Winland, 1992, p. 436). Together these descriptions imply an inward way of being, as well as a way of relating in community that defies an ethno-religious division and is important in considering the plurality of Mennonite identities.

The literature demonstrates how community is one of the most important unifying constructs among the many Mennonite identities and, in particular (as described earlier), those identities originating in Russia and transplanted to Manitoba and then to northern Alberta. The historical migrations and evolving identities are largely a visionary history, which past Mennonite historians have described as a "movement of quiet eschatology"

(Winland, 1992, p. 436). The phrase "quiet eschatology" comes from Littell's (1958) work characterizing the Anabaptist belief in quiet suffering so that in martyrdom Anabaptists as the "true church" could partake in the cross of Christ (p. 127-135). This history however is also one of identities in conflict across the various Mennonite groups because of differing interpretations of what it means to be a separate people of God in this world. Therefore, because of these paradoxically dividing and uniting identities, the term community itself seems inadequate to describe the phenomenon.

A related though conceptually broader notion than community is peoplehood. About this, Urry (2006) writes:

> By 'peoplehood' I mean the particular Mennonite sense of identity based on their faith and sense of being and belonging. Core features of what it means to be a people of faith are often expressed in their confessions of faith and include adult baptism, nonresistance, and remaining separated from "the world." There is, however, less agreement among Mennonites on other religious matters, including ritual and practice. But throughout history this core proved remarkably persistent. Belonging is centered on a strong sense of social community founded on the interconnections of people through descent, both from founding ancestors and the historical experiences of the people of faith and often also through the genealogical descent of the community's members. The popular concept of 'ethnicity' does not quite capture this sense of being and belonging, which is informed by a culture of faith rather than faith in culture. The choice of the term "peoplehood" is intended to reflect this aspect of identity. (p. 6)

In this conceptual framework, sense of community, sense of belonging, separateness, pacifism and yieldedness, and believer's baptism are all core characteristics that, to various degrees, make up Mennonite peoplehood.

Social Capital

There is a growing body of research related to social work and human services with a cross-cultural perspective, particularly in the United States (Robinson, 1998 in Shams & Robinson, 2005, pg. 461-462). Researchers skilled in cultural diversity recognize the need to design and articulate alternative models of knowledge generation (Gibbs, 2001, p. 690). This task however can seem overwhelming, especially considering the sheer number of cultural groups in Canada and substantive and consequential differences between these many groups. Although there is more multicultural social work research being generated, the way in which cultural diversity is approached in research and academia can be problematic. Researchers have often categorized narrowly conceptualizations of diversity as "culture, race, religion, language, common ancestry, common origin, immigrant status, minority status, class and various combinations of these and related concepts" (Azmi, 1999, p. 152). Because narrow definitions lead to superficial ways of understanding "the other," multicultural knowledge generation must both listen to the insiders' ways of understanding group identity, and recognize plurality and diversity within groups.

In order to understand Mennonite history, and present-day Mennonite communities, it is important to utilize a conceptual framework that explicitly takes multiculturalism and immigration into account due to the Mennonites' social situation as

a distinct minority group in North America, as well as their persecution and immigration history and the effects it may still have for different Mennonite groups today. This will in turn help to develop nuanced understandings of Mennonite identities for clinical practice. Researchers have introduced the concept of social capital to deal with the complex issues of multiculturalism and immigration and social capital is introduced in this thesis as a way of examining the heterogeneity of the Mennonite denominations in La Crete.

As a theoretical framework, social capital is similar to other forms of capital, including financial, physical, human and cultural capital. While financial and physical capital are fairly common economic constructs respectively related to money accessible for investment, and property or other physical assets used to further generate economic wealth, other forms of capital are not as commonly understood. Human capital is the specialized knowledge gained through training or education that has a financial return, whereas cultural capital is the understanding of and ability to participate in the refined cultural norms and customs that give individuals an advantage because of the value placed on social elitism (Light, 2004, pg. 146). For example, children raised in affluent homes may be more likely to learn specific table manners, conversational skills and mannerisms that signal special status and help them to gain further economic and social advantage based on their "cultural capital."

Some of the earliest references to social capital were made by Jacobs in 1961, Loury in 1977 and 1981, Bourdieu in 1980 and 1985, and Coleman in 1988 and 1990 (Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Whitley & McKenzie, 2005). Jacobs' (1961) single reference to social capital is in her discussion of city neighbourhoods that take in various

newcomers, including "newcomers by choice", "immigrants settling by expediency", and transients. These newcomers enter and are absorbed into city neighbourhoods that have the capacity to maintain their social networks amidst newcomer infiltration, provided that they enter gradually so as to ensure that the networks are not saturated. Jacobs describes these networks as "a city's irreplaceable social capital," whose attributes, which Jacobs does not describe, can disappear, be lost, and conversely, slowly accumulate again (p. 137-138).

Loury (1977) introduces the concept of social capital at the end of his study of racial income differences between blacks and whites as a proposed way to explore the influence of social origin on the acquisition of human capital, such as education and work experience. Bourdieu (1986) describes social capital as being "made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital..." (p. 243). He goes on to describe "the existence of a network of connections" as

> the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e., at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc. or institutionally guaranteed (rights). (p. 249-250)

This description of social capital networks includes objective (durable obligations and institutionally guaranteed rights) and subjective (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship,

etc.) elements that are expanded upon in this thesis in order to understand the Mennonite experience in Europe and Canada.

Lastly, Coleman (1988) uses social capital as a way to bridge two main theories of social action: firstly, "the actor as socialized and action as governed by social norms, rules, and obligations", and secondly, "the actor as having goals independently arrived at, as acting independently, and as wholly self-interested" (p. S95). For Coleman, social capital, through its three forms of obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms, aids in facilitating the exchange of other forms of capital, such as human capital, by, for example, helping children and their parents create cross-generational relationships that transfer quantities of human capital from parents to children. In this way, rational action by individual actors exists in social relationships through the exchange of social capital.

Both Coleman and Putnam have been described as "the architects of much of the contemporary discourse on social capital in the sociology literature" (Drukker, Kaplan, Feron , & Van Os, 2003, p. 826). Putnam's work in particular appears most commonly in the literature surrounding the concept of social capital and seems to have provided a major force in initiating the intense and multi-disciplinary discussion that is occurring today. This may well be due to its "clarity" and "useful(ness) for thinking about developing social capital at the community level" (Rohe, 2004, pg. 159). According to Putnam (1993), social capital can be understood as "features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (pg. 2), or as the "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, pg. 19).

The social work profession "acknowledge(s) the importance of understanding the various conceptualizations of social capital" (Laser & Leibowitz, 2009, p. 88), and social capital has recently been used as a conceptual tool within social work research. For example, in her work on international social work disaster management, Mathbor (2007) describes joint social work and social capital concepts such as "solidarity, social cohesion, social interaction and social networks" (p. 359) as being fundamental in community preparedness for natural disasters. In their social work research on South Asian women's immigrant settlement experiences in Toronto, George and Chaze (2009) employ a social capital construct of preexisting and created social networks to better understand this population's immigration experiences. Kebede and Butterfield (2009) discuss social network connections, part of social capital, as a tool for poor women in Ethiopia to gain other forms of capital, including financial capital.

There is no universally agreed upon conceptualization of social capital. Researchers variously highlight its cognitive, structural, and ecological attributes, its micro and macro level social characteristics, its subjective and objective qualities, as well as its horizontal, vertical, and/or diagonal dimensions (Almedom, 2005; Whitley & McKenzie, 2005; Woolcock, 2001). Each of these ways of organizing social capital is highly complex and none are mutually exclusive. For the purposes of this research, a construct that recognizes both the various social categories of social capital as defined or described by Hawkins and Abrams; Koniordos, Terrion and Lagace; and Whitley and McKenzie, as well as its subjective and objective attributes, will be used.

Spheres of social capital. Social capital can be delineated into various levels of group identity. This is important because, as a conceptual framework, social capital may

mean different things to different researchers. A frequent criticism is that its attributes and operationalization are contested in the literature to the point that research utilizing this conceptual framework is impeded and confused by a plethora of approaches (Koniordos, 2008). In order to avoid this confusion of meanings, in this research social capital has been classified into bonding, bridging, and linking categories and are explained below (Hawkins & Abrams, 2007; Koniordos, 2008; Terrion & Lagace, 2008; Whitley & McKenzie, 2005). While these subsets have meanings of their own they may also correspond respectively to micro-, mezzo- and macro-level classifications of practice prominent in social work (Loeffler et al., 2004, p. 24-25).

Bonding social capital refers to individuals in a group or network who are in relatively equal relationships with one another (Hawkins & Abrams, 2007, p. 2033). It is "inwardly focused and characterized by homogeneity, strong norms, loyalty, exclusivity, and a reliance on solid intra-group ties" (Whitley & McKenzie, 2005, pg. 74). Correspondingly, bonding social capital may have some relation to the micro social level where bonding happens in families and between close friends (Loeffler et al., 2004, p. 25). For the purposes of this research, it is expected that intra-denominational alliances will typically be designated as bonding social capital. Of course, this cannot be an exclusive criterion as human relationships always exceed socially bounded margins and the denominational affiliations of the research population continually involve change through individual membership change, marriage, etc. However, it is also important not to underestimate denominational allegiance and the role it plays in identity formation, particularly in light of longstanding and more recent historical migrations organized on

the denominational level and occasioned by perceived threats to beliefs held at the denominational level.

