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Alternative life styles in university residences : personal and environmental factors.

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ALTERNATIVE LIFE STYLES IN UNIVERSITY RESIDENCES:
PERSONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

A Dissertation Presented

By

Barbara Tabor Southworth

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

April

1974

Counseling Psychology and Human Systems Intervention

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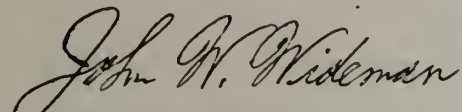
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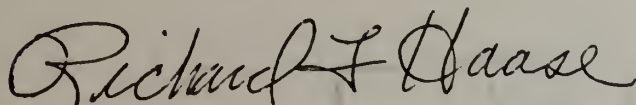
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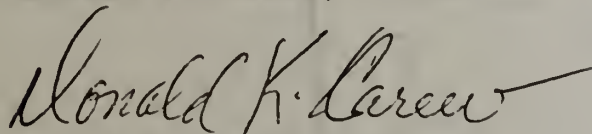
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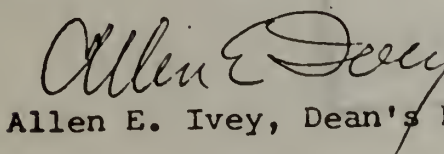
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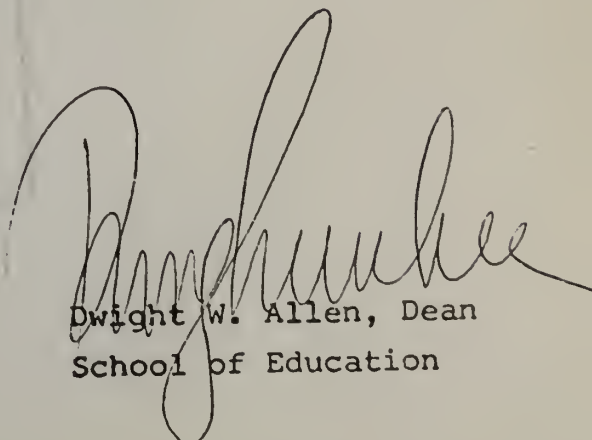
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ABSTRACT

It was the central task of this study to provide an examination of the joint contribution of personal orientation and residence hall setting as they affect the environment's capacity to support behavior patterns consistent with human development during late adolescence.

It was found that the experience of living in a coed house is very different from that of living primarily with one's own sex. Three distinct student subcultures were identified: Associational (all-female house), Social Club (all-male house), and Cohesive Alliance (coed house). These configurations were seen to be closely related to a complex interaction of personality orientation, sex, and living situation.

Interpretations of the findings present coed living as characterized by a unique psycho-social climate that promotes the satisfaction of the developmental tasks of achieving autonomy and greater capacity for intimacy, and provides an atmosphere conducive to creative learning.

Implications for goals and objectives in the design of educational environments were discussed from the perspective of psychological education and developmental theories. Attention was drawn to the special needs of women students; the question of providing adult models and teacher-guides for a more integrated approach to personal and intellectual development was also addressed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
Coed dorms and higher education.	1
Historical background.	1
Psychological basis for this study	13
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.	16
Contemporary scene	16
Studies and published opinions about coed living.	20
Specific hypotheses to be tested	31
III. METHODOLOGY.	32
Subjects and data collection procedures.	32
Instrumentation	33
Data analysis.	36
Use to be made of the findings	37
IV. RESULTS.	43
Analysis of residence hall environment	44
Analysis of personality variables.	58
V. DISCUSSION	66
Residence Hall Environment	
Coed.	66

	PAGE
Single sex male	67
Single sex female	67
Similarities and differences.	68
Personality Factors	
Single sex female	70
Single sex male.	72
Coed males and females.	72
Heads of residence and counselors	76
Theoretical implications.	79
Problems: Questions of Values	
Improving student life in residence halls .	85
Special needs of women.	87
Unclear goals and purposes of higher education.	88
Conclusions.	90
REFERENCES.	93
APPENDICES	
Appendix A	103
Appendix B	105

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. PERSONALITY ORIENTATION INVENTORY: Subscale Definitions	39
2. UNIVERSITY RESIDENCE ENVIRONMENT SCALES: Subscale Definitions	41
3. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Involvement	45
4. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Emotional Support	46
5. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Independence.	47
6. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Social Orientation.	48
7. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Competition	48
8. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Academic Achievement.	49
9. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Intellectuality	50
10. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Order and Organization.	50
11. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Innovation	51
12. Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Student Influence	52
13. Regression Equations for ten UNIVERSITY RESIDENCE ENVIRONMENT SCALES.	53
14. Pair wise t test of female responses to the PERSONALITY ORIENTATION INVENTORY	60
15. Pair wise t test of male responses to the PERSONALITY ORIENTATION INVENTORY	61
16. Pair wise t test of coed dormitory male and female responses to PERSONALITY ORIENTATION INVENTORY	62
17. Pair wise t test of Residence Staff responses to PERSONALITY ORIENTATION INVENTORY.	63

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Profile of single sex and coed dormitories as scored by male and female residents on the University Residence Environment Scales.	54
2. House type X sex interaction on the criterion Involvement.	55
3. House type X sex interaction on the criterion Social Orientation.	56
4. House type X sex interaction on the criterion Innovation	57
5. Profile of coed and single sex female students as scored on the Personality Orientation Inventory	64
6. Profile of coed and single sex male students as scored on the Personality Orientation Inventory	64
7. Profile of coed male and female students as scored on the Personality Orientation Inventory	65
8. Profile of coed and single sex heads of residence and counselors as scored on the Personality Orientation Inventory.	65

C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Coed dorms and higher education. What is the answer? What is the question? Very little remains of the sense of shock and incredulity which greeted the introduction of coed living arrangements on campuses across the country. The worst fears of conservative parents and administrators failed to materialize, and there now exists a generalized "feeling" that this design is a "good thing." Empirical data is noticeably lacking in the literature. Patterson (1972) reminds us that psychologists have a responsibility to apply their knowledge of psychology to the operation of institutions, particularly those in which they work. That is the broad mandate for this study.

In general, the product (facts, body of knowledge) of higher education has traditionally been determined by faculty; response to student pressures frequently triggers change in the process (education of women, elective system, etc.). It may be helpful to trace the evolution of this landscape called higher education, briefly examine the recent and current scenes, and discuss the psychological concepts to be used in focusing on this outcropping of coed dorms.

Historical background. Institutionalized "higher

education" has existed continuously for over a thousand years. Just as many of the earliest roots of western civilization took hold and first flourished in Egypt, so too did the germinal idea of organized advanced learning become established in that country with the founding of the University of Al-Ashar in Cairo about 970 A.D. Offshoots from this seedling have produced diverse mutations as they have been cultivated by many hands in different locations.

The University of Bologna was founded in the late 1000's as a corporation of students who hired (and often rudely fired) faculty and controlled policy. During the 1100's, the University of Paris was founded along somewhat different lines. In this instance, faculty formulated policy, admitted students of their choosing, and charged fees. The rise of the first university in England is sometimes attributed to a quarrel between Henry II and Becket in 1167 which resulted in all foreign students being expelled from Paris, and the migration to Oxford of the English clerks who were thus dispossessed (Felix Markham, 1967). However the University of Oxford really got its start, a new dimension in higher education was soon added.

Despite the fact that all students were in "holy orders," (since all learning belonged to the Church), the lusty turbulence of Medieval life exacerbated strife between town and gown. In order to maintain some control over the behavior of students in their charge, as well as to afford

some measure of protection from unsympathetic townspeople, the lodgings of students were put in charge of Masters of Arts, who were responsible to the Chancellor for discipline and the collection of fees.

The "Hall" became the center of activity and loyalty for undergraduates. Here they lived with their tutors, carried out scholarly pursuits, maintained friendships, and ventured forth in groups for lectures or for visits to a pub. Students who were not attached to a Hall, (and thus were not regularly enrolled), were imprisoned or run out of town. Many of these Halls grew into endowed colleges which exist today.

"Undergraduates at Oxford belong to a college which is larger than a large family, more sociable and more tolerant than a school, less amorphous than a university. It is his college, rather than his university, which wins a man's loyalty and provides him with a setting for his three or four years at Oxford (Bowra, 1967, p. 44)."

Although there are conflicting views as to whether Oxford or Cambridge has greater claim to antiquity, it is generally conceded that a riotous disturbance between students and townspeople at Oxford in 1209 precipitated a migration of students who either founded Cambridge University, or swelled its ranks. In any event, the pattern of undergraduate life that had been established at Oxford was later deliberately imposed at Cambridge. The collegiate or "Oxbridge" model has continued to be the pattern within the British Isles.

The mission of the universities was clear to faculty and students alike. Young men were being trained for the greater glory of God or State. Aristotelian philosophy, with its emphasis on logic, coexisted peacefully with dogmatic theology for centuries. The seven liberal arts comprised the core of the curriculum with here and there a "faculty" devoted to medicine or law. The entire enterprise was a heady quest for knowledge as its own reward. Happily, the byproducts were the eminent statesmen and clerics of the Renaissance, an elite class who had been taught to think beyond the magic and superstitions of the Middle Ages. That higher education was elitist, and reserved to men of "gentle birth," was accepted. Its function was to preserve and enhance the established order.

From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, universities proliferated throughout Europe, patterned after either the Bologna plan or the Paris plan. The Spaniards established the first universities in the New World. The University of Santo Domingo was founded in the Dominican Republic in 1538; 1551 saw the creation of both the University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru and the National Autonomous University of Mexico. English settlers founded a university at Henricopolis, Virginia in 1619 which was wiped out in the Indian massacres of 1622. Harvard was established as Newtowne College in 1636 on the model of Oxford and Cambridge, where many of the founders had spent their undergraduate days (Millett, 1966).

By the end of the eighteenth century, universities had become rigid bastions of conservatism. Unconcerned with the contemporary scene, "They stood like castles without windows, profoundly introverted . . . It was in Germany that the rebirth of the university took place (Kerr, 1963, p. 10)." Wilhelm von Humboldt established the University of Berlin in 1809, with emphasis on science and research, instruction of graduate students, and academic freedom for professors and students. The department, the institute, professionalism and loyalty to a discipline, rather than an institution, became new branches grafted onto the old stem. The scientific method flourished.

In the early eighteenth hundreds a new hybrid appeared which was generally quite ruthlessly denied real nourishment, and often its very existence was unacknowledged. Higher education for women was considered an appalling activity for which there was no purpose and very little aptitude. Oberlin was the first coed college in America to admit women with full status, in 1835. This innovation was watched with great interest and much apprehension.