Bridging social capital refers to relationships between people and groups that are different in age, social status, race, etc. (Hawkins & Abrams, 2007, p. 2033). Whereas bonding social capital is inwardly focused, bridging social capital is "outwardly focused, linking diverse groups and people. It is intergroup and characterized by weaker ties" (Whitley & McKenzie, 2005, pg. 74). This facet is horizontal and "impl(ies) connections between people who share broadly similar demographic characteristics" (Woolcock, 2001, p. 13) which include "socioeconomic status, beliefs and values, life experience and existing social capital" (Terrion & Lagace, 2008, pg. 241). Alternatively, viewed from a social work lens, bridging social capital might be seen as connecting individuals and families to communities (Loeffler et al., 2004, p. 25). In this research, bridging social capital will also refer to how individuals view themselves and their bonding networks within larger interdenominational structures, and how personal and group identity is formed through reflection against other Mennonite groups.

Lastly, linking social capital involves the relationships that people build with institutions and with individuals who have power over them (Hawkins & Abrams, 2007, p. 2033). Woolcock (2001) describes linking social capital as having a "vertical dimension" with "the capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community" (pg. 13). Linking social capital corresponds to the objective network structures that are built on the basis of subjective factors, such as perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and suspicions that immigrant communities have with their host societies. The *Privilegiums*, legal charters used by Mennonites to negotiate special

protections (Urry, 2006, p. 43) are examples of objective linking structures for Mennonites immigrating to Russia and Canada. Viewed by social workers, linking social capital could be reinterpreted to a policy stance whereby people who lack power are linked to those who have power and resources (Loeffler et al., 2004, p. 25-26).

Research indicates that levels of social capital within minority communities may be reflected in voting participation of those communities. However, it is necessary to differentiate voting as "an *outcome* of social capital rather than a part of social capital itself" (Paxton, 1999, p. 90). Because voting is a direct way for individuals to link to and influence large, including national, power systems, a discussion of the relationship between voting and social capital makes most sense within a discussion of linking social capital. Bevelander and Pendakur (2009) found that while voting participation is not significantly effected by informal bonding categories, formal bridging interactions are "strong predictors of voting" (p. 1407). They define these "formal bridging interactions" as "membership in organizations and attending religious services" and "sense of belonging at a local level and civic awareness" (p. 1407). According to Nakhaie (2006) social capital measures such as "religious participation, voluntarism and giving, (and) frequency of giving"... "show a clear linear relationship with voting" (p. 371-374). Conversely, data indicate "no support for the idea that strong ethnic attachments result in lower rates of voter participation" (Jedwab, 2006, p. 8). While voter participation is a complex field beyond the scope of this study, the research suggests linkages between voter participation and social capital it is therefore worthwhile to elicit groundwork data on voter participation within this population.

Given that the individuals involved in these faceted concepts of social capital also contribute to the formation and propagation of peoplehood, the research as described thus far will be used to construct a scale that measures individual and perceived group affiliation to core facets of peoplehood. The measure will utilize facets of peoplehood that have been identified in the literature as core Mennonite characteristics but that are denominationally unspecific. These facets of peoplehood will then be conceptually connected to bonding, bridging and linking spheres of social capital. For this reason it is important to examine the various traits that make up peoplehood, with an eye to social capital integration, and to understanding peoplehood as a core feature, although possibly in varying degrees, in Mennonite perceptions of self and community. A nuanced understanding of the way various denominations construct and maintain the relationships measured through this understanding of social capital may be useful for social workers and practitioners working with various Mennonite denominations in and around La Crete.

Objective and subjective components of social capital. The objective and subjective components of social capital are, respectively, the possession of concrete manifestations of social capital available to a group, and the perceptions of the social capital it may or may not possess (Terrion & Lagace, 2008, pg. 242). This means that while a group may have "networks, norms and trust" that facilitate and enhance group connectedness, individuals within the group may have either positive or negative perceptions of those objective traits. Objective and subjective elements are shaped by various social situations including immigration, and by one another, in a reciprocal fashion, so that one's value or trustworthiness (or, in a theological setting, the propriety) of the outside world will influence efforts made to constrain or promote relationships

outside of cultural or faith communities. Subsequently the number and nature of these relationships will influence the perception one has of them.

The extensive Mennonite migrations for religious freedom and (to varying degrees) social cohesion and exclusion have already been documented. This history can be understood through a subjective/objective immigration lens. In this context, social capital in Mennonite populations can additionally be viewed as involving objective and subjective components. In their work on social capital with immigrant and refugee populations in Canada, Lamba and Krahn (2003) conclude that immigrants first need "an objective network structure that links individuals in a social space", and secondly they need a trusting, positive subjective element for these links to take effect (Paxton, 1999 in Lamba & Krahn, 2003, p. 338). Although the present-day Mennonites in La Crete are not refugees, many migrations had refugee aspects due to the violent and persecutory environments from which the Mennonites fled. This way of conceptualizing social capital is helpful for understanding the groups in this study because the research shows that both objective intra-community elements, as well as subjective extra-community elements of social capital were involved in Mennonite migrations, which are discussed below; and objective intra-community elements continue to affect the ways in which aspects of subjective extra-community elements of social capital, such as external relationships, are framed and negotiated.

Johnson-Weiner (1998) writes that "separation is integral to Anabaptist belief", where separation includes symbolic, material and ideological dimensions (p. 378). Although Johnson-Weiner frames this refusal to assimilate as a religious boundary, it could also be viewed as a radical "objective network linking structure". Viewed from

this angle, Anabaptist groups have separated from mainstream culture in order to maintain, and sometimes strengthen, objective intra-community networks. This is an example of how social capital can have negative traits, among them "exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward leveling norms" (Portes, 1998, pg. 15). While the first three traits are self-explanatory, downward leveling norms refers to a group acceptance of a poor lot in life, so that individuals must leave the group if they want to be successful.

Intra-group loyalties and excessive distrust of the host society impeded individual and group access to larger social structures. This is the case for some Mennonite communities that remained separate due to the subjective element of distrust in the outside Canadian social and political environment. Due to their lengthy persecution history, Mennonites learned to isolate themselves for survival, and thus strengthened inward linking structures. One example of such distrust involved Mennonites living in Canada in the1940s. In the early years of World War II Mennonites in Canada were reluctant to enlist for active duty but accepted alternative service assignments instead. While under criticism for "allegedly inadequate" war efforts, military enlistment remained low and suspicion between Mennonite and neighbouring communities remained high (Regehr, 1999, p. 37). However, when the host society began to acknowledge the alternative wartime service of the Mennonites, Mennonites' subjective trust attitudes toward the host society increased and "Mennonite military enlistment figures rose sharply" (p. 37).

Although Mennonites have often remained separate from secular society, they have also partnered with host governments in other more tangible, trusting relationships.

An example of one such relationship is the Privilegium, an agreement signed in 1873 with the Canadian government, and modeled on the earlier agreement of the same name with Catherine the Great in Russia. This agreement detailed Mennonite separation through exemption from military service, freedom to exercise religious principles, and the ability to run private schools (Bowen, 2001, p. 464). While reinforcing separation and objective, intra-community linking structures, the Privilegium is also a symbol of a subjective trusting and partnering relationship between an immigrant population and a host country, resulting in greater extra-community linkages.

Although much research has been done regarding structural and objective aspects of social capital, its subjective aspects have been less researched and are less understood (Terrion & Lagace, 2008). However, subjective and objective attributes are important in conceptualizing social capital. While the literature describing Mennonite history reflects the pairing of objective and subjective attributes with their respective intra- and extra-community categories as previously described, it is important to note that objective traits and subjective perceptions defy absolute categorization and elements of both can be found in each community facet. Linking extra-community networks also involves objective vertical relations that help people access tangible, formal resources. Likewise, bonding and bridging social capital each have subjective dimensions of trusting, voluntary associations within more intimate social relationships (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne & Solomos, 2007, p. 29-30). Viewed in this way, social capital is "the *combination* of trust and associations" (Paxton, 1999, p. 199) within each of its social categories. This study has thus been designed to measure objective and subjective

elements of social capital in all social categories, and where there is a particular use of its objective and/or subjective elements it is clearly marked as such.

Degrees of Peoplehood and Social Capital. Group processes at the bridging and linking levels become functioning entities themselves, which are further influenced by and exert influence on smaller individual and familial systems. For example, decreased trust and increased suspicion of the host society either in Russia or in Canada by those wielding decision-making power (i.e. those within the linking category) could have obstructed the signing of a Privilegium, thereby dramatically altering the course of history for all individuals within the group. Such an example however would likely have occurred in dialogue among the various bonding and bridging categories of the group. Bonding capital influences bridging and linking, linking influences bonding and bridging, and so on, and the stocks of social capital in various groups can contain different combinations of bonding, bridging, and linking (Woolcock, 2001, 13). However, these processes can be clarified using a clearly delineated, faceted construct of social capital.

In order to illustrate this point it is helpful to return to a more general understanding of social capital as a construct for researchers interested in investigating how social systems affect and are affected by individuals at various levels. Within this construct, social capital can be

> complexly conceptualized as the network of associations, activities, or relations that bind people together as a community via certain norms and psychological capacities, notably trust, which are essential for civil society and productive of future collective action or goods, in the manner of other forms of capital. (Farr, 2004, p. 9)

Using this definition, the "associations, activities, and relations that bind people together as a community" and collectively described as social capital may be equally conceptualized in their Mennonite contexts as components of peoplehood.

The Mennonite Diaspora has tugged the social fabric of the various Mennonite identities across the globe. Nevertheless, those identities continue to flourish and evolve separately and collectively as a peoplehood linked by common core characteristics. These characteristics have been important enough to cause hundreds of thousands of immigrants to join dozens of migrations in search of homelands where the various identities could flourish. However, there is little published research that explicitly connects the protection and cultivation of these core characteristics within isolated communities that contain a spectrum of Mennonite identities.

Hermeneutics can be described as a spiral where understanding and interpretation of social action are reflexively and mutually informed by the researcher and respondent together in a "meaning shaping dialogue" (Unger, 2005, p. 51). This same image can be transferred to Mennonite communities containing a spectrum of denominational identities that reflexively and mutually engage in an ongoing re-understanding and re-shaping of social life and identity. In this way communities and members of the community are engaged in a hermeneutical process as they negotiate their relationships to the wider community through their ongoing interactions and continuing relationships. Sandwiched between horizontal intra-denominational bonding structures and vertical extra-community linkages lies an inter-community bridge where the various Mennonite denominational identities are also engaging in a "meaning shaping dialogue" with one another. Each of these categories contains objective quantities of social capital which in

this case are made up of the characteristics of peoplehood, and which are subject to individuals' positive or negative perceptions.

Peoplehood and Social Capital in the Mennonite Context

As identified earlier by Urry (2006), core features of peoplehood include adult baptism, pacifism and separateness (p. 6) with sense of belonging and social community as strongly influencing subjective attributes. The concepts of the fellowship of believers, being the "quiet in the land", and being in the world but not of it, each described earlier in this research, are also frequently cited in the literature as core attributes of community in Mennonite scholarship and are therefore important in understanding peoplehood. Lastly, the term *Gemeinde*, or community, is frequently mentioned and may be more narrowly conceptualized as community membership.

Each of these terms is conceptually related to others, decreasing the clarity of each term as an individually measurable facet of peoplehood. As well, the concepts themselves imply more or less objective and/or subjective qualities. For example, pacifism might include objectively stated stances to participation in war, but the related concept of being the quiet in the land carries a nuanced description of a desired way of psychological being. These complementary relationships spread out to the other terms. Adult believer's baptism may be the objective, public display of community belonging. Likewise, separateness implies knowing and marked action in daily life that stems from the more elusive concept of being in the world but not of it. The core features of Peoplehood will be grouped in the following manner:

1. "Believer's Baptism" and "Community Belonging",
2. "Separateness" and "Being in the World but Not Of It", and

3. "Pacifism" and "The Quiet in the Land".

In each case objective elements are combined with the subjective elements that follow. Later, I will describe how these groupings correspond to the bonding, bridging, and linking dimensions of social capital. Finally, although the yieldedness, or *Gelassenheit* motif has been historically used by researchers to describe eschatological aspects of "the Mennonite experience", this concept may be ideologically closer to Swiss Brethren identities than those involved in this research. Because the second group of facets describes a state similar to yieldedness, this concept as a separate entity will be excluded from the research.

It is not necessary to divide peoplehood characteristics into social capital categories. The social capital construct however is a useful one in this instance for three reasons. First, the immigration history that has helped define and solidify some peoplehood characteristics is well articulated through a social capital immigration construct that identifies objective and subjective linking with (host society) structures. Second, the social capital construct recognizes that identity formation occurs in various levels of community. The peoplehood construct is therefore placed into a social capital framework so that each characteristic can be more precisely understood in a given level of community. This is important because, for example, the characteristic "community belonging" means very different things from a bonding (i.e. denominationally internal) versus linking (wider Canadian society) category, and the use of the social capital framework makes these distinctions explicit. Lastly, researching all three facets at each level of social capital would be too broad a project for this thesis. For this reason, each facet has been paired with the most appropriate social capital category in order to explore

the meaning of various core characteristics within a conceptually suitable level of community.

Past research on Mennonite populations often has focused on observable aspects of religious or ethnic identity, such as use of technology, that may not capture a multi-layered community approach to understanding self and group identity. This focus ignores the complexities within groups and ultimately fails to capture the various ways that individuals and communities relate to each other and to wider society. This becomes a concern for clinical social work because superficial and cross-cultural applications of clinical interventions that do not adequately understand the client group can result in compromised interventions (Yoshioka, 1999, p. 115).

Because peoplehood characteristics may occur differently within different levels of community, these characteristics have been purposefully organized into the three facets of social capital in order to correspond to bonding, bridging and linking categories of social capital. In this way, a nuanced approach can be utilized to explore various facets of peoplehood within more precise social categories. This nuanced approach will facilitate better understanding of the diversity within Mennonite groups, as well as help to create better clinical interventions and consequently better outcomes for Mennonite clients.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

This chapter begins with an overview of the participants for this study, followed by a discussion of sampling procedures. Measurement is then discussed, particularly around the creation of an instrument used to evaluate Mennonite peoplehood from a social capital perspective. This discussion also addresses issues of reliability and validity. Lastly, methods for analyzing the data are described.

Participants

The population for this research English-speaking Mennonites from the Sommerfelder, Bergthaler, and EMC denominations accessing services in or around the town of La Crete, Alberta. Participants were recruited using non-probability, convenience sampling methods so the results cannot be generalized to the population. Participants were English-speaking Mennonite adults (18 years-of-age and older) residing in and around the community of La Crete, Alberta. In total there were 28 participants. Of those, 5 (18%) belonged to the Sommerfelder denomination, 11 (39%) to the Bergthaler denomination and 9 (32%) to the Evangelical Mennonite Conference. No members of the Old Colony denomination participated. One participant self-identified as "other", and two participants self-identified as "none", meaning no denominational affiliation. Ten participants (36%) were female and 18 (64%) were male. Seven participants (25%) were between 20-29 years-of-age, 7 (25%) were 30-39, 6 (21%) were 40-49, one (4%) was between 50-59, and seven (25%) were 60-69.

Procedures

Recruitment posters (Appendix B) were displayed at the La Crete Support Services office and the La Crete Health Unit. The role of the agencies (participating sites)

was to both display posters to recruit participants and to provide a location for the questionnaires to be obtained and filled out. Participants submitted completed questionnaires into a drop-off box out of sight of agency personnel, in order to preserve their anonymity. Participants also had the option of requesting a survey by contacting the researcher through email, postal mail, or by telephone. Participants could choose to provide their name and address on a separate sheet of the questionnaire in order for the $15.00 remuneration to be sent to them. This identifying information was removed before reading the questionnaire results in order to protect confidentiality.

Participants were informed on the first page of the questionnaire that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw participation up until the time they submitted their questionnaires. They could exercise their choice by deciding not to submit the questionnaire. Voluntary participation in the survey constituted consent, and no other written consent was provided by participants. The research was reviewed and approved by the Conjoint Faculties Ethics Review Board of the University of Calgary. Participants were not interviewed.

Measurement

A questionnaire was constructed for this research because there are no instruments that evaluate Mennonite peoplehood from a social capital perspective. In order to develop the instrument the author undertook a detailed review of the literature involving Mennonite communities in general, and the construct of Mennonite peoplehood in particular, which are fully described in the literature review chapter. Urry's (2006) emphasis on adult baptism, pacifism, and remaining separate within the world, as core features of peoplehood, was used to organize descriptions of peoplehood identified in the

literature. Each category was elaborated through the literature review as, for example, various aspects of pacifism and descriptions of pacifist behaviour by or within Mennonite communities appeared. Themes that consistently emerged in the supporting literature were chosen as facets of peoplehood. Themes that were isolated to only a few authors, and themes that more aptly described another Anabaptist population were not included. Following the review of the literature and the elaboration of the categories emphasized by Urry, each category was operationalized through the development of questions to measure objective and subjective instances. The features of peoplehood originally identified by Urry were then identified as examples of bonding, bridging or linking behaviours. The design also acknowledged objective and subjective elements and thus elicited observations of objective and subjective facets of peoplehood at each of the three levels. The organization of the questionnaire was envisioned as follows:

Figure 1:

Bonding, Bridging, and Linking Aspects of Peoplehood with Objective and Subjective Attributes

	OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE ATTRIBUTES	
BONDING/MICRO (intra-denominational)	Believer's Baptism	Community Belonging
BRIDGING/MEZZO (inter-denominational)	Separateness	Being in the World but Not Of It
LINKING/MACRO (extra-denominational)	Pacifism	The Quiet in the Land

As noted, the questionnaire was designed to include specific questions about each facet of peoplehood, and to elicit responses for subjective and objective elements of

bonding, bridging, and linking categories of social capital. Questions in the latter two categories were also designed to elicit people's levels of trust in vertical bridging and linking relationships with government, the education system and various health professionals in the community. Participation in local and national elections by immigrant and religious communities is widely accepted as a measure of participation in the wider community (e.g., Reitz, Banerjee, Phan & Thompson, 2009) and can be interpreted as evidence of linking behaviours (Ager & Strang, 2008). Participants were asked to indicate their participation in municipal, provincial, and federal elections in order to evaluate linking behaviours.

The validity of the instrument is difficult to evaluate because it was rationally derived for the purposes of this study. On the face of it, the instrument appears valid. The validity could have been assessed further by consulting with other experts in the field of Mennonite identity and "piloting" the instrument with small groups of Mennonites beforehand. As it is, the lack of confidence that can be placed in the validity of the instruments constitutes a weakness of the study. The majority of questions asked participants to respond on a Likert-type scale with values ranging from one to five, where five indicated strongest belief in or support for a particular facet of peoplehood. Questions 23 to 25 were dichotomous yes/no questions regarding voter participation at the federal, provincial and municipal levels. Unreported scores to questions 7, 8, 10 and 15 within the Sommerfelder denomination are due to each value occurring precisely once.

Efforts were made to ensure that the directions for completing the questionnaire were clear and that the questionnaire was easy to read and to respond to. Also, the

researcher ensured that specific cultural and religious references used in the questionnaire were meaningful and current for the participants from the four denominations chosen. Although these measures are known to increase reliability of instruments developed for research (Rubin & Babbie, 2005), no reliability data is available for the instrument that was developed.