At Oxford, women won grudging admittance to lectures, and in 1873 were granted permission to take the General Examination, without credit or degree status. It was difficult to explain, and embarrassing to discover, that the candidate at the top of the list (highest honors) for that year . . . "was a girl (sic), Annie Rogers." In 1884 . . . "Dean Burgon

preached a hilarious sermon in New College Chapel in which he reminded women that 'inferior to us God made you, and inferior to the end of time you will remain. But you are none the worse off for that'." Attitudes die hard. Despite the fact that women continued to take high honors (ten in 1907), they were not admitted to full status at Oxford until 1920. "With a logic worthy of the university which produced Lewis Carroll, the University did not officially recognize the presence of existence of women students as members of the University (Markham, 1967, p. 156)."

Accommodations to women's desire for higher learning were made in a variety of ways in the United States during this period. A number of "Female Seminaries" were established, many of them church supported or privately endowed. State universities in the Midwest admitted women, led by Iowa in 1869. Coeducation was finally and firmly accepted in 1920, along with the 19th Amendment. However, as late as 1959 Jacques Barzun said, "Education adds to the indignity of being considered, as most women are, half-skilled replaceable labor with no future (Barzun, 1959, p. 213)."

The upsurge of the Womens' Movement in the 1960's has created more options for women in higher education, but parity has not been achieved. Higher education for women is a hardy perennial which is still seeking more than a decorative role and goal for the majority of its recipients.

In America, ideas about incorporating into the university

curriculum the study of "more useful" knowledge, and training in science and agriculture, had floated for a hundred years or more without landing on fertile ground. The Morrill Act of 1862 created the opportunity to incorporate scientific methods with the egalitarian philosophy that had promoted compulsory public education for children. The first law for such a revolutionary notion had been passed in Massachusetts in 1642.

That the new Massachusetts Agricultural College should locate in the Connecticut River Valley was no freak of fate. People in the region had been vocal about the need for such a school since the early eighteen hundreds. In 1823 a Greenfield resident had clearly articulated the need and the purpose for such a school, and the goals for students who would attend: "Let this more practical institution be no 'nursery of dissipation and indolence, but let it promote science, patriotism and liberty' (Cary, 1962, p. 7)". After the dream became a reality, one of the first Presidents (James Greenough, 1883-86) had equally clear and firm goals for the school and its students when he wrote, "The objects of study and training are two, to form the man and to form the workman. Technical training without liberal culture subordinates the man to his employment (Cary, p. 67)."

From the thirty-four young men who comprised the first class at Massachusetts Agricultural College, the student body now approaches twenty-five thousand, and "Mass Aggie"

has become a well known university. Rooted in the scholastic traditions of antiquity, with offshoots stimulated and cross fertilized by diverse needs, expectations, and ambitions, how is the harvest being cultivated?

The purpose of this university is to provide a wide range of educational opportunities for students with divergent interests and backgrounds. Most would agree that a desired goal is to assist students to attain greater maturity. Douglas Heath (1968) has offered this definition: "To become a more mature person is to grow intellectually, to form guiding values, to become more knowledgeable about oneself, and to develop social, interpersonal skills (p. 4)." In this enterprise the role of teacher is central, but not all teachers are in the classroom, nor are the most profound learnings gained in lecture, laboratory or seminar. In the words of Jacques Barzun (1959), "Education comes from within; it is a man's own doing, or rather it happens to him--sometimes because of the teaching he has had, sometimes in spite of it. No man says of another: "I educated him." It would be offensive and would suggest that the victim was only a puppy when first taken in hand. But it is a proud thing to say "I taught him"--and a wise one not to specify what (p. 10)."

In the tradition of the Bologna plan, students on this campus have on occasion formed a Free University, set up a shop to instruct each other in hand craft and to sell their wares, formed collectives to live together and practice

meditation or examine religious beliefs, and have dropped out to explore other life experiences and options before returning to the formal pursuit of knowledge. The Paris plan guides the administrative structure of the University. Education is sometimes acquired painfully through the impact of admission policies, grading procedures, and other depersonalized pressures.

The "scientific" heritage from Berlin, with emphasis on research and the teaching of graduate students has contributed to an impersonal interactive mode within the academic community. Students frequently deplore a sense of alienation and anomie within their peer groups. In an attempt to humanize the school and to provide a locus for identification and loyalty in the "Oxbridge" tradition, much attention is now being directed to campus residential areas.

Locus of the problem. Dormitories on this campus came into being as accommodations for students who could not commute from home or find rooms in the town. While the University saw its role as "in loco parentis," dorms functioned somewhat as havens of protective custody, and for females, as reinforcers of cultural and social traditions.

During the 60's "afternoon tea" from silver service became an anachronism as students took to wearing jeans on all occasions, and were caught up in social issues of the larger society. Rapid change, responsive to student demands, saw parietals relaxed, and then quickly abandoned. From

rigid authoritarianism, the structure of dorm governance leaped to laissez faire.

Residential units on campus have seemed to be regarded by some administrators mainly as self-amortizing pieces of real estate. An uneasy gregariousness within the houses was fostered by placing as many students as possible into as little space as possible. Developmental needs of students were largely ignored (or unknown) by the business oriented decision makers. Problems were assumed to be intrapsychic, and fixable at various way stations on campus, manned by "professionals" who were supposed to know how to handle such things.

In the welter of increasing rhetoric about "goal oriented," "performance objective" and "accountability" based plans and programs, the major institutional question involving higher education seems to center on its financing. Considering the very real nature of this concern, one can empathize with the anxieties and still question policy which often seems to be based on an industrial rather than an educational model.

A system of management that consists of hierarchical control, impersonal rules, and an emphasis on efficiency, rewards compliance and contributes to mistrust of institutions. Many writers have pointed out the dangers of governmental control of the programs and policies of higher education, and increasingly, social scientists deplore the decision

making powers of college administrators who seem to covet power and status, and have objectives at odds with the humanistic goals of education, and the very real needs of students (Crookston, 1973; Green, 1974; Katz, 1971; Stubbins, 1973).

Reactions to the new freedom from rules varied widely among students and residential areas across campus. A few students adopted an "anything goes" attitude, and their houses became self-styled "zoos." Drugs and alcohol provided new (or more extensive) social patterns for a minority of students, and new dilemmas for a majority of administrators. Coed dorms mushroomed in every residential area. Some residence halls have become cohesive small communities, but many are tolerated as somewhat inadequate rooming houses. Residential "colleges" were planted in two areas, and continue to struggle for survival amid the weeds of indifference, lack of financial nutriment, and conflicting administrative directives as to proper cultivation. The massive exodus from campus residences to poorly constructed warrens of apartment complexes attests to rampant dissatisfaction.

One of the conclusions drawn by Chickering (1969) in his study of thirteen small colleges was that there is an overwhelming press to conform in a homogeneous student body which accounts for the dropout rate of those students at either end of the continuum in terms of attitude or aptitude. The proliferation of coed dormitories has been encouraged

to meet some of this need for diversity in interests and life styles.

Various "outreach programs" have been successful in residential pockets on campus (Southworth & Slovin, 1973), but it was like plugging a small leak in the dam while torrents were roaring over the top. With hard choices and limited personnel, concern was concentrated on the affective domain in the learning process, and resources were stretched by training peer counselors. For many students (and faculty), there seems still to be little recognition of much connectedness between (affective) living and (cognitive) learning.

Newsome (1973) reminds us that we share common problems associated with rapid growth with the newer universities in England (but it is perhaps harder to reshape an old stem than to plant a new sprout). A reappraisal of the purposes of today's higher education is in order, and institutional philosophy shows up most clearly in its budget.

"So the dilemma is obvious. Universities are growing in size and complexity. The world of work is more complex and many students demonstrate different values from those traditionally held by staff in terms of the life styles both inside and outside the institutions. Many more young people demand higher education, but are dissatisfied with what they get. Staff are confused about the purposes of higher education and about how to relate to a student body which contains both a more aggressive minority and a more apathetic majority. Some problems become all too obvious, but their solution far from clear. If in our eagerness to plug the gap we concentrate on treating the sick and delinquent and neglect the needs of the vast

majority of students, we shall never grasp the nettle and achieve something constructive in higher education (p. 268-269)."

Psychological basis for this study. To acknowledge that coed dorms "feel" good, and seem to be a "positive" influence on the campus is only a partial answer to an evaluation of their effectiveness. What needs are being met, and which are being neglected that may have consequences if not attended to? Higher education for women met their needs for intellectual stimulation at the time they were demanding admittance to the "academy," and was finally accepted as being within female capabilities to handle wisely during their collegiate years. For many women, their own higher education later became a source of frustration and unhappiness because it had not been relevant to the roles they were expected to assume as adults, and they had not learned the skills necessary to resolve this larger problem. Other women adapted during their college years, acquired a little "culture" or practical training, and subverted the system into a happy hunting ground for husbands. (A cruise might have accomplished the same purpose, at less cost.)

Erikson (1968) has made "identity crisis" household words. Developmental theorists (Chickering, 1969; Heath, 1968; Keniston, 1965; Madison, 1969; Sanford, 1967, etc.) are pretty much in agreement on a taxonomy of developmental "tasks" with which young people engage during their progress toward maturity. They strive to achieve:

Independence: rebellion against authority, responsibility for self and toward others, time for trying out new ideas, activities, meeting new people.

Intimacy: managing emotions, integrating sexual identity, "belonging."

Competence: developing intellectual skills and curiosity, testing out capacities, seeking affirmation from others, increasing interpersonal skills.

Values: developing integrity, role expectations, purpose, search for adult models.

Developmental theory includes both cognitive and affective domains. Katz (1971) claims that traditional methods of instruction now fail to engage the aspirations of students. "Neglect of developmental theory in educational practice is a major factor in the current discontent among students (p. 13)."

Social scientists have emphasized the person/environment interactive effect for decades (Murray, 1938; Lewin, 1951; White, 1963). The newer term is "ecology" (Banning & Kaiser, 1974; Blocher, 1974), and we are reminded once again that successive changes in identity occur in the context of personal relationships, and within physical and organizational settings. Closely tied to the adolescent search for identity is the need to belong, with accompanying vulnerability to peer pressure. Shared experiences are generally more pervasive and more lasting in shaping behavior. Mogar (1969) speaks of ". . . the importance of congruent mutual expectations concerning goals or terminal status among all

participants (p. 43)."

"Further conceptualization and knowledge about environmental dimensions are essential for the central task of psychology, which is to understand, predict, and change behavior. The optimal arrangement of environments is probably the most powerful behavior modification technique which we currently have available (Moos, 1973, p. 662)."

In order to improve the quality of (educational) life for students it is necessary to understand conditions as they exist. A review of the reported findings of professionals in the field may help to focus the inquiry on this campus. Specific information about conditions in the residence halls, with implications for possible needed interventions will have to come from the "experts"--the student dorm residents.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Contemporary scene. Coed residence halls did not spring up in a vacuum. The turbulence of the 60's swept away many traditionally observed social customs. The resurgence of the Womens' Movement nudged society into a reluctant rethinking of sex-role stereotyping, the continuing war in the Far East engendered cynicism and rebellion against authority, and the Civil Rights struggle engaged the attention of all and the personal efforts of many.

Social and sexual mores changed along with hair styles and the wearing of more casual clothes. "Tell it--do it--teach it like (sic) it is" became the watchword, especially on college campuses, as the demand for "relevance" and "congruence with feelings" escalated.

Reforms and counter-reforms have marked the progress of education in this country since its inception, but today American higher education is clearly in a state of transition, which for some institutions approaches crisis proportions. Among the overwhelming number of small colleges engaged in a Promethean struggle for survival, many are de-emphasizing liberal arts in favor of "relevance" in terms of "job training," and have adopted the Nixon Administration's rather fuzzy concept of "career education" as their credo, in hopes of garnering Federal funds to bolster their chances for survival (Jenkins, 1974).

There are many points of reference one might choose in discussing relevance, but one frequently suspects that it is often used to discriminate against disciplined scholarship in favor of more "practical" training or unstructured "experiencing." "'Relevance' has become banal precisely because people use it without clearly identifying their frame of reference. When this happens it is a sure sign of fuzzy thinking, or of empty rhetoric (D'Arms, 1974, p. 37)."

The argument goes like this, "Many of the really important questions--what life is all about; what really matters; what to stand for; how much to stand for; what is meaningful, relevant, and important; what is meaningless, valueless, and false--remain unanswered for undergraduates. For many students, the pursuit of academic competence must be supplemented by another, more private and less academic quest for the meaning of life. To many students academic efforts seem divorced from the existential and ultimately important questions (Sandeem, 1968, p. 397)."

(The study of the lives of Socrates, Sir Thomas More, Voltaire, or Thoreau (to mention a few) might give a few clues--with a little sympathetic guidance.) Clearly the baby is being tossed out with the bath water, but that baby has had rough handling before. "In the Rome of Nero's day Petronius had a teacher make an observation which has a strikingly contemporaneous ring: 'A teacher is like a fisherman; unless he baits his hook with what attracts the

fish, he will sit the day out on his rock without a bite' (D'Arms, p. 39)."

Bruner (1970) distinguishes between two kinds of relevance. What is taught should have some bearing on global problems of such magnitude that our very survival may depend on their solutions. That is social relevance. Personal relevance means that what is taught should be meaningful, self rewarding, exciting, and real. "Relevance in either of its senses, depends upon what you know that permits you to move toward goals you care about. It is this kind of 'means-ends' knowledge that brings into a single focus the two kinds of relevance, personal and social (p. 68)."

Bevin (1971) suggests that government and industry have now taken over, and mechanistically perfected, the function of disseminating information and turning out "experts," and says that the continuation of that model by universities could spell their end. In his view, the future role of the university must be to "manage" information, . . . "to nurture the spirit of Socratic inquiry. The university must lead the world toward a balanced perception of itself (p. 542)." And this calls for a much more interactive teaching and learning style.

Anxiety and a harried sense of urgency have become constant companions in this technological age. The ivory tower is all too often a bustling factory. Students feel fragmented and impotent to change the system. Along with

other minorities in society, many students are described as alienated, uncommitted, and lonely. Frequently students complain that they don't know why they are in college, the experience is a disappointment--though they can't say what they expected to find. The pressure of family expectations, and their own ambivalence about the "real world" combine to keep them in school. "We must remember the quests of the alienated. Though their goals are often confused and inarticulate, they converge on a passionate yearning for openness and immediacy of experience, on an intense desire to create, on a longing to express their perception of the world, and, above all, on a quest for values and commitments that will give their lives coherence (Keniston, 1965, p. 447)."

If we are to humanize our schools, we must be attentive to both affective and cognitive needs of students. Without the first, we will fail them in their deepest needs, without the latter, they will be ill equipped to deal with the larger needs of society.

A sense of urgency impels many professionals within academic institutions to examine the workings of the dormitory system, but from widely divergent perspectives. If social scientists do not influence decisions from a base of empirical and theoretically grounded knowledge, which contain "practical" suggestions for creating or strengthening "living/learning communities," business oriented administrators will further centralize control and direction of residential management,

and exacerbate the conditions which have helped to produce alienation among students, and deteriorating, expensive real estate on the campus.

Studies and published opinions about coed living. Is coed housing just a manifestation of the "new morality?" Heath (1971) has grave reservations about the possibility of "indiscriminate sexuality" in all its forms as well as "serial cohabitation" blocking the development of "mature" capacity for intimacy. Madison (1969) sees sexual experimentation in college as "therapeutic" in unblocking uninformed, uptight adolescents. Katz (1971) describes a much less sexually charged atmosphere with more mutually responsive communication between the sexes, greater clarity of sexual role, and less impulsive sexual intimacy. Some adults seem to be promoting their own sophomoric fantasies through their children's generation (cf. Rimmer, 1967).

Whatever the potential may be for emotional growth and new interpersonal skills, coed dorms are being accepted by a majority as an integral part of the college scene. There no longer seems to be news value in the concept of coed living, such as inspired the voyeuristic (albeit idyllic) article about Oberlin College in Life (1970), or the incredulous tone of "Can you believe this is going on at your State University?" in a Boston Sunday newspaper (Blais & Cobb, 1972).

Administrators and alumni of sixteen small colleges were surveyed to ascertain their attitudes about coed dorms at the colleges with which they are affiliated (Locher, 1972). Reactions were mixed; some older alumnae had cut off financial support to the college, but younger alumni were generally in favor, or felt unaffected. Admissions had not been affected noticeably, but there was some feeling that if there was any effect on admissions, the effect was positive. While a number of significant negative comments were made (messy houses, the new norm of cohabitation or sexual liaison put uncomfortable pressure on some students), most administrators tended to have positive feelings about coed dorms.

In general, writers and speakers who address the subject of coed living present a very favorable picture, and cite advantages such as more mature behavior on the part of student residents, more friendships with members of the opposite sex, a relaxed and casual atmosphere in the dorm, and less damage to physical surroundings (than in all-male houses) (Corbett & Sommer, 1972; Lynch, 1972). Many of the views expressed are the result of opinions generated by personal observation and student responses to relatively informal questionnaires, and are unsupported by empirical data from research that could be replicated.

Brown, Winkworth and Braskamp (1973) used a combination of informal techniques (interviews, observation, and activities checklists) to assess the global impact of a coed dorm on

its student residents over a year's time. They found that some students had had unrealistically high anticipations for a greatly improved social life at the beginning of the year, and had become somewhat disillusioned with the reality. Women students appeared to be prompted to think more in terms of marriage and their sex roles because of the proximity, men students did not.

One conclusion reached by these authors concerned their perception of the need for special attention in the areas of programming and staffing. They recommended that classes for residents be scheduled within the dorm and organized in such a way as to facilitate student-to-student interaction and to enhance the intellectual atmosphere of the house. They also cited a need for staff members who have arrived at mature conceptualizations of their own sex roles, and also their roles as models.

During the late 60's and early 70's when many long established single sex colleges decided to admit coeds (Boston College, Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Princeton, Williams, Yale, Vassar), several others decided to maintain the status quo (Amherst (which is wavering), Mt. Holyoke, Smith, Wellesley). No doubt a variety of considerations dictated the several decisions, but the most definitive and clearly articulated reason for remaining a single sex college was announced by President Barbara Newell of Wellesley College, at a Convocation signaling the start of Wellesley's

Centennial Celebration (March, 1973--widely quoted in the press). Without mincing words, President Newell declared, "Coeducation has failed women." Citing the status of second class citizenship women occupy in most public situations, and the special press of academic competition (cf. Horner, 1972), she stated that Wellesley will remain a college where the importance of women and their emotional and intellectual development is central.

Truex (1970) has raised a word of caution from a coed campus.

"The idea of coeducational dormitories gave as much promise for a brighter future as the latest enzyme detergent, but we found that it didn't take long for women's government to be amalgamated into an overall government in which the women meekly served as secretaries, dirty-coffee-cup chaimen, and scullery maids. Through these dormitories college women lost what little bit of leadership experience they had managed to gain in the Women's Residence Hall Council or Association of Women Students (p. 331)."

Since 1963, when Betty Friedan captured the attention of large numbers of women by articulating causes of the vague feelings of anger and frustration which many had experienced, increasingly militant and strident voices have been raised in chorus (Greer, 1970; Millet, 1970, etc.) Reactions to the emerging series of value conflicts over the changing roles of women and the orientation of male and female behavior have opened some doors, hitherto closed to women, and have sanctioned the relaxation of rules for social conduct. On our own campus, Everywomen's Center has grown

in size and visibility. But what is the effect of the Women's Movement on undergraduate women?

Research on this campus (Turner, 1973) made the finding that white females were relatively unaware of sexual discrimination in society. False security often follows token achievement, and more distant, more substantial objectives are threatened (Etzioni, 1972). It was nearly a hundred years after women were first permitted to enter institutions of higher learning before it was generally acknowledged that they were in fact co-equal members of the student body, and even then their education for most women has been directed toward "suitable" (for females) occupations, or seen as an attractive addition to their suitability as wives and mothers.

Women easily get caught in the nurturing role, even when feeling most emancipated, to the detriment of their own pressing needs and interests. "Despite a growing acceptance of the women's-liberation philosophy, few women have yet managed to extricate themselves from the Compassion Trap-- that pervasive social philosophy that believes that woman's primary social function is to provide tenderness and compassion (Adams, 1971)."

If coed dorms are seen primarily as having a civilizing effect on male students, or providing the proper proxemic conditions for developing students' capacity for intimacy, without the institution assuming some responsibility for students' total educational needs through the dormitory system,

then the purpose of student housing is being subverted, half the residents are being used, and the whole operation might better be turned over to Holiday Inns for more economical management. "It should be the responsibility of the colleges to help young women, knowing the probably discontinuities of their lives, make intelligent decisions, and to help young men understand them as intellectual equals (Painter, 1971)."

In a recent conversation with an upperclass male Vassar student I was told that for him, the advantages of his experience far outweigh the disadvantages of attending a former women's college. His parting remark was, "Vassar men probably comprise the largest group of men our age who are ardent and vocal 'women's libbers'." At the Harvard-Radcliffe Commencement on June 14, 1973, I was somewhat surprised to observe that a considerably larger proportion of men than women graduates had attached the Women's Liberation banner to their academic gowns.

It is difficult to assess the dynamics of this new social relationship. Is coed living breaking down the walls of sex-role stereotyping between men and women students, recruiting male champions to redress what many consider to be an oppressive system, and ushering in the start of an era of equal personhood? Or are women unwittingly allowing themselves to be used as ex officio nursemaids, humanizing somewhat the erstwhile "animal houses," but still perceiving themselves to have inferior status?

Among the few studies pertaining to coed living that conform more nearly to the rigor of scientific research, Gerst and Moos (1973) have reported the development, standardization, and substantive data of the University Residence Environment Scales (URES), which has been used to measure the "social ecology" of university residences.

In general, they found three different patterns of house climate. Single sex women's dorms were highly organized, emotionally supportive, intellectual, and stressed traditional social behaviors. On the other hand, men's dorms stressed independence and nonconformist behaviors, and high academic achievement. Coed dorms were seen as having a high degree of student involvement and innovative behavior. They were similar to women's dorms in amount of emotional support and intellectual atmosphere, and were nonconformist and allowed for independence like the men's dorms.