Data Analysis

Questionnaire data were entered into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for quantitative data analysis. Scores were analyzed and presented by denomination and gender. Modal scores were reported throughout and data were examined for notable similarities and differences across groups. Mean scores were not calculated or used for comparisons due to the small sample sizes and the resulting distribution of scores and concerns regarding the use of mean scores with ordinal level data (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2008, p. 664 ff.) Findings based on the data were generated to further the two objectives stated above.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Bonding: Believer's Baptism and Community Belonging

Objective and subjective dimensions of bonding were evaluated using questions about believer's baptism and community belonging respectively. Question 1 asked respondents to rate the extent to which they view adult baptism as a necessary step in the Christian life, question 2 asked respondents to rate the extent to which they think people baptized as infants must be re-baptized as adults, and question 3 asked about the extent to which respondents would include adults who choose not to be baptized at all in their close circle of family and friends. While questions 1 and 2 were framed with higher scores indicating greater importance for adult baptism, higher scores on question 3 indicated less importance placed on adult baptism when compared to the importance of close friend and family relationships.

Table 1

Modal Scores for Believer's Baptism for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
1	5	22	79	5	4	80	5	9	82	5	7	78
2	5	12	43	5	2	40	5	7	64	4	7	78
3	5	15	54	5	2	40	5	4	37	5	7	78

Of all 29 Likert scale questions, question 1, which asked respondents to rate the extent to which they believed adult baptism was a necessary step for living a Christian life, had the greatest number of respondents endorsing the modal score (mode = 5; *n* =

22). Likewise, question 2 had a mode of 5 but with far fewer respondents (n = 12) answering that way. Finally, question 3 had an inverted mode of 1 (n =15), where 5 indicates that adult baptism takes precedence over close relationships, and 1 indicates that close relationships take precedence over adult baptism.

Respondents were asked about their sense of community belonging in questions 4 through 8. Each question asked participants to respond on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong. Both questions 4 and 5 elicited responses directly related to subjective perceptions of bonding. Question 4 asked participants to rank their sense of belonging to their close circle of friends and family, and question 5 asked participants to rank their sense of belonging to their church denomination. Respondents were also asked to rank their sense of belonging to the town of La Crete (question 6), the province of Alberta (question 7), and Canada (question 8). Although questions 6 through 8 move to a consideration of bridging and linking categories, they are helpful in order to contextualize the results of questions 4 and 5, and also to gain a better understanding of subjective perceptions of bridging and linking networks.

Table 2

Modal scores for Community Belonging for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
4	5	15	54	4,5	2	40	5	6	55	5	5	56
5	5	12	43	3,4	2	40	5	5	46	5	6	67
6	4	9	32	4	2	40	3	5	46	5	5	56
7	4	10	36				3,4	3	27	4	4	44
8	5	9	32				5	4	37	5	4	44

Questions about community belonging (questions 4 through 8) were designed to elicit participants' subjective sense of community belonging to various community levels, including the bonding level. Specifically, participants were asked to respond on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong, to rank their sense of belonging to their close circle of friends and family (question 4), their church denomination (question 5), the town of La Crete (question 6), Alberta (question 7), and Canada (question 8). Between Bergthaler and EMC participants there was little variation in scores within the bonding relationships of close friends and family, with the mode scores of 5 being similarly distributed (Bergthaler = 55%, EMC = 56%) to each other and to the total mode of 5 (Total = 54%). Sommerfelder results were bimodal, with 2 participants each answering 4 and 5, indicating a strong sense of belonging to close friends and family for 80% of Sommerfelder participants. Respondents scored higher on question 8, which asked them to rank their sense of belonging to Canada, with a mode of

5 (n = 9) than to question 6 (mode = 4, n = 9) and question 7 (mode = 4, n = 10), which asked them to rank their sense of belonging to the town of La Crete and Alberta, respectively. Results from questions 4 to 8 indicate a stronger sense of belonging within bonding categories of social capital, whether friends, family or church denomination, than within larger social categories.

Bridging: Separateness and Being in the World but Not Of It

Objective and subjective dimensions of bridging were evaluated using questions about separateness and being in the world but not of it respectively. Questions 19 to 22 referred to separateness within broader community relationships, including people of different ages, denominations and races. Question 19 asked the extent to which respondents believe that their church denomination is different from others in the community. For this question, and others in this section, respondents were asked to respond on a scale ranging from not at all (1) to very much (5). Thirty-two percent (n = 9) responded on the mid-point of the Likert scale with the majority of those respondents being from the Sommerfelder and Bergthaler congregations. Respondents from the EMC were most likely to see their congregation as different from others in the community with 66% (n = 6) endorsing either 4 or 5. Question 20 measured participants' willingness to attend services in other churches. Although the modal score was 4, only 25% (n = 7) endorsed this response and members of the EMC appeared most reluctant to worship with

Table 3

Modal Scores for Separateness for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
19	3	9	32	3	2	40	3	5	46	4,5	3	33
20	4	7	25	3,5	2	40	4	5	46	2	4	44
21	5	14	50	4,5	2	40	5	6	55	5	5	56
22	5	17	61	5	5	100	5	7	64	4	5	56

Questions 21 and 22 similarly highlight community membership and good interdenominational relationships respectively. In general, respondents felt, to a great extent, that they have good relationships with people in other denominations (question 22, mode = 5, $n = 17$). Fifty percent of all respondents also felt very much like a member of their community (question 21, mode = 5, $n = 14$). Therefore, while scores for question 19 should be inverted, the modal score of 3 remains the same.

Questions 26 and 27 elicited responses on participants' views of being in the world but not of it. Although these questions are thematically similar to those in the separateness facet, questions 26 and 27 were specifically asked within the context of wider Canadian society, while questions related to separateness were specific to interdenominational and intracommunity relationships.

Table 4

Modal Scores for Being in the World but not Of It for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
26	4	10	36	4	2	40	5	5	46	4	4	44
27	4	12	43	3	3	60	4	6	55	4	4	44

A modal score of 4 ($n = 10$) was calculated when respondents were asked about the extent to which they try to be in the world but not of it, where the world refers to larger Canadian society (question 26). When asked about the extent to which they believe the community of La Crete is an example to the outside world (question 27), a slightly higher percentage (43%) endorsed 4. There was a slight variation in responses between questions 27 and 18 which asked the extent to which respondents believe their community serves as a peaceful witness to the outside world, 13 respondents (46%) indicated 3 for question 18.

Questions 30 to 32 measured the level of trust that respondents have for various professionals. These included trust of doctors working in their community (question 30), nurses working in their community (question 31), and mental health workers in their community (question 32). Trust has been identified as an important subjective component of social capital and questions to assess the levels of trust that respondents felt were included in the questionnaire to evaluate the likelihood that respondents would engage in bridging relationships based on the subjective perceptions of trust that they reported for others outside of their immediate community or denomination.

Table 5

Modal Scores for Subjective Bridging Networks for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
30	4	14	50	5	2	40	4	9	82	4	5	56
31	4	16	57	3,5	2	40	4	8	73	4	5	56
32	4	12	43	3	2	40	4	4	37	4	5	56

The results were all fairly uniform. Professionals working directly in the community tended to have a relatively high degree of trustworthiness with some minor variability. It is noteworthy that a larger number of participants belonging to the Bergthaler denomination endorsed a strong level of trust for doctors (mode = 4, $n = 9$) and nurses (mode = 4, $n = 8$) than they did for mental health workers (mode = 4, $n = 4$). However, participants from the EMC denomination endorsed a strong level (mode = 4) of support for all three types of professionals ($n = 5$).

Linking: Pacifism and The Quiet in the Land

Objective and subjective dimensions of linking were evaluated using questions about pacifism and being the quiet in the land respectively. In all cases, respondents were asked to respondent from 1, indicating no support ("not at all") to 5, indicating strong support ("very much"). Questions 9 to 15 related to pacifism, including participants' personal support (question 9) and perceived community support (question 10) of Canada's military operations in Afghanistan, personal support of a family member (question 11) or community member (question 12) wanting to join the Canadian military

for active combat, personal support of a family member (question 13) or community member (question 14) wanting to join the Canadian military for peacekeeping, and lastly participants' belief in using physical force if necessary for self-defense (question 15).

Table 6

Modal Scores for Pacifism for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
9	3	8	29	3	2	40	1	3	27	3	4	44
10	2	7	25				2	4	37	2	2	22
11	1	14	50	1	4	80	1	6	55	1,2	3	33
12	1	12	43	1	4	80	1	6	55	2	4	44
13	4	11	39	1	3	60	4	5	46	4	4	44
14	4	11	39	1	3	60	4	5	46	4	4	44
15	5	8	29				1,3	3	27	5	5	56

The mode for questions 11 and 12 was 1, indicating that respondents were reluctant to support family members (question 11, $n = 14$) and community members (question 12, $n = 12$) in joining the Canadian military for active combat. The modal score for question 9 was the midpoint on the scale (mode = 3, $n = 8$), while six respondents replied either 1 or 2 and three respondents answered "Don't Know", meaning that 61% of respondents indicated either reluctance or ambivalence in personal support for Canada's military operations in Afghanistan. Conversely, 39% of respondents reported at least some support for Canada's military operations in

Afghanistan. Question 10 had a much higher number (n = 15) of respondents answering "Don't Know", indicating a high degree of uncertainty about perceived community support for Canada's military operations in Afghanistan.