One aspect of this study has programmatic implications for influencing residential atmosphere and student behavior. Gerst and Moos present the profile of a "theme" house which was organized around the area of international relations. "There was a great stress placed on intellectual discussions of world problems and an active program of invited speakers, and new activities were continually being generated in the house. Informally, the faculty advisor (who lived in the house and was a strong influence) indicated that he wanted the students to be the intellectual and academic elite of

the university (p. 522)." When compared with the standard scores for other houses, significantly higher scores on several dimensions (involvement, interpersonal support, academic achievement, intellectuality, and innovation) were registered for the "theme" house.

Gerst and Sweetwood (1973) studied the relation of residential environment to three student behaviors: (1) psychological emotional states, (2) pattern of interpersonal relationships, and (3) perception of dormitory architecture. Although not causally connected, there was a strong relationship between psychosocial atmosphere and subjective mood states. Low independence was related to more positive mood and also to greater numbers or more intense friendships. A high independence environment was one in which people tended to be unconcerned about the behavior or feelings of others. A pattern of high involvement, support, intellectuality, innovation and student influence, with low independence and competition, formed an environmental constellation which was predictive of happier mood state, more friends, and more favorable evaluation of the physical characteristics of the residence hall.

In the two previously cited studies, sex was not reported as a separate variable in perceptions of dormitory atmosphere. There are a number of possible confounding variables that may account for much of the variance through interactive effects. Haase et al. (1973) reported a strong

interactive effect between sex, house type, and population density of spatial environment on perceptions of the living environment. Higher density tended to elicit perceptions of a more intellectually oriented environment, while lower density environments were seen as more ordered and organized.

Students living in coed and single sex residence halls were compared on selected dimensions of personality (Schroeder & LeMay, 1973). There was a significant difference between the mean scores of men and women on every scale in both the pretest and the posttest, with women scoring higher in each instance but one. (In the posttest, coed men scored higher on Capacity for Intimacy than single sex women.) The test was administered to freshmen in the fall semester and again in the spring. A profile of the posttest mean scores of coed men is almost identical with the pretest mean scores of single sex women, except in the Capacity for Intimate Contact. All students scored higher, and to the same relative degree, on each of the scales when tested in the spring. Perhaps the most significant statistic is the lack of significance in sex X hall interaction. One might infer that choice of living arrangement had no more influence on the dimensions of self-actualization than the passage of time had.

Clearly there are demonstrable differences between the perceived environments of single sex and coed residence halls. Haase has found significant interactive effects

between house type, sex, and population density as predictive of dorm atmosphere. Gerst and Sweetwood reported relationships between perceived environment and subjective emotional state, friendship patterns, and evaluation of architectural characteristics. Developmental stage seems to have an influence on choice of housing. Schroeder and LeMay found that the more mature students of both sexes tended to choose coed living.

The institution of coed residence halls "fits" with the changing social pattern of our society. However, how it fits, and to what extent it adds up to positive change, is not clearly established at the moment. There is little in the way of systematic investigation of the effects of (or characteristics of) coed vs. single sex living in the literature. Most who have written about coed living have firmly endorsed it. Somehow, students who end up in coed living situations appear to be more mature and possess more contemporary values.

A few voices have been raised that add up to cautions about the benefits of coed living for women. These suggest that the dominating characteristics of males restrict the development of assertiveness among women in coed living environments--in ways that do not happen in single sex living situations. There is little understanding of the behavior of men students who champion women's rights.

Moos has said that, "Various factors related to the

characteristics of individuals inhabiting a particular environment partly define relevant characteristics of the environment. . . . (Since) most of the social and cultural environment is transmitted through other people, it is implied that the character of an environment is dependent in part on the typical characteristics of its members (p. 655)."

This study was conceived as an attempt to understand better the impact and the dynamics of coed residence halls. It is postulated that personality factors, or stages of psycho-social development, may influence students' choice of housing, and/or the subsequent perception of the environment within particular types of houses.

The Personality Orientation Inventory (Shostrom, 1966), together with sex, type of house, and their interactive effects, will be used as predictor variables to assess the degree to which these variables covary with environmental perception, as assessed by the University Residence Environment Scales (Gerst & Moos, 1971). The major focus of the present study is to provide an empirical assessment of both the personal orientation of the student and certain selected characteristics of the living environment as they relate to ten major dimensions of the perceived psycho-social environment. In line with the putative notions of student development, it is a central task of this study to provide an examination of the joint contribution of personal orientation and environmental setting as they affect the

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environment's capacity to support behavior patterns consistent with human development at this stage of life. Toward this end, the following specific hypotheses will be tested.

Specific hypotheses to be tested.

1. There will be significant differences between coed and single sex residence halls as measured by both the University Residence Environment Scales and the Personality Orientation Inventory.
2. Personality characteristics will influence perception of residence hall climate.
3. An interactive effect will be found in an analysis of sex X type of house X personality variable which will predict perception of residence environment.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on three main areas of measurement:

1. The nature of the difference in psycho-social climate between coed and single sex residence halls.
2. The nature of the differences in the personality profiles of students when grouped by sex and house type.
3. The correlation of the predictor variables selected for this study (sex, house type, POI scores), and students' manifest impression of dormitory atmosphere.

Adjunct concerns focus on the possible modeling effects of resident staff, and the overall effects of coed vs. single sex living on students, which may be inferred from the analysis of the data.

Subjects and data collection procedures. Since the purpose of this study concentrates on a better understanding of the interactive effects of personality factors, sex, and coed or single sex residence halls, a decision was made to study in depth four houses within one residential area. A relatively large sample population within each house was expected to yield more accurate data than would be obtained from smaller samples from scattered locations. Subjects were recruited from four physically identical dormitories in the Northeast Residential Area at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. This selection controlled for the variables of architectural style, size, and physical location on campus.

Support for this project was solicited from the Area Coordinator, Heads of Residence, and Student Counselors of the four houses selected to be studied. Student residents were polled informally, and there was general agreement to participate.

A random selection of students,¹ was drawn from the housing list of each residence hall. The research project was explained, both orally and in writing, to all those involved in the study. One resident student from each residence was engaged (with the investigator's private funds) to distribute the test materials and to collect the completed forms. Two hundred students comprised the subjects for this study. All resident staff (Heads of Residence and undergraduate counselors) agreed to participate, as separate groups.

Instrumentation. Two inventory scales were used in this study to measure the psycho-social development of individual students, and the psycho-social environments of the separate residence halls.

Measurement of psycho-social development of students

The Personality Orientation Inventory (POI) was developed by Shostrom in 1966, generally based on Maslow's theory of

¹A complete description of sampling procedure is presented in Appendix A, page 103.

"Self Actualizing Values," and has been used here to measure personality factors. This scale consists of 150 two-choice comparative value and behavior judgements. The items are scored twice, first for two basic scales of personal orientation, "Inner Directed Support" (127 items), and "Time Competence" (23 items), and second for ten sub-scales, each of which measures a conceptually important element of self-actualization.

Correlations among the scales tend to be positive, and range from .55 to .85, and test-retest reliability coefficients (over the period of one week) for the major scales of Time Competence and Inner Direction are .71 and .84 respectively. In general the correlations obtained in this study are at a level as high as that reported for most personality measures. Another form of concurrent validity is employed in determining how well the instrument correlates with other measures purporting to measure similar traits. More significant relationships were obtained for the POI scales correlated with the MMPI Social I.E. Scale (Si) than any other MMPI scale. Twelve of the twenty four obtained r 's were .40 or greater, which are significant beyond the .01 confidence level.

The Inner Directed Support scale is designed to measure whether an individual's mode of reaction is characteristically "self" oriented or "other" oriented. Inner, or self directed individuals are guided primarily by internalized principles and motivations, while other directed persons are to a great

extent influenced by their peer group or other external forces. The Time Competence scale measures the degree to which the individual lives in the present as contrasted with the past or future. Inner Directed Support and Time Competence scales are each presented as ratio scores. The ten sub scales are paired for interpretive (complementary) scoring as shown in Table 1.

Measurement of residence hall atmosphere

The University Residence Environment Scale (URES) (Form R2), developed by Gerst and Moos (1971) appears to be the single best available instrument for assessing the environments of college residence halls. This scale is composed of 96 statements to be scored true or false, grouped into ten subscales. URES is an experimental scale offering considerable face validity, which has been used successfully in differentiating the social and psychological climate among women's, men's, and coed dormitories. Internal consistency reliabilities for the scales range from .77 to .88. Test-retest reliabilities over the periods of one week and one month range from .66 to .77, and from .59 to .74, respectively. The subscales are only moderately intercorrelated (average $r = .18$) and have also been shown valid in terms of their ability to distinguish significantly between living units of a wide variety of sizes, types and locations.

The subscales measure four broad aspects of the environment: (1) Interpersonal Relationships, (2) Personal

Growth, (3) Intellectual Growth, and (4) System Change and Maintenance. The subscales and their definitions are presented in Table 2.

Data analysis. Generally using multiple regression techniques, it was possible to identify predictors which significantly account for variability consistent with hypotheses. The term "predictor" does not imply causality, but is used in the sense that independent variables (i.e., type of dorm, sex, personality characteristics) covary in an ordered fashion, and account for a finite percentage of variability in the dependent variable (subscale of URES) being examined in any particular equation.

In general, the strength of a statistical relation is reflected by the extent to which knowing X reduces uncertainty about Y. By using multiple regression techniques, it was possible to determine discrete contributions made by specific variables.

Example:

$$\hat{Y} = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + \dots + b_{15}X_{15} + e$$

\hat{Y} = climate in residence hall (one subscale of URES)

a = a constant, the value of \hat{Y} when $X_1 \dots X_{15} = 0$

$b_1 \dots b_{15}$ = the least squares regression coefficients

X_1 = House Type

X_2 = Sex

X_3 = House Type X Sex Interaction

$X_4 \dots X_{15}$ = POI Variables

e = errors of measurement

In order to test the significance of the obtained regression, the F ratio appropriate to the test of regression is:

$$F_{p, N - P - 1} = \frac{MS_{\text{reg.}}}{MS_{\text{resid.}}}$$

In order to determine if there are statistically significant personality differences between students of the same sex, grouped by house type, or between male and female residents of coed houses, POI scores were analyzed using a two-tailed t test. (This analysis was also performed on POI scores of Heads of Residence and Counselors, separated into house type groups.) It was hypothesized that there are measurable differences in personality type (or psycho-social development) among students who choose coed or single sex dormitories. The investigator was also interested to learn if similar differences exist among resident personnel.

The t ratio is based on the difference between means of two population samples. The underlying assumption is a normal population distribution.

$$t = \frac{M_1 - M_2 - E(M_1 - M_2)}{\text{est. diff.}}$$

Use to be made of the findings. The information obtained from this study allowed some distinctions to be made between fact and fiction concerning certain conditions and attitudes to be found in various types of student housing. Tabulated

results of the URES scales pertaining to individual houses will be made available to those houses that participated in this study, as a form of relatively objective feedback of their own residents' perceptions of their environment. If some of the houses are perceived as being significantly more satisfactory than others, there may be implications for implementing various changes in those houses judged less satisfactory.