Of all the questions related to the Canadian military, respondents tended to show most support for Canada's peacekeeping efforts as shown in questions 13 and 14, with modal scores of 4 and n = 11 for both questions. These questions asked about the level of support for a family member or community member, respectively, joining the Canadian military for peacekeeping operations and the level of declared support, as indicated by participants who responded with either a 4 or 5, reached or approached 50%. Responses to question 15 indicated a relatively strong level of support for physical force in self-defense, with a modal score of 5 and n = 8. Six respondents endorsed 4; so 50% of respondents expressed support for the use of physical force in self-defense, while approximately 29% (n = 8) indicated no or virtually no support for the use of self-defense.

The phrase "Die Stillen im Lande" is interpreted as the Quiet in the Land, and this phrase was used in question 16, which asked the extent to which participants believe that Christians are called to be the quiet in the land. The more generic phrase "peaceful witness" was used in questions 17 and 18 to describe a similar concept to the quiet in the land, but using language perhaps more familiar to this population. Specifically, question 17 asked to what extent participants believe their community should serve as a peaceful witness to the outside world, and question 18 asked to what extent participants believe their community serves as a peaceful witness to the outside world. Respondents were

asked to evaluate their level of support for each of these notions on a scale ranging from no support (1, "not at all") to strong support (5, "very much").

Table 7

Modal Scores for The Quiet in the Land for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	Mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
16	2,5	6	21	5	2	40	5	4	37	1,2	3	33
17	5	18	64	5	5	100	5	7	64	5	5	56
18	3	13	46	3	3	60	3	6	55	3	4	44

Results for question 16 were bimodal, with 6 respondents each choosing either 2 or 5 to indicate the extent to which they believe that Christians are called to be the quiet in the land. These responses indicate a broad range of opinion within the sample. While 46% of Bergthaler respondents expressed at least some support, and18% of them expressed little or no support, among EMC respondents no one expressed support, while 66% expressed little or no support with the remainder choosing 3 or "Don't Know". Responses to question 17 were much more uniform with 64% of respondents believing to a great extent (Mode = 5) that their community should serve as a peaceful witness to the outside world. Respondents scored lower on their belief that their community actually serves as a peaceful witness to the outside world (question 18), with 46% of respondents choosing the midpoint of 3.

Questions 28 and 29 measured the level of trust that respondents have toward various linking level organizations, including their Member of Parliament (question 28),

and the public education system (question 29. These questions were asked in order to gain understanding as to levels of trustworthiness within these linking extra-community networks.

Table 8

Modal Scores for Subjective Linking Networks for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
28	3	11	39	3	3	60	4	6	55	3	4	44
29	4	14	50	4	3	60	3,4	5	46	4	6	67

Participants endorsed a mid-point modal score of 3 ($n = 11$) in their level of trust for their member of parliament, indicating ambiguity with their level of trust. Participants were somewhat more trusting of the public education system, with exactly half (50%) of participants endorsing a modal score of 4, indicating a relatively strong level of trust.

Questions 23 to 25 measured voter participation in the last federal election (question 23), provincial election (question 24), and municipal election (question 25). "Yes" responses indicate respondents who voted, while "No" responses indicate those who did not.

Table 9

Voter Participation in Federal, Provincial and Municipal Elections for Total and by Denomination

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
23	Yes	23	82	Yes	3	60	Yes	9	82	Yes	8	89
24	Yes	18	64	No	3	60	No	6	55	Yes	7	78
25	No	16	57	No	4	80	No	7	64	No	5	56

Canadian voter participation for the 2008 federal election was 58.8% (Elections Canada, 2009), compared to 82% of the sample. Provincial voter participation for the Alberta 2008 election was 40.6% (Elections Alberta, 2008), compared to 64% of the sample. Municipal election data was not available for the Municipal District in which La Crete is located. A chi-square "goodness-of-fit" test was conducted to evaluate participant turnout for federal and provincial elections in 2008 against national and provincial participation rates for both elections. Voter participation rates for respondents in this study were significantly higher than rates for the general population for both the federal ($\chi^2 = 7.146, p < .05$) and provincial ($\chi^2 = 7.337, p < .05$) elections. While individuals who volunteer to participate in a survey will likely be more inclined to vote in government elections, the 18% drop in participant voter turnout mirrors the 18% drop in national to provincial voter turnout. This demonstrates that there are similarities between voting patterns of at least some Mennonite groups and wider Canadian society.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Discussion of Findings

Participants in this research represented a broad range of ages and fairly consistent participation in each age group, with the exception of the 50-59 year age group. There were, however, noticeable differences in denominational participation, with few Sommerfelder and no Old Colony participants. This indicates that although, based on aggregate data, individuals of various ages were willing to participate in the research, there was less willingness to participate within certain denominations and this may point to denominational variations that inspired the research and that may be inferred from, but are not established by, the different participation rates.

Responses in the Believer's Baptism category were varied and consistently high scores on question 1 were not reflected in similarly high scores on the other two closely related questions. Respondents strongly endorsed adult baptism as a very necessary step in the Christian life. Because adult baptism is a core Anabaptist belief, these findings may not be surprising. However, answers to the following two questions display nuances within this belief and diversity as to how it may be practiced within denominations. Differences emerged in areas where individuals could move beyond core, basic acts or observances of faith and could exercise some personal latitude or discretion in how they live out that faith or interact with others outside of the faith community.

While adult baptism was viewed as being very important in the personal lives of the respondents, rebaptism of adults had less uniform support among respondents, despite the fact that early Anabaptists had nearly all been baptized as infants and were subsequently re-baptized as adults. These results may be influenced by centuries of uni-

or multi-denominational Mennonite communities in diaspora holding homogeneously to the practice of a singular adult baptism and no longer needing to address the issue of rebaptism. Results may also reflect a nuanced belief that while adult baptism is an ideal, rebaptism of adults to meet this ideal may not be an absolute requirement.

Approximately half (54%) of respondents believe very much that adults who choose not to be baptized at all can still belong in their close circle of family and friends. Respondents were less likely to answer that adults who choose not to be baptized at all should be excluded from their close circle of family and friends, with 21% of respondents choosing between 1 and 3, and only 1 participant choosing 1. This comparatively small number of respondents who may find it problematic to have adults who choose not to be baptized within their close relationships suggests less agreement regarding the ideal of adult baptism as compared to how respondents practice that ideal within the informal bonding category of daily life. The largest differences within the objective bonding category is between questions 2 and 3, as the questions moved from the personal decision to be re-baptized to rebaptism as a prerequisite of friendship, and this difference can be attributed to the response from the Bergthaler participants. These differences also speak to a particular decision when it comes to imposing personal beliefs upon others, and perhaps an unexpected openness, even regarding issues as fundamental as adult baptism as a clear, reasoned, deliberate profession of faith.

Historically within the Anabaptist tradition, re-baptism has been viewed as a personal choice. The responses indicate that this historical and theological position continues to have strong roots, with the responses to questions 2 and 3 indicating a reluctance to impose personal beliefs on others or to insist that everyone make

universally drawn conclusions regarding a personal decision. Similarly, participants may have been reluctant to make their relationships with others, even with their friends where they may have more choice, contingent upon others taking a similar position to them. This is consistent with the notion that adult baptism is a personal, deliberate, and intentional decision that can only be made when someone is competent to do so, and that other adults are competent to make their own, sometimes different, decisions. Furthermore, this may reflect a level of tolerance to intercommunity and interdenominational difference that is not always acknowledged as existing within close-knit Mennonite communities and that may form the basis, or provide the opportunity, for bridging relationships. However, it should also be noted that the responses may indicate a qualified or limited tolerance to difference with respect to adult baptism.

The literature describes bridging ties as usually weaker than bonding ties (Terrion & Lagace, 2008, p. 241) and a drop in sense of belonging within the bridging category can therefore be expected. However, denominational differences in sense of belonging became more apparent at the local town, provincial, and national levels than at the bonding level. Interestingly, while sense of belonging to the town of La Crete remained consistent with the bonding level for EMC participants, this subjective aspect dropped considerably for Bergthaler participants while the Sommerfelder modal score remained between the two other denominations. Subjective sense of belonging to the province of Alberta continued to drop for both Bergthaler and EMC participants, with Bergthaler scores remaining the lower of the two. However, sense of belonging to Canada rose for participants in both denominations. This corroborates the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS) on Social Engagement that measured social capital for 25,000 Canadians aged 15

and older across all 10 provinces. It found that 88% of Albertans had a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging to Canada, as compared with 78% of Albertans who had a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging to their province (Schellenberg, 2004, p. 18). While differences in provincial and federal sense of belonging in Canada were not explored in the research, for this population the difference may be at least partially explained by the Mennonite immigration history to Canada which reflects strong subjective and objective social capital including feelings of trust that contributed to and were subsequently validated by the Privilegium. With a high number (71%) of respondents answering that they had either a strong or very strong sense of belonging to Canada, these responses also indicate a high level of subjective trust with and objective allegiance to a national identity, as opposed to simply a religious or ethnic one, an aspect of community belonging that may not always receive attention in studies of Anabaptist and/or Mennonite denominations.

Community membership and other inter-denominational bridging relationships inherently carry both subjective and objective elements of social capital and within the bridging category, subjectively and objectively nuanced questions were asked in both facets. Although questions related to being in the world but not of it contained subjective as well as objective elements, as a whole the facet was framed to gauge participants' subjective attitudes to the community in order to measure how this might be a factor in the level of effort they put into objective bridging activities inter-denominationally and within the community. There were slight differences between denominations with Bergthaler participants most often responding that they try or try very much to live by being in the world but not of it, followed by Sommerfelder and then EMC participants.

When asked the extent to which participants thought that the community of La Crete is an example to the outside world, there was little difference between Bergthaler and EMC responses with both endorsing this belief, followed by Sommerfelder responses which indicated ambiguity in their belief about La Crete as an example to the outside world. This ambiguity is likely due at least in part to the wording of the question, which did not specify the term "example" as being "good" or "bad", and furthermore was not specific about what kind of example La Crete might theoretically be, for example a good or bad moral/religious example, an example of community cohesion or lack thereof, etc.

Within the separateness facet, question 19 is focused on the respondents' sense of their denomination as being different from others in the community, which contains a subjective feeling element. The extent to which respondents would act or not act on that sense of being different in terms of their willingness to attend church services in another denomination in their community (question 20) contains the more objective action response. EMC respondents were more likely than Sommerfelder or Bergthaler respondents to believe that their church denomination is different than others in the community,. Given this information it is not surprising that EMC respondents were less likely to attend church services in another denomination in their community than were either Sommerfelder or Bergthaler respondents.

Across denominations, respondents felt or very much felt like a member of their community. While the majority of EMC participants believed that they had good relationships with people in other denominations, all Sommerfelder participants and the majority of Bergthaler participants believed this very much. Given the reluctance of EMC participants to endorse subjective and objective inter-denominational bridging at

the same level as Bergthaler and Sommerfelder participants, but also the strong endorsement of community membership by participants from all denominations, it is necessary to underscore the fact that the meaning of community membership can not only be articulated in religious or denominational terms but will have other political and social nuances for various community members.

Participants' levels of trust with doctors, nurses and mental health workers in the community were measured as a way to further determine subjective bridging social capital. While doctors also have linking functions, for example as referring agents to vertically, farther removed, levels of treatment, more often general practitioners in the community carry out bridging functions similar to that of nurses and other health professionals. These two professions were chosen to represent professional bridging level activities given the general public's understanding of their function within the health system. Social workers, and particularly clinical social workers, may have less defined and less readily understood functions for the general public. The term clinical social work can encompass a variety of professional roles, whereas the term social worker is often associated with case management roles in mandated agencies such as child and family services or probation services. Mental health work is a standard clinical social work function that may not carry the same immediate associations for the general public as does the term social worker. The term mental health worker was therefore chosen to broadly represent trust or lack of trust with the types of interventions that clinical social workers in small communities might perform.

In general there was a greater level of trust with nurses than with doctors working in the community. Among Sommerfelder participants, 40% believed that doctors can be

trusted or trusted a lot, compared with 60% for nurses. Among Bergthaler respondents 82% equally believed that doctors and nurses could be trusted or trusted a lot. Lastly, while 78% of EMC respondents believed that doctors could be trusted or trusted a lot, 100% believed this about nurses working in the community. Denominational scores had larger differences and in general displayed more ambiguity and less trust when participants were asked how much mental health workers working in the community could be trusted. Among Sommerfelder participants, 40% believed that mental health workers could be trusted or trusted a lot. Within the Bergthaler denomination, an equal number of respondents (36%) either believed that mental health workers could be trusted or trusted a lot, or answered "don't know", and 27% endorsed a score of 3 indicating ambiguity with the question. Lastly, 78% of EMC respondents believed that mental health workers could be trusted or trusted a lot, and 22% answered "don't know". Clearly, the greatest difference in attitudes about mental health workers was between EMC respondents compared to Bergthaler and Sommerfelder respondents. These responses may roughly echo similar denominational patterns when respondents were asked about their affiliation to the bridging facet of being in the world but not of it, which could invoke guardedness with certain individuals and denominations in their beliefs about secular professionals providing mental health service, where mental health and mental illness might be seen less from a medical and more from a spiritual perspective. It is important to note that none of the 28 participants believed that mental health workers could not be trusted, and so while there was less endorsement of trust for mental health workers than for other health professionals, this is tempered by no apparent outright distrust for these professionals.

Results among the objective linking Pacifism facet display similar denominational nuances. The research indicates that Mennonite people do not have a uniform response to military involvement, but that their responses may be dependent on their trust of government and on perceived hostility toward them by the larger society (Regehr, 1999). Respondents in this sample had a high degree of involvement (82%) in national elections, which may indicate a higher sense of trust with national government (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2009). They also scored relatively high in their sense of belonging to Canada. Because of this, it makes sense that there were varying responses to questions of military involvement.

Respondents were more likely to support both a family member and a community member wanting to join the Canadian military for peacekeeping as opposed to active combat. This is an important finding because the wording of these two questions invited respondents to consider the involvement of both family members and community members where the community may be the broader community. The responses suggest that participants do not default to having others join the military for peacekeeping in place of family members but are almost equally likely to support their own family members in peacekeeping positions. This may reflect an evolving and perhaps more sophisticated analysis of the use of force or military power, depending on its purpose. It reflects research that describes Mennonite people during wartime in Canada who want to support their country, but who also want the ability to choose non-combative military activities (Regehr, 1999) and is perhaps similar to the decision of some to enlist for active combat or CO service in World War II. It may also be based on their awareness and understanding of current events. These results may also explain a relatively low mid-

level of support for Canada's military operations in Afghanistan, because the reference in the questionnaire to "military operations in Afghanistan" does not adequately detail the intent of the operations. When respondents were given more detail about military operations, specifically peacekeeping and active combat, scores reflected a wide range of support for military operations, which are at least partially dependent on the purpose of those operations.

From its inception, the Mennonite story has included a strong persecution narrative marked by being a quiet, immoveable counterculture to the dominant church-state culture. This quiet eschatological movement through history played out in various migrations for freedom to practice a way of life, as well as in numerous denominational splintering and regroupings. In this research, the phrase "the quiet in the land" was used as a subjective bridging facet to describe a way of being within broader (than close family and friends) community relationships. Interestingly, only 14% of respondents answered "Don't Know", while 60% of Sommerfelder and 46% of Bergthaler respondents answered that they believed that Christians are called to be the quiet in the land, and 67% of EMC respondents believed that Christians are not called to be the quiet in the land. Conversely, no Sommerfelder and only 18% of Bergthaler respondents believed that Christians are not called to be the quiet in the land, and no EMC respondents believed that Christians are called to be the quiet in the land. These results are striking for a few reasons.

The results for question 16 indicate that the phrase "the quiet in the land" had meaning for the respondents, and the meaning was strongly demarcated along denominational lines. However, the meaning of this phrase is open to some

interpretation. It could include a way of being so as not to draw unwanted attention and thereby avoid further persecution (Gingerich, 2005, p. 13). On the other hand it could signify a more historically theological sense of resolution to quiet suffering and obedience to God despite criticism from the outside world. Conversely, for respondents who did not endorse being the quiet in the land, this concept could have negative political or theological implications and moving away from an affiliation to this facet may signify a desire to take action for or against important political or religious issues. While EMC respondents expressed little or no support for the notion of being the quiet in the land, this contrasts quite noticeably with their support for serving as a peaceful witness. On the other hand, the Bergthaler modes for being the quiet in the land and the notion of witness were similar, suggesting continuity between these two ideas which may not be the case for EMC respondents.

Participants' levels of trust with their Member of Parliament and the public education system were measured as a way to further determine subjective linking social capital. Bergthaler respondents were slightly more likely to endorse feelings of trust for their Member of Parliament than were Sommerfelder or EMC respondents, with 55% of Bergthaler respondents showing trust or a lot of trust, as compared to 40% of Sommerfelder and 44% of EMC respondents. Conversely, EMC and Sommerfelder respondents were more likely to endorse feelings of trust for the public education system than were Bergthaler respondents, with 78% of EMC and 60% of Sommerfelder respondents showing trust or a lot of trust, as compared to 46% of Bergthaler respondents. Responses for trust in a Member of Parliament and trust in the public education system were not intended to be compared at face value because while a

Member of Parliament is an identifiable person and clearly serves a linking function, the public education system does not have a single identifiable "face", and serves both bridging and linking functions. However, differences in respondents' endorsement do indicate a high degree of personal opinion with respect to trust in various vertical level social and political systems.

Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

The first objective of this research was to determine if the concept of social capital can help illuminate a nuanced understanding of Mennonite communities by using subjective and objective notions of social capital along with bonding, bridging and linking categories. By breaking the concept of community down into bonding and bridging categories, and conceptualizing local-national relationships as a linking category, the various facets of peoplehood were indeed better delineated and able to be more precisely operationalized. This in turn helped to generate data that formed the basis for fruitful discussion, and will in the following section generate further questions for research questions with Mennonite populations. However, one limitation arising from these social capital delineations was the lack of uniformity within the literature about the precise definitions of the various social capital categories, which was sometimes reflected in imprecise categorical characterizations within the questionnaire. An example of this was in the bridging category of being in the world but not of it, which may have indicated a broad level of linking community relationship, but which was meant to be a subjective bridging delineation in order to shed light on objective bridging relationships.

Limitations of this study also included issues of validity. For example, no other measures of Mennonite peoplehood exist with which to correlate scores with this

instrument. As well, although many scales of social capital exist, none were found that specifically measure bonding, bridging and linking categories in a way similar to the measure used for this study. Because this instrument has provided useful data, and given the lack of data regarding psychometric properties, further development of the instrument may be warranted. This would include efforts to establish reliabilities such as test-retest and internal reliabilities, along with the validity of the instrument, including concurrent and construct validity. Because validity and reliability have not been established, the findings cannot be generalized to Mennonite people seeking social work and health services, or to all Mennonites seeking services at the agencies used in this study.