It is expected that the data collected in this investigation will be shared with others who are using the URES scales in different areas on this campus, for comparative purposes. One intention is to build a data bank of objective information, accessible to students, which can be used to make a choice of residence hall. This kind of information is important to new students during orientation, and also to students who may wish to make a change of residence during the year.

In addition to the use of these findings as a heuristic base for further investigation, it is hoped that they can be used to improve the quality of life in the residential areas of the University.

Table 1

Subscales of the Personality Orientation Inventory

Basic Scales

- (1) Time Competence (23)^a-measures degree to which one is "present oriented."
- (2) Inner Directed (127)-measures whether reactivity orientation is basically toward others or self.

Valuing

- (3) Self-Actualizing Values (26)-measures affirmation of primary values of self-actualizing people (derived from Maslow's concept).
- (4) Existentiality (32)-measures ability to react situationally or existentially without rigid adherence to rules (flexibility vs. dogmatism).

Feeling

- (5) Feeling Reactivity (23)-measures sensitivity to one's own needs and feelings.
- (6) Spontaneity (18)-measures freedom to express feelings in spontaneous action.

Self Perception

- (7) Self Regard (16)-measures affirmation or liking of self (self-worth).
- (8) Self Acceptance (26)-measures acceptance of self in spite of weakness or deficiency. (It is more difficult to achieve self-acceptance than self-regard.).

Awareness

- (9) Nature of Man (16)-measures understanding and acceptance of human nature, masculinity/femininity - good/evil - spiritual/sensual. (High score indicates that one sees man as essentially good. Low score indicates that one sees man as essentially evil.).
- (10) Synergy (9)-measures ability to transcend dichotomies - see opposites as meaningfully related and complementary rather than antagonistic, i.e., work/play - lust/love, etc.

^aNumber of items in each subscale

Table 1, cont'd.

Interpersonal Sensitivity

- (11) Acceptance of Aggression (25)-measures ability to accept anger within self (low score indicates defensiveness, denial, repression).
- (12) Capacity for Intimate Contact (28)-measures ability to develop warm, meaningful interpersonal relationships without expectations and obligation, relate intensely to another - "I-Thou" in the "here and now."

Table 2

University Residence Environment Scale: Subscale Definitions

Interpersonal Relationships: the emphasis on interpersonal relationships in the house

- (1) Involvement (10)^a-degree of commitment to the house and residents; amount of social interaction and feeling of friendship in the house.
- (2) Emotional Support (10)-extent of manifest concern for others in the house; efforts to aid one another with academic and personal problems; emphasis on open and honest communication.

Personal Growth: social pressure dimensions related to the psychosocial development of residents.

- (3) Independence (10)-diversity of residents' behaviors allowed without social sanctions, versus socially proper and conformist behavior.
- (4) Traditional Social Orientation (9)-stress on dating, going to parties, and other traditional heterosexual interactions.
- (5) Competition (9)-(this subscale is a bridge between the Personal Growth and Intellectual Growth areas). The degree to which a wide variety of activities such as dating and grades are cast into a competitive framework.

Intellectual Growth: the emphasis placed on academic and intellectual activities related to cognitive development of residents.

- (5) Competition-as above.
- (6) Academic Achievement (9)-extent to which strictly classroom accomplishments and concerns are prominent in the house.
- (7) Intellectuality (9)-emphasis on cultural, artistic, and other scholarly intellectual activities in the house, as distinguished from strictly classroom achievement.

System Change and Maintenance: the degree of stability versus the possibility for change of the house environment from a system perspective.

^aNumber of items in each subscale

Table 2, cont'd.

- (8) Order and Organization (10)-amount of formal structure or organization (e.g., rules, schedules, and following established procedures) in the house; neatness.
- (9) Innovation (10)-organizational and individual spontaneity of behaviors and ideas; number and variety of activities; new activities.
- (10) Student Influence (10)-extent to which student residents (not staff or administration) perceive they control the running of the house; formulate and enforce the rules; control use of the money, selection of staff, food, roommates, and policies; and so forth.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Results of this study confirm the hypotheses that:

(1) there are significant differences in the psycho-social climates of coed and single sex residence halls, (2) personality characteristics influence the perception of some aspects of dormitory atmosphere, and (3) the predictive value of the interactive effects of sex X type of house X personality variables is significant, and these main effects taken individually account for a considerable amount of the variability in environmental perception.

A multiple regression model (Haase, 1974) was used to analyze the relationship between fifteen predictor variables (sex, house type, sex X house type interaction, and twelve POI variables) and ten criterion measurements (subscales of the URES), as scored by student residents. Separate regression equations (Table 13, p. 53) were calculated on each of the URES variables to determine the unique contribution (to that criterion measurement) of each of the main effects (sex, house type, interaction effect, and POI variables) when all other effects in the model were held constant. (Sex of subject coded 1 = female, 0 = male; types of house coded 1 = coed, 0 = single sex.)

Results of these analyses have been presented graphically and in a series of Summary Tables dealing successively

with the following ten criterion measures: (1) Involvement, (2) Emotional Support, (3) Independence, (4) Social Orientation, (5) Competition, (6) Academic Achievement, (7) Intellectuality, (8) Order and Organization, (9) Innovation, and (10) Student Influence.

Figure 1 (p. 54) is a graph showing the comparative mean scores (on the URES) of male and female students in single sex and coed houses. This configuration helps one to gain perspective on the relative measures of environmental factors, as reported by residents of the different house types.

The independent variables in this study include a basic dichotomy of psycho-social features (sex and house type) and personality characteristics (POI scores). Although each main effect is also involved in an interaction of higher order which may mitigate the influence of any "pure" effect on perceptions of dormitory climate, a single-classification analysis of variance was computed on the twelve criterion variables of the POI (with subjects classified by sex and/or house type), to reveal theoretically or heuristically important perspectives. Results of these analyses have been presented in a series of tables and graphs following the section below.

Analysis of Residence Hall Environment

Involvement. Table 3 presents the Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Involvement.

An examination of Table 3 reveals that the main effects of sex and the interaction of house type X sex on perceptions of Involvement reached significance at or beyond the .0001 level of confidence. Taken individually, sex accounts for more than 17% of the variance in this criterion. The Regression Equation for Involvement (Table 13, p.53) indicates that maleness alone (the minus value of X_2 , or the sex variable) is a highly significant predictor on the Involvement criterion. The interaction effect of house type X sex (X_3) is only slightly less significant, and accounts for more than 10% of the variance. The essence of this interaction effect is reflected in Figure 2 (p.55). Males in single sex dorms have the highest mean score, and females in single sex dorms have the lowest mean score on the Involvement criterion. All students in coed dorms score just slightly lower than males in single sex dorms, with coed females scoring higher than coed males.

Table 3

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Involvement

Source	df	R^2 diff (%)*	F	P
House Type	1,143	.88	1.84	N.S.
Sex	1,143	17.64	37.09	<.0000
House Type X Sex	1,143	10.43	21.93	<.0001
POI_{1-12}	12,143	7.50	1.32	N.S.
Full Model	1,143	27.26	57.34	<.0000

* R^2 diff % represents the difference between the full model and the restricted models for house type, sex, house type X sex interaction, and POI_{1-12}

Emotional Support. Perception of Emotional Support is highly correlated with house type and personality scores of respondents. The effect of POI scores accounts for more than 11% of the variance. An examination of the Regression Equation for Emotional Support (Table 13) shows higher positive loadings on scores for Time Competence, Spontaneity, and Synergy, and higher negative scores for Self Actualizing Values and Self Acceptance than on any of the other POI variables.

Table 4

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Emotional Support

Source	df	R ² diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	2.41	4.57	<.0321
Sex	1,143	.08	.15	N.S.
House Type X Sex	1,143	.44	.83	N.S.
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	11.14	1.76	<.0591
Full Model	1,143	19.33	36.67	<.0000

Independence. It can be seen that sex and/or house type are not significant predictors on the criterion Independence. POI scores are significant beyond the .05 level of confidence, and account for more than 12% of the variance. The Regression Equation for Independence (Table 13) shows a high negative beta weight on Synergy (X_{13}) that is more than 2½ times greater than any other score on the POI scale.

Table 5

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Independence

Source	df	R ² diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	.18	.34	N.S.
Sex	1,143	.64	1.19	N.S.
House Type X Sex	1,143	1.79	3.33	N.S.
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	12.57	1.95	<.0321
Full Model	1,143	17.87	33.29	<.0000

Social Orientation. The data on Social Orientation are quite revealing. For instance, sex alone is the most significant predictor (at the .001 level of confidence), and the factors of house type and the interaction of sex X house type are also highly significant, $p < .02$. The full model accounts for nearly 30% of the variance. Figure 3 (p. 56) shows the interaction effect of house type X sex. Females in single sex houses have a much greater mean score on Social Orientation than any of the other three groups, showing a greater perception of formal dating pattern, parties, and traditional social activities. The mean score for females in coed dorms is close to the mean for males in coed dorms, and less than that of males in single sex dorms.

Table 6

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on Social Orientation

Source	df	R ² diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	2.64	5.79	< .0166
Sex	1,143	5.16	11.25	< .0014
House Type X Sex	1,143	2.27	4.95	< .0248
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	6.49	1.18	N.S.
Full Model	1,143	29.89	65.22	< .0000

Competition. There is a lack of significance in all of the predictor variables for the criterion Competition. The Full Model is significant ($p < .0000$) and accounts for more than 16% of the variance. POI scores are not statistically significant, but an examination of the Regression Equation for Competition indicates that X_8 (Feeling Reactivity) and X_{13} (Synergy) have higher beta weights than any other POI variables.

Table 7

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Competition

Source	df	R ² diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	1.54	2.82	N.S.
Sex	1,143	.33	.60	N.S.
House Type X Sex	1,143	.40	.74	N.S.
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	10.67	1.63	N.S.
Full Model	1,143	16.42	30.05	< .0000

Academic Achievement. None of the main effects measured by this study is a significant predictor of Academic Achievement. The Full Model is significant ($p < .0005$). An examination of the Regression Equation for Academic Achievement (Table 13, p. 53) reveals a high positive loading on the score for X_{13} (Synergy) which is nearly twice the size of any other POI score, and which may make a unique contribution to the significance of the Full Model.

Table 8

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on Academic Achievement

Source	df	R^2 diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	.18	.31	N.S.
Sex	1,143	.26	.44	N.S.
House Type X Sex	1,143	.43	.72	N.S.
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	7.92	1.10	N.S.
Full Model	1,143	8.35	13.94	$< .0005$

Intellectuality. We find that house type alone is the most significant predictor of Intellectuality (at the .0017 level of confidence). The Regression Equation for Intellectuality (Table 13, p. 53) shows a very low beta weight for Sex (X_2) and a negative value for house type X sex (X_3) which help to explain the negligible amount of variance accounted for in the source table.