Other limitations of this study are inherent in the social capital framework itself. One such limitation involves criticism that the concept is fundamentally an economic one, where social capital is viewed as a mechanism that serves to facilitate the exchange of other forms of capital (Koniordos, 2008) and therefore may have questionable utility for social work, particularly clinical social work practice. This criticism is partially refuted by the explicit acknowledgement within social work theory that poverty is a social justice issue and that clinical social work practice involving health and mental health intervention must explicitly take into account critical theories of oppression, including economic capitalist oppression (Wiener & Rosenwald, 2008). Bourdieu in particular has been shown to incorporate social theories into economics by using a social capital framework that helps to explain poverty as a social reality sustained both by the dominant and oppressed classes through historical beliefs, trusts, associations and relationships between themselves and with one another (Fram, 2004). Within this research social capital was employed as a construct to delineate peoplehood

characteristics into bonding, bridging and linking categories, and to acknowledge the various subjective, including positive and negative aspects, as well as objective attributes of these peoplehood characteristics. Therefore, while the criticism of social capital as primarily an economic theory does not impede its conceptual utility in this study, it is also important to recognize that social capital as a theory is not unsound for social work practice on the basis of its origins in economics.

Another limitation of social capital theory that more directly applies to this study is that not enough recognition has been paid in the literature to potentially negative social capital, but rather that social capital is often viewed only by its positive attributes (Terrion & Lagace, 2008) and furthermore is then used prescriptively by social scientists as a remedy against social ills (Cheong et al., 2007). In contrast, this study was specifically designed to recognize both objective and subjective attributes of social capital, and within its subjective attributes to recognize its positive and negative forms. Examples include negative perceptions of some members of wider Canadian society to a perceived lack of military effort by Mennonites during wartime, and vice versa, a perception by some Mennonites of hostility displayed toward them by segments of wider Canadian society. Furthermore, this research does not utilize social capital as a prescriptive method to address a lack of social capital for Mennonite populations, but rather as an informative method of delineating facets of peoplehood into refined social categories in order to better operationalize its variables.

An additional limitation to this study is related to the fact that no individuals belonging to the Old Colony Church, and only five individuals from the Sommerfelder Church participated. Because of this, an important segment of the population was left out

and the results could not illustrate a more complete picture of community affiliation to core Anabaptist values. The literature indicates that it is challenging to engage conservative Mennonite groups in research.

In their health research of Kanadier (Old Colony, Sommerfelder and Kleine Gemeinde) Mennonites in southern Alberta, Hall et al. (2005) note the numerous strategies they employed in order to engage participants in their qualitative research. These strategies included meeting with ministers to gain support, hiring and training German-speaking research assistants, and taking short notes during interviews as opposed to utilizing recording devices out of respect for religious beliefs (p. 97-98). These strategies highlight the need for a great deal of trust in the research project in order to be successful with conservative Mennonite groups.

Many residents of La Crete, especially those within more conservative denominations, are to varying degrees, more comfortable speaking Plautdietsch. However, this language is usually not written. Because promotional materials and the questionnaire itself were all in English, this was likely an added barrier to engaging certain portions of the population.

Future research with Mennonite populations would need to address these issues. Recommendations include preparatory trust-building activities, including speaking with ministers to gain support. English-only studies are unlikely to engage participants who are more comfortable speaking Plautdietsch. Therefore another recommendation is to limit the scope of quantitative research to more liberal groups, and alternately to use qualitative or mixed methodologies when researching more conservative groups.

Other recommendations for future research with multi-denominational Mennonite communities include a more detailed investigation into the various meanings of community and community belonging for individuals and groups. Although this research indicated that a denominational approach to understanding community belonging is not sufficient for at least some Mennonite individuals and denominations, broader social and political understandings of community were beyond the scope of this study. Further research in this area would be useful for two reasons. First, it would help to clarify some discrepancies in the community belonging facet for EMC respondents in this research who were reluctant to endorse subjective and objective inter-denominational bridging at the same level as Bergthaler and Sommerfelder participants, but endorsed community membership with equal strength to the other denominations and therefore demonstrated that community belonging has diverse political and social nuances for various community members. While exclusive research interest in Old Order Mennonite communities may indicate some fascination with groups that find ways to stay the same, the research indicates that Mennonite groups are always evolving through migration and denominational reforming. Therefore, more insight into areas of social and political diversity would be helpful to clinical social workers practicing with Mennonite populations because further understanding of diversity leads to deeper awareness of the sophistication of decision-making by individuals and groups weighing cultural and religious characteristics in light of current social and political climates.

Lastly, future research could examine the impact of age, gender and intra-denominational differences for the various facets of peoplehood addressed in this study. Unfortunately, due to the limited number of respondents in this study, it was not possible

to explore the impact of these differences. Doing so in future research would potentially show new areas of diversity within Mennonite groups and lead to further insight for clinical social work with this population.

Questions for further research with Mennonite individuals and groups were developed based on the data collected. These include:

1) What effect does choosing not to be baptized have on Mennonite individuals emotionally and socially?
2) How do Mennonite individuals of various denominational backgrounds interpret the phrase, "the quiet in the land"?
3) What factors are involved for Mennonite individuals who choose to join the military for active service?
4) What factors either encourage or discourage Mennonite individuals from receiving professional mental health help?

An additional question based on the review of the literature but not within the scope of this study, and therefore not derived from the data, is:

5) What effect does excommunication have on Mennonite individuals emotionally and socially?

Implications for Social Justice and Social Work Practice

The second objective of this study was to initiate culturally appropriate guidelines focused on shifting from stereotyped assumptions of identity to recognizing the complexities and subtleties of the various Mennonite identities for social workers and other health professionals working with this population based on the findings. It was believed that such recognition would provide for a keener awareness of identity issues in

social work assessment and intervention. Themes that emerged from the research were both uniform support across denominations for certain facets of peoplehood, as well as nuanced support for other facets that took other social and political realities into account. The following discussion outlines some of these issues and suggests culturally appropriate perspectives for addressing issues of social justice and cultural diversity for clinical social workers working with Mennonite populations.

Peace as a Social Justice Issue. Pacifism is a core Anabaptist value, as well as a belief that had strong support within the sample population. While there may be some dispute about the applicability of the phrase "the Quiet in the Land" with this sample, there was also strong support for the idea of the community serving as a peaceful witness to the outside world. These objective and subjective "peace" values are important in understanding social justice from a Mennonite perspective.

Social workers are used to thinking of their practice, and the issues they face, in deficit terms. Social justice issues in social work practice include juvenile and criminal justice, violence, poverty, drug abuse, trauma, oppression, racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, and income inequality, to name a few (Birkenmaier, 2003, p. 44). Although social workers might agree that peace is a social justice issue, it is not common for social workers to name it as a social justice practice issue with which they are professionally involved. This need not be so. Conflict has deep economic, social and political roots (Moshe, 2001, p. 15). Peace as a defining issue serves to address these roots, and is able to touch on a wide array of deficit-defined social justice issues in the process.

Peace, and the desire for more of it, is common in most other social justice issues such as domestic violence and child abuse. Inner peace is a value that people with

depression, anxiety and other mental health issues are desperate for. Peace is also a central value in Mennonite social and religious thought. When answering questions about their emotional or relational lives, or even a seemingly mundane topic in everyday life, a Mennonite person might respond that things are going well by stating they are "*te fräd*"; they are, literally, "at peace".

Diversity within Mennonite Groups. Historically the Mennonite people have undergone cultural and religious changes through numerous migrations, as well as group divisions and reformations. Despite these changes, the core values and beliefs that constitute this peoplehood remain strong. While these values continue to have strong support, there are also indications that they are nuanced and may contain a variety of meanings within denominations.

A strong example in this research of such nuanced meaning within a core value can be seen in the peoplehood facet of Believer's Baptism. While the sample in this research had a strong regard for Believer's Baptism, their support for this value could be influenced by other factors, including personal relationships. This demonstrates some latitude within core peoplehood beliefs that allows for shifting of a core value to accommodate other important principles, including diversity and personal choice.

Similarly, support for military activity had neither a high or low modal response. Instead, respondents demonstrated greater support for military activity when that meant peacekeeping, as opposed to active combat. The examples of Believer's Baptism and military activity both serve to demonstrate that values within the population are not absolute, but instead contain a variety of beliefs that are influenced by other factors.

Implications for Social Work Practice. Social work has had a strong peace-building foundation to draw on. Jane Addams (1860-1935) has been described as "a pacifist and a founding mother of social work" (Lundy & van Wormer, 2007, p. 728) who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. Social work remains an excellent fit from which to practice peace-focused social justice work today. Further, this work is especially relevant to Mennonite populations, who maintain a strong peace witness as one of the historic peace churches (Holsopple & Davis, 2001).

Social workers new to Mennonite communities may make assumptions about the various individuals they are working with based on outward appearance, denominational affiliation, or English-language ability. While denominational affiliation may strongly influence outward appearance, respondents to this study cross-denominationally indicate a variety of beliefs about different facets of peoplehood. Although intra-denominational responses in this study were too small to merit their own statistical analysis, and could in some cases not be included for reasons of confidentiality, even a brief reading of responses within denominations shows a variety of responses.

The individuals in this study indicated a good sense of trust for various helping professionals. Rather than stereotyping Mennonite communities, or groups within communities, helping professionals need to be aware of the possibilities for nuanced beliefs about what it means to be Mennonite. As a peoplehood shaped by centuries of migration and interdenominational shifting, to be Mennonite is more than an outward state of appearance based on ethnic or religious traits.

The Mennonite peoplehood involves a nuanced affiliation at all levels of society to core values and beliefs. These values are not uniform and static. Rather, they are

diverse and actively lived out among the various Mennonite identities. Engaging with Mennonite individuals means exploring how they envision their role within their families, their church denominations, and their local communities, as well as the larger national and international community.