Table 9

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Intellectuality

Source	df	R ² diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	5.68	10.66	<.0017
Sex	1,143	.03	.05	N.S.
House Type X Sex	1,143	.94	1.77	N.S.
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	9.48	1.48	N.S.
Full Model	1,143	18.54	34.83	<.0000

Order and Organization. An examination of Table 10 shows that house type, sex, and POI scores are all highly significant predictors, but there is no significant house X sex interaction effect. The minus values of X_1 (house type) and X_2 (sex) in the Regression Equation for Order and Organization (Table 13, p.53) indicates that males from single sex dorms account for a considerable amount of the variability in this criterion. The Full Model accounts for more than 19% of the variance.

Table 10

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Order and Organization

Source	df	R ² diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	4.83	9.16	<.0033
Sex	1,143	3.76	7.14	<.0083
House Type X Sex	1,143	1.58	3.00	N.S.
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	11.73	1.85	<.0439
Full Model	1,143	19.32	36.63	<.0000

Innovation. Note the similarity between this criterion measure and that for Social Orientation. Figure 4 (p. 57) demonstrates the interactive effect of house type X sex on the criterion Innovation. Females in single sex dorms have a lower mean score than the other three groups. Scores are higher for both males and females in coed dorms, but the increase is greater, and the mean score is higher for coed females than for coed dorm males. This is reflected in the Summary Table: sex, $p < .01$; house type, $p < .01$; house type X sex interaction, $p < .03$. The full model accounts for more than 21% of the variance.

Table 11

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Innovation

Source	df	R ² diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	3.37	6.57	<.0109
Sex	1,143	3.15	6.15	<.0136
House Type X Sex	1,143	2.39	4.67	<.0303
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	4.30	.70	N.S.
Full Model	1,143	21.65	42.29	.0000

Student Influence. Nearly 20% of the variance on this criterion measure can be accounted for by the Full Model. House type and POI scores are highly significant ($p < .02$). Sex is predictive at the .04 level of confidence. The plus value of X_1 (house type) and the minus value of X_2 (sex) in

the Regression Equation for Student Influence (Table 13, p. 53) indicate that males in coed houses tend to have a greater perception of Student Influence than do other students. POI scores are highly predictive, and account for slightly more than 12% of the variance.

Table 12

Summary Table for the Analysis of Regression on the criterion Student Influence

Source	df	R ² diff (%)	F	P
House Type	1,143	2.72	5.19	<.0227
Sex	1,143	2.04	3.88	<.0477
House Type X Sex	1,143	.10	.18	N.S.
POI ₁₋₁₂	12,143	12.17	2.11	<.0225
Full Model	1,143	19.73	37.61	<.0000

The Regression Equations for ten UNIVERSITY RESIDENCE ENVIRONMENT SCALES using the raw regression coefficients for each of the predictor variables, appear as follows:

Involvement	$\hat{Y} = 8.32 - .76X_1 - 3.44X_2 + 3.60X_3 + .17X_4 - .03X_5 - .18X_6 + .06X_7 + .06X_8 + .14X_9 - .03X_{10} - .12X_{11} + .17X_{12} - .11X_{13} + .08X_{14} - .03X_{15}$
Emotional Support	$\hat{Y} = 5.09 + 1.20X_1 - .23X_2 + .72X_3 + .22X_4 + .08X_5 - .32X_6 - .15X_7 - .13X_8 + .20X_9 - .09X_{10} - .21X_{11} + .03X_{12} + .19X_{13} - .00X_{14} + .10X_{15}$
Independence	$\hat{Y} = 5.92 + .28X_1 - .45X_2 + 1.07X_3 + .10X_4 + .00X_5 - .07X_6 + .03X_7 - .10X_8 + .03X_9 + .08X_{10} - .01X_{11} + .05X_{12} - .41X_{13} - .16X_{14} + .10X_{15}$
Social Orientation	$\hat{Y} = 3.40 - 1.10X_1 - 1.52X_2 - 1.38X_3 - .10X_4 - .01X_5 + .01X_6 + .09X_7 + .01X_8 - .14X_9 + .09X_{10} + .08X_{11} - .03X_{12} + .27X_{13} - .07X_{14} + .06X_{15}$
Competition	$\hat{Y} = 3.39 - .76X_1 - .35X_2 - .57X_3 - .13X_4 - .04X_5 + .10X_6 + .05X_7 + .22X_8 - .09X_9 + .06X_{10} + .13X_{11} - .09X_{12} + .16X_{13} - .11X_{14} - .05X_{15}$
Academic Achievement	$\hat{Y} = 3.77 + .36X_1 + .43X_2 - .70X_3 + .05X_4 - .12X_5 + .09X_6 + .08X_7 - .03X_8 + .09X_9 - .14X_{10} + .15X_{11} + .02X_{12} + .29X_{13} + .05X_{14} + .09X_{15}$
Intellectuality	$\hat{Y} = 2.71 + 1.80X_1 + .07X_2 - 1.08X_3 + .06X_4 - .13X_5 - .05X_6 + .06X_7 + .15X_8 + .10X_9 - .12X_{10} + .20X_{11} + .06X_{12} + .41X_{13} + .01X_{14} + .04X_{15}$
Order and Organization	$\hat{Y} = 5.85 - 1.76X_1 - 1.60X_2 + 1.42X_3 - .04X_4 + .00X_5 - .18X_6 - .07X_7 - .03X_8 + .21X_9 - .12X_{10} - .16X_{11} + .16X_{12} + .19X_{13} - .01X_{14} + .14X_{15}$
Innovation	$\hat{Y} = 4.12 + 1.24X_1 - 1.18X_2 + 1.29X_3 + .08X_4 + .00X_5 - .00X_6 - .06X_7 - .05X_8 + .07X_9 + .01X_{10} - .07X_{11} + .06X_{12} - .04X_{13} + .08X_{14} + .00X_{15}$
Student Influence	$\hat{Y} = 6.05 + .74X_1 - .69X_2 + .22X_3 + .02X_4 + .01X_5 - .19X_6 + .05X_7 + .00X_8 + .12X_9 + .17X_{10} - .11X_{11} + .11X_{12} + .11X_{13} - .06X_{14} - .08X_{15}$

Where,

X_1 = House Type (coded 1 = coed, 0 = single sex)

X_2 = Sex (coded 1 = female, 0 = male)

X_3 = House Type X Sex Interaction

X_4 = Time Competence

X_5 = Inner Directedness

X_6 = Self Actualizing Values

X_7 = Existentiality

X_8 = Feeling Reactivity

X_9 = Spontaneity

X_{10} = Self Regard

X_{11} = Self Acceptance

X_{12} = Nature of Man

X_{13} = Synergy

X_{14} = Acceptance of Aggression

X_{15} = Capacity for Intimate Contact

POI Variables

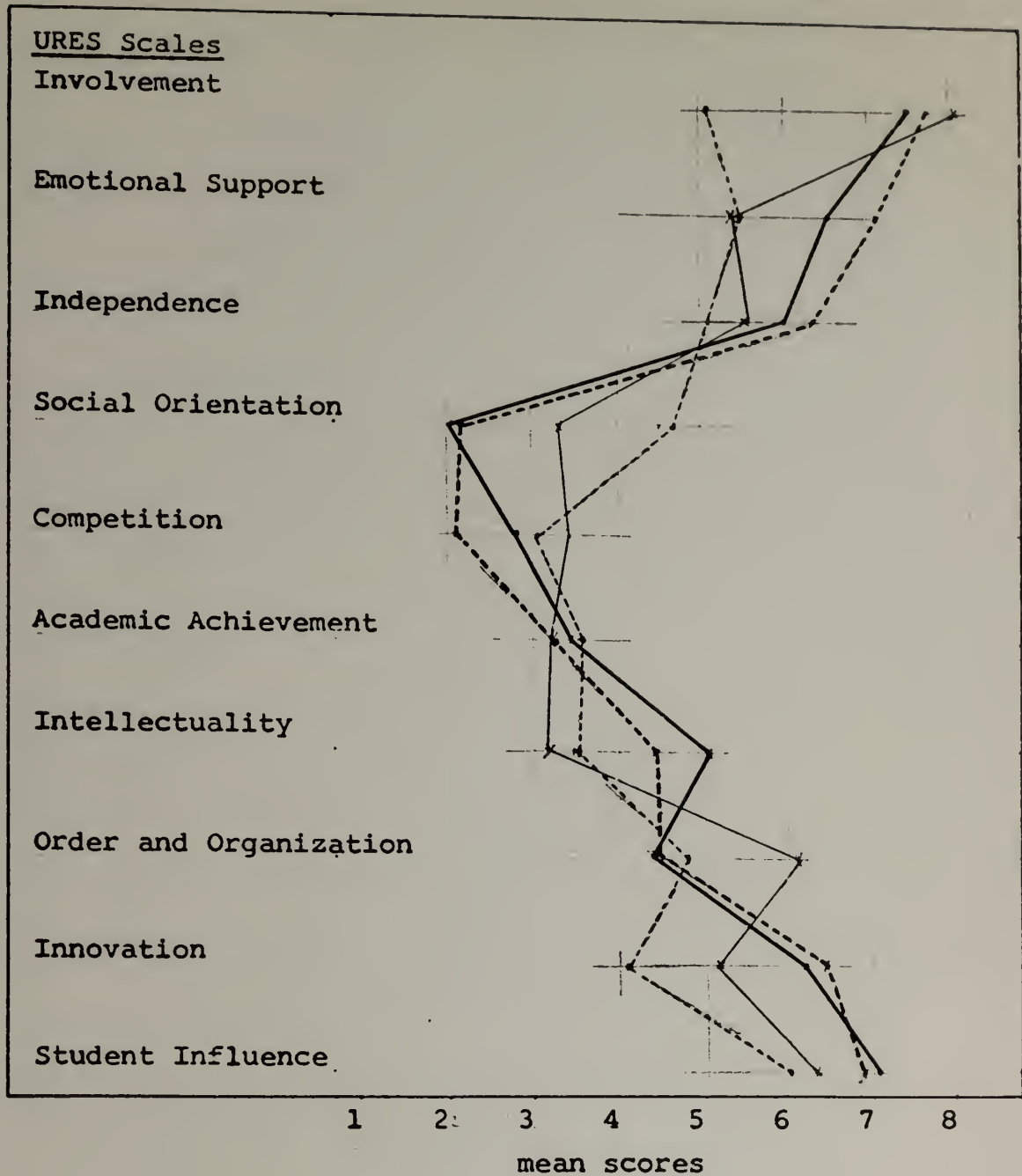


Figure 1. Profile of single sex and coed dormitories as scored by male and female residents