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APPENDIX A:

MODAL SCORES FOR QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TOTAL AND BY DENOMINATION

	Total			Sommerfelder			Bergthaler			EMC		
Q	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%	mode	*n*	%
1	5	22	79	5	4	80	5	9	82	5	7	78
2	5	12	43	5	2	40	5	7	64	4	7	78
3	5	15	54	5	2	40	5	4	37	5	7	78
4	5	15	54	4,5	2	40	5	6	55	5	5	56
5	5	12	43	3,4	2	40	5	5	46	5	6	67
6	4	9	32	4	2	40	3	5	46	5	5	56
7	4	10	36				3,4	3	27	4	4	44
8	5	9	32				5	4	37	5	4	44
9	3	8	29	3	2	40	1	3	27	3	4	44
10	2	7	25				2	4	37	2	2	22
11	1	14	50	1	4	80	1	6	55	1,2	3	33
12	1	12	43	1	4	80	1	6	55	2	4	44
13	4	11	39	1	3	60	4	5	46	4	4	44
14	4	11	39	1	3	60	4	5	46	4	4	44
15	5	8	29				1,3	3	27	5	5	56
16	2,5	6	21	5	2	40	5	4	37	1,2	3	33
17	5	18	64	5	5	100	5	7	64	5	5	56
18	3	13	46	3	3	60	3	6	55	3	4	44
19	3	9	32	3	2	40	3	5	46	4,5	3	33
20	4	7	25	3,5	2	40	4	5	46	2	4	44
21	5	14	50	4,5	2	40	5	6	55	5	5	56
22	5	17	61	5	5	100	5	7	64	4	5	56
23	1	23	82	1	3	60	1	9	82	1	8	89
24	1	18	64	2	3	60	1	6	55	1	7	78
25	2	16	57	2	4	80	2	7	64	2	5	56
26	4	10	36	4	2	40	5	5	46	4	4	44
27	4	12	43	3	3	60	4	6	55	4	4	44
28	3	11	39	3	3	60	4	6	55	3	4	44
29	4	14	50	4	3	60	3,4	5	46	4	6	67
30	4	14	50	5	2	40	4	9	82	4	5	56
31	4	16	57	3,5	2	40	4	8	73	4	5	56
32	4	12	43	3	2	40	4	4	37	4	5	56

APPENDIX B:

QUESTIONNAIRE

Mennonite Identities: Exploring Peoplehood and Social Capital in a Multi-denominational Mennonite Community

If you have any questions or comments about this study, or would like further information, please contact the researcher, Lynden Neudorf at (780) 926-2297. Dr. Richard Enns will be supervising the study and can be contacted at (780) 492-6971.

You have been invited to participate in an anonymous survey asking questions about religious and cultural characteristics of Mennonite people. Do not add your name or any other identifying information to ensure that your answers remain confidential (private). You must be 18 years of age or over to participate. Your participation is voluntary and your decision to participate will not influence your access to services. You may withdraw your participation up until the time you drop off your completed survey but you will not be able to withdraw your participation once your survey has been submitted. Completion of this survey constitutes consent to participate. In order to protect your confidentiality, please submit your survey using the drop off box located at this agency.

The information you provide will be used to complete my thesis for the Master of Social Work degree, and to inform myself, other researchers and the public about the kinds of cultural characteristics that may be important to different groups of Mennonite people. For this reason you are encouraged to answer each question.

The questionnaires will be kept in the locked drop off box at this agency during the study. Only I will have access to the questionnaires while they are being collected. I will transport the questionnaires weekly in a locked briefcase between this agency and my home for data entry where they will again be stored in a locked cabinet. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the data and files during and after data entry. The questionnaires will be kept and secured at my home until data entry is complete. At that point the questionnaires will be transferred to the Faculty of Social Work in Edmonton where they will be securely stored for five (5) years and then destroyed. Electronic data files will be password-protected and may be kept indefinitely for future research by myself and other researchers for this and other projects. The data files will be transferred to disc and stored indefinitely in a locked cabinet. No identifying information will be included in the electronic files.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study. If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact the Senior Ethics Resource Officer, Research Services, University of Calgary at (403) 220-3782; e-mail rburrows@ucalgary.ca

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In return for your participation in this study, you are invited to fill out your name and address in order to receive $15.00 by mail. If you choose not to fill out this information and forfeit the $15.00, but still wish to complete the survey, you are free to do so and the information you provide will be included in the final results. Please note that this page

will be removed from the rest of the questionnaire prior to reading your responses in order to protect your confidentiality.

Name: _____

(First Name) (Last Name)

Address: _____

(P.O. Box Number)

Please write your year of birth:

_____
(YEAR)

Please check your church denomination:

- ☐ Old Colony
- ☐ Sommerfelder
- ☐ Bergthaler
- ☐ Evangelical Mennonite Conference
- ☐ Other (Please Specify): _____
- ☐ None

Please check your gender:

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

Are you a resident of the town of La Crete, Alberta? *(In general, you are a resident of La Crete if you live in or around La Crete and if you receive your mail through the La Crete post office).*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Do you know if another member of your household has already completed this survey? If so, we request that you do not complete this one.

Questionnaire

Instructions: Although your answers to the following questions are voluntary, I want to encourage you to answer every question, if possible. For each question, please circle one number clearly, and only one. If you wish you may circle "Don't Know" as your response.

The first set of questions refers to ways that people show they belong to a community, and how strongly you feel like you belong to various levels of your community.

On a scale of 1-5 where 1 is not at all and 5 is very much

1. To what extent do you view adult baptism as a necessary step in the Christian life?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

2. To what extent do you think that people who have been baptized as infants must be re-baptized as adults?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

3. To what extent do you think adults who choose not to be baptized at all can belong in your close circle of friends and family?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

Some people have a stronger sense of belonging to some things rather than others.

Using a scale of 1-5, where 1 is not strong at all and 5 is very strong, how strong is your sense of belonging to

4. Your close circle of friends and family?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

5. Your church denomination?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

6. The town of La Crete?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

7. Alberta?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

8. Canada?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

The next set of questions refers to broader community relationships. These include people of different ages, denominations, and races that you have some contact with.

On a scale of 1-5, where 1 is not at all and 5 is very much

9. To what extent do you support Canada's current military operations in Afghanistan?

   Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

10. To what extent does your community support Canada's current military operations in Afghanistan?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

11. To what extent would you support a family member wanting to join the Canadian military for active combat?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

12. To what extent would you support a community member wanting to join the Canadian military for active combat?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

13. To what extent would you support a family member wanting to join the Canadian military for peacekeeping?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

14. To what extent would you support a community member wanting to join the Canadian military for peacekeeping?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

15. To what extent do you believe in using physical force if necessary for self-defense?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

On a scale of 1-5 where 1 is not at all and 5 is very much

16. To what extent do you believe that Christians are called to be the quiet in the land?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

17. To what extent do you believe your community should serve as a peaceful witness to the outside world?

    Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

18. To what extent do you believe your community serves as a peaceful witness to the outside world?

    Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

19. To what extent do you believe that your church denomination is different from others in the community?

    Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

20. To what extent would you be willing to attend church services in another denomination in your community?

    Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

21. To what extent do you feel like a member of this community?

    Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

22. To what extent do you have good relationships with people in other denominations?

    Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

The final set of questions refers to relationships that you have with the wider Canadian society.

23. Did you vote in the last federal election?

    Please circle: Yes No

24. Did you vote in the last provincial election?

Please circle: Yes No

25. Did you vote in the last municipal election?

Please circle: Yes No

On a scale of 1-5 where 1 is not at all and 5 is very much

26. To what extent do you try to live in the world but not of it

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

27. To what extent is the community of La Crete an example to the outside world?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

Using a scale of 1 to 5, where **1 means cannot be trusted at all** and **5 means can be trusted a lot**, how much do you trust the following groups of people and organizations?

28. Your member of parliament?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

29. The public education system?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

30. Doctors working in your community?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

31. Nurses working in your community?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

32. Mental health workers in your community?

Please circle: 1 2 3 4 5 Don't Know

Thank you for your participation in this study. We hope that the results of this study can be used by social workers and other health professionals to provide more culturally appropriate services.

APPENDIX C:

RECRUITMENT POSTER

Faculty of Social Work

University of Calgary

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR□RESEARCH IN A COMMUNITY SOCIAL ASSESSMENT

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a study looking at what it means to be Mennonite in a multi-denominational Mennonite community.

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to complete an anonymous questionnaire that will take 15-20 minutes of your time.

In appreciation for your time, we would like to give you a small payment. You will be invited to provide your name and address on a separate sheet in the questionnaire. This sheet will be removed before your questionnaire is read. You will then be sent $15.00 as a way to say thank you for your participation.

For more information about this study, please contact Lynden Neudorf at (780) 926 2297.

In order to ensure your privacy, please use the questionnaires provided by the drop-off box, and submit them anonymously in the drop-off box at this agency.

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance □through, the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB), University of Calgary.

APPENDIX D:

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Faculty of Social Work

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR□RESEARCH IN A COMMUNITY SOCIAL ASSESSMENT

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Surveys can be obtained at the La Crete Community Health Centre and at La Crete Support Services. In order to ensure your privacy, surveys can be submitted anonymously in the drop-off boxes at these agencies.

For more information about this study, or to obtain a copy of the survey by mail, please contact Lynden Neudorf at (780) 926 2297, or at "neudorf7@telus.net".

Only one survey can be completed per household. Please be aware that only one payment per La Crete or Buffalo Head Post Office box number will be given.

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance □through, the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB), University of Calgary.