S.S. Female -----

S.S. Male ———

Coed Female -----

Coed Male ———

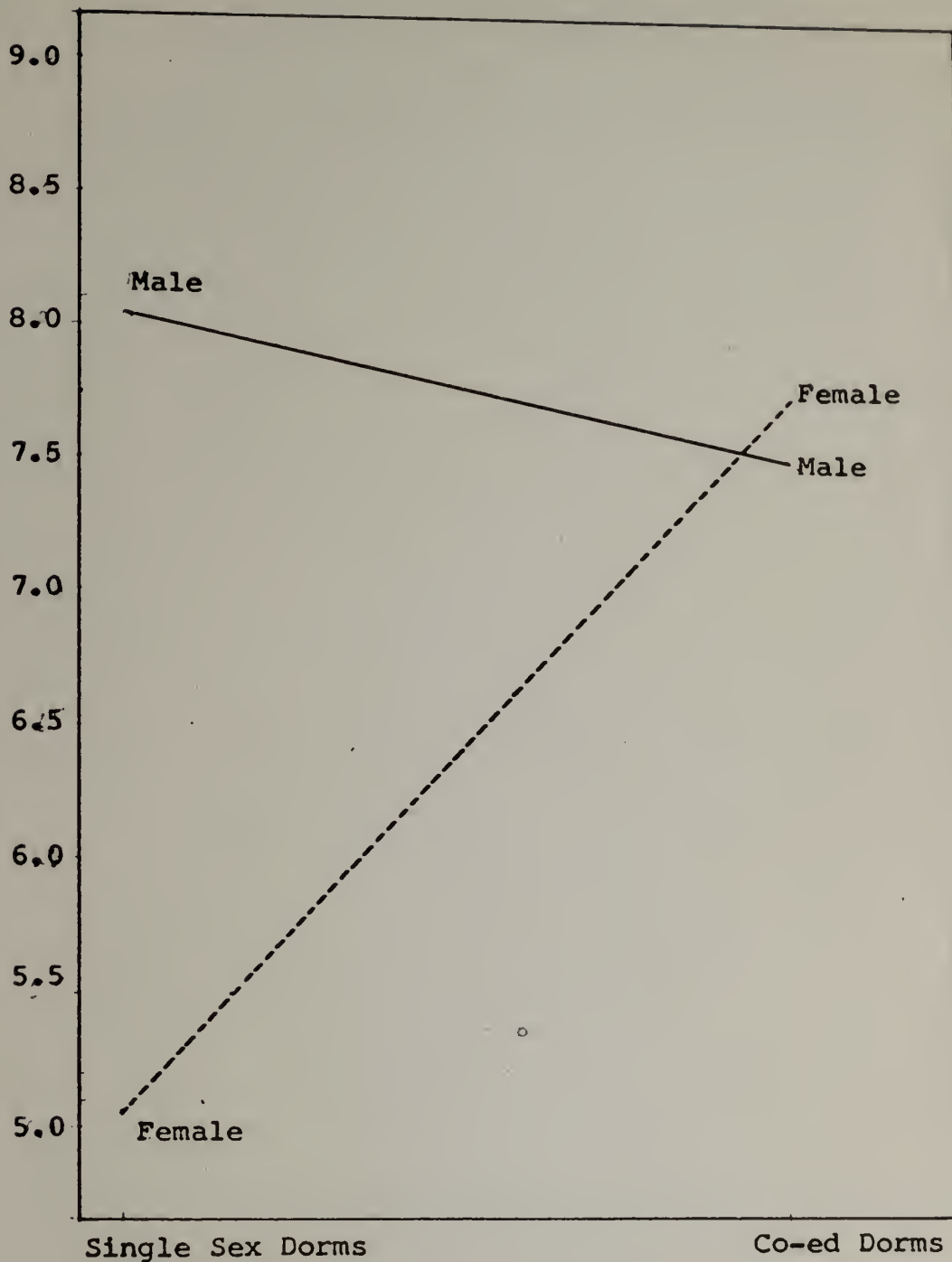


Figure 2. House type X sex interaction on the criterion Involvement

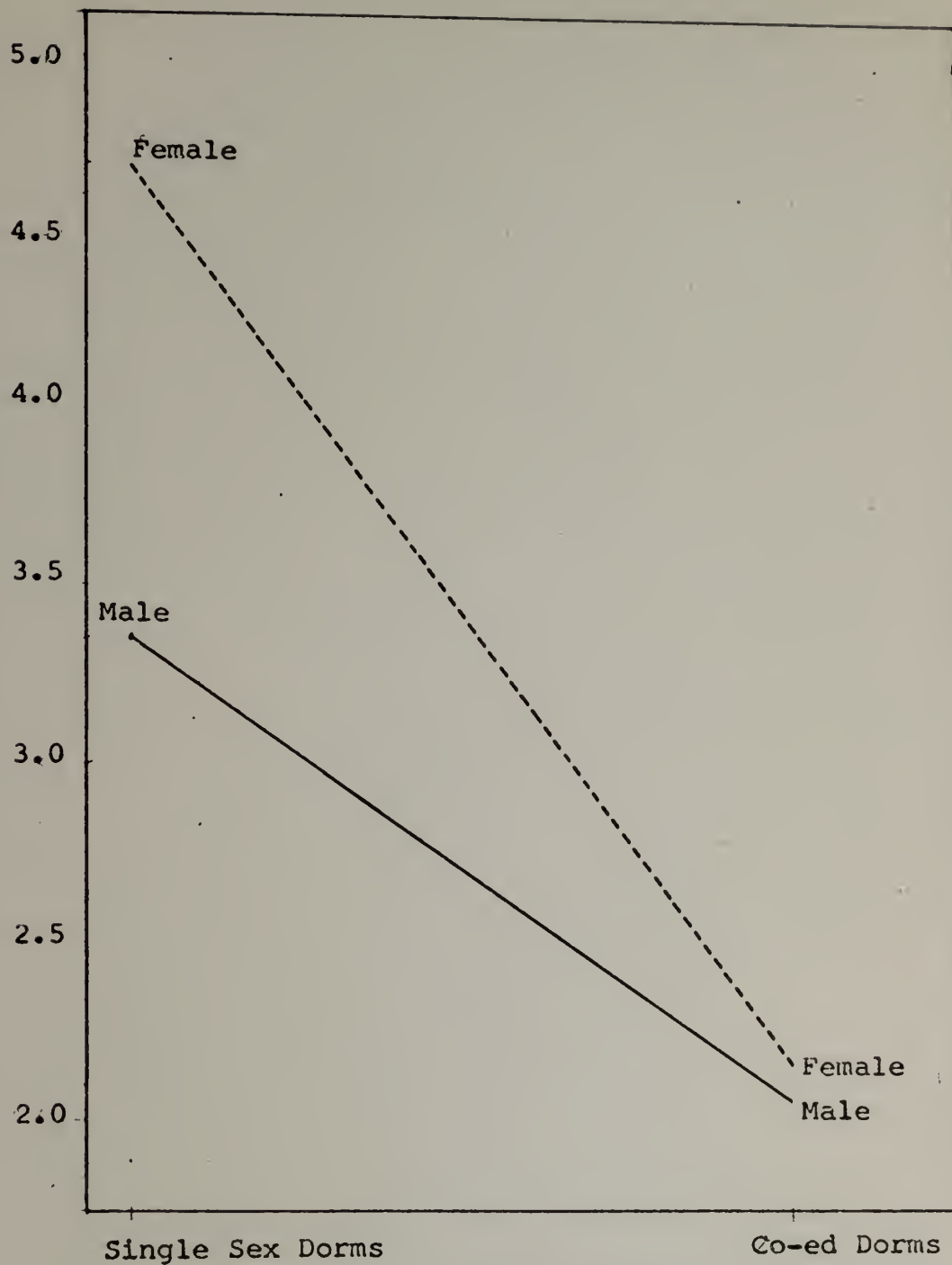


Figure 3. House type X sex interaction on the criterion Social Orientation

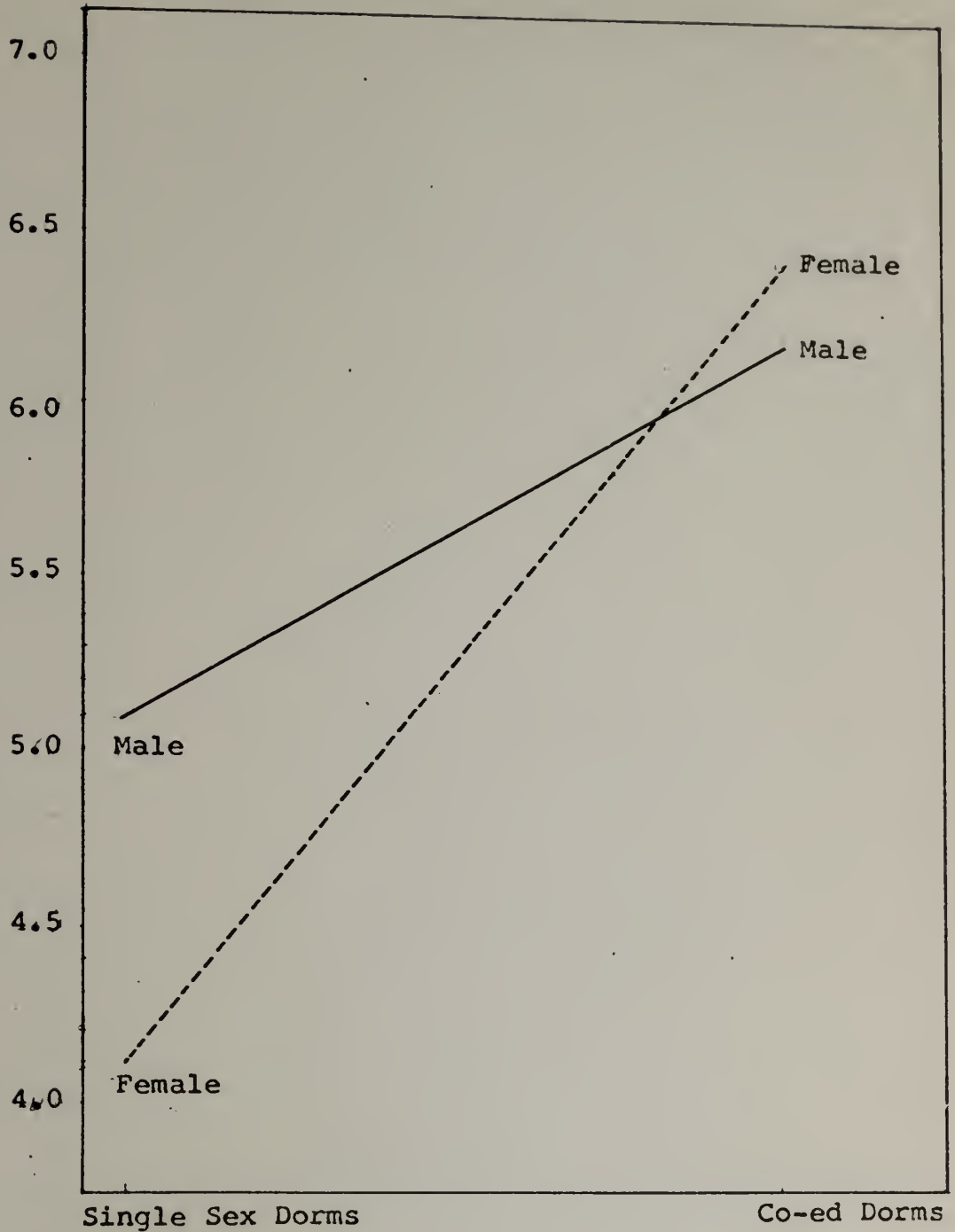


Figure 4. House type X sex interaction on the criterion Innovation

Analysis of Personality Variables

Pair wise t tests (two-tailed) were used to analyze POI scores to determine statistically significant differences between students of the same sex, grouped by house type, or between male and female residents of coed houses. POI scores of resident administrators (Heads of Residence and Counselors) were analyzed for significance also. The t ratio is based on the differences between means of two samples. The underlying assumption is a normal population distribution.

Results of these analyses have been presented in a series of tables and graphs dealing with the following criterion variables: Time Competence, Inner Directedness, Self Actualizing Values, Existentiality, Feeling Reactivity, Spontaneity, Self Regard, Self Acceptance, Nature of Man, Synergy, Acceptance of Aggression, and Capacity for Intimate Contact.

Coed and single sex female students. Significance was noted on four POI variables: Time Competence, $p < .01$; Self Actualizing Values, $p < .05$; Self Regard, $p < .04$; Nature of Man, $p < .01$.

Coed and single sex male students. Male students differed significantly on two POI variables: Existentiality, $p < .05$; Feeling Reactivity, $p < .05$.

Coed male and female students. All mean scores of females were greater than those of males. Significance was found on POI variables: Spontaneity, $p < .03$; Synergy, $p < .01$.

Coed and single sex resident staff. Higher positive loadings occurred on all mean scores of single sex dormitory personnel than on those of coed dormitory staff. Significance was found on three variables: Self Regard, $p < .03$; Self Acceptance, $p < .04$; Acceptance of Aggression, $p < .01$.

Table 14

Pair wise t test of female responses to POI

POI Variables	Co-ed Female		S.S. Female		t value	2-tail prob.
	X	SD	X	SD		
Time Competence	16.07	3.42	17.95	2.68	-2.82	.01**
Inner Directedness	85.19	10.37	85.53	11.56	-0.14	N.S.
Self Actualizing Values	19.00	3.17	20.26	2.86	-1.92	.05*
Existentiality	22.07	4.09	21.20	4.85	.84	N.S.
Feeling Reactivity	16.10	2.70	15.67	3.14	.66	N.S.
Spontaneity	13.10	2.77	12.65	2.53	.77	N.S.
Self Regard	11.52	2.61	12.60	2.08	-2.10	.04*
Self Acceptance	16.14	3.17	15.67	3.65	.63	N.S.
Nature of Man	10.88	2.24	12.28	2.24	-2.87	.01**
Synergy	6.67	1.65	7.05	1.21	-1.21	N.S.
Acceptance of Aggression	15.76	3.33	16.05	3.79	-0.37	N.S.
Capacity for Intimate Contact	17.93	3.50	18.09	3.04	-0.23	N.S.

Table 14a

Pair wise t test of male responses to POI

POI Variables	Co-ed Male		S.S. Male		t value	2-tail prob.
	X	SD	X	SD		
Time Competence	15.52	3.62	14.95	3.77	0.71	N.S.
Inner Directedness	80.69	14.54	76.74	12.33	1.34	N.S.
Self Actualizing Values	17.88	3.93	18.54	3.59	-0.81	N.S.
Existentiality	20.48	4.38	18.62	4.37	1.95	.05*
Feeling Reactivity	14.81	3.58	13.26	3.57	1.98	.05*
Spontaneity	11.69	3.07	11.05	3.25	0.93	N.S.
Self Regard	11.19	2.88	10.90	2.64	0.47	N.S.
Self Acceptance	15.79	3.47	14.35	3.70	1.83	N.S.
Nature of Man	10.24	2.79	10.90	2.51	-1.15	N.S.
Synergy	5.74	1.89	6.17	1.40	-1.18	N.S.
Acceptance of Aggression	15.17	3.98	14.19	4.03	1.12	N.S.
Capacity for Intimate Contact	17.67	4.02	16.05	4.25	1.79	N.S.

Table 15

Pair wise t test of male and female residents of coed halls

POI Variables	Co-ed Female		Co-ed Male		t value	2-tail prob.
	X	SD	X	SD		
Time Competence	16.07	3.42	15.52	3.62	0.71	N.S.
Inner Directedness	85.19	10.37	80.69	14.54	1.63	N.S.
Self Actualizing Values	19.00	3.17	17.88	3.93	1.44	N.S.
Existentiality	22.07	4.09	20.48	4.38	1.72	N.S.
Feeling Reactivity	16.10	2.69	14.81	3.58	1.86	N.S.
Spontaneity	13.10	2.77	11.69	3.07	2.20	.03*
Self Regard	11.52	2.61	11.19	2.88	0.56	N.S.
Self Acceptance	16.14	3.17	15.79	3.47	0.49	N.S.
Nature of Man	10.88	2.24	10.24	2.79	1.16	N.S.
Synergy	6.67	1.65	5.74	1.89	2.40	.01**
Acceptance of Aggression	15.76	3.33	15.17	3.98	0.74	N.S.
Capacity for Intimate Contact	17.93	3.50	17.67	4.02	0.32	N.S.

Table 16

Pair wise t test of residence staff responses to POI scale

POI Variables	H.R. & Couns. Co-ed		H.R. & Couns. S.S.		t value	2-tail prob.
	X	SD	X	SD		
Time Competence	15.84	3.13	17.66	2.96	-1.49	N.S.
Inner Directedness	80.69	7.29	87.25	9.47	-1.93	N.S.
Self Actualizing Values	19.08	2.87	20.58	2.07	-1.51	N.S.
Existentiality	20.85	2.91	21.08	4.03	-0.17	N.S.
Feeling Reactivity	14.77	2.86	15.92	3.63	-0.87	N.S.
Spontaneity	11.92	2.25	13.33	2.23	-1.57	N.S.
Self Regard	10.77	2.17	12.67	1.83	-2.37	.03*
Self Acceptance	14.46	2.33	17.08	3.60	-2.14	.04*
Nature of Man	11.69	2.56	12.33	1.83	-0.72	N.S.
Synergy	7.00	.71	7.25	1.36	-0.57	N.S.
Acceptance of Aggression	14.92	2.22	17.50	2.58	-2.67	.01**
Capacity for Intimate Contact	17.54	2.82	18.17	3.49	-0.49	N.S.

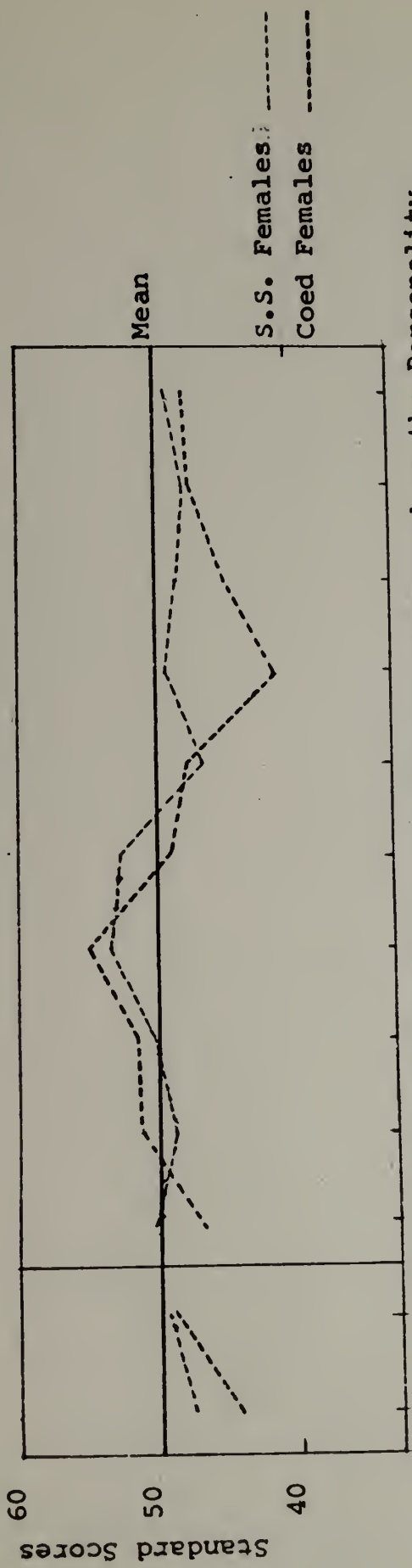


Fig. 5. Profile of coed and single sex females as scored on the Personality Orientation Inventory

T.C. I.D. S.A.V. Ex. F.F.R. Spon. S.R. S.A. N.of M. Syn. A.A. C.I.C.

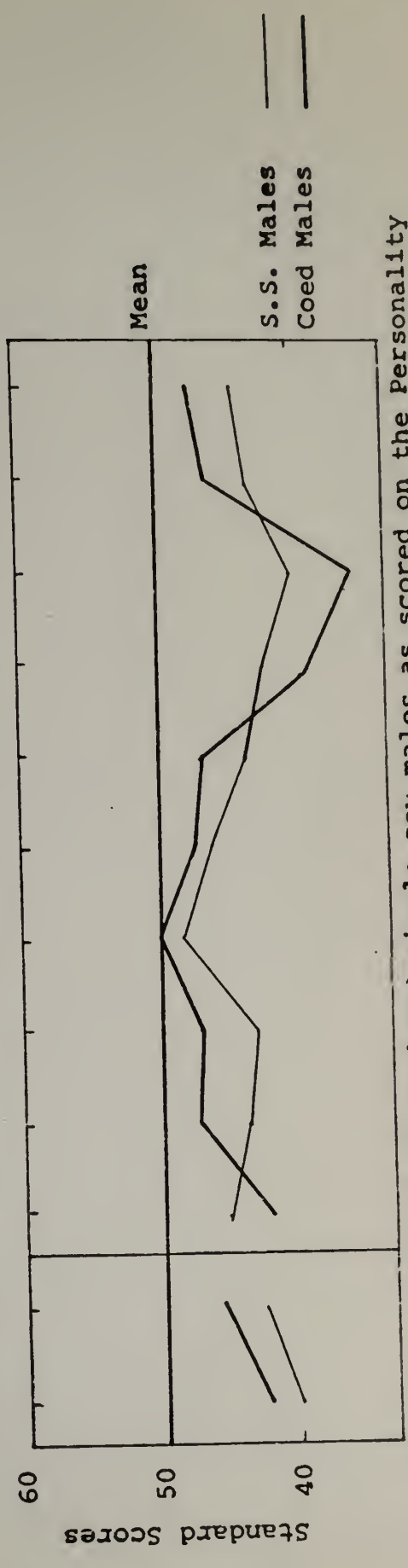


Fig. 6. Profile of coed and single sex males as scored on the Personality Orientation Inventory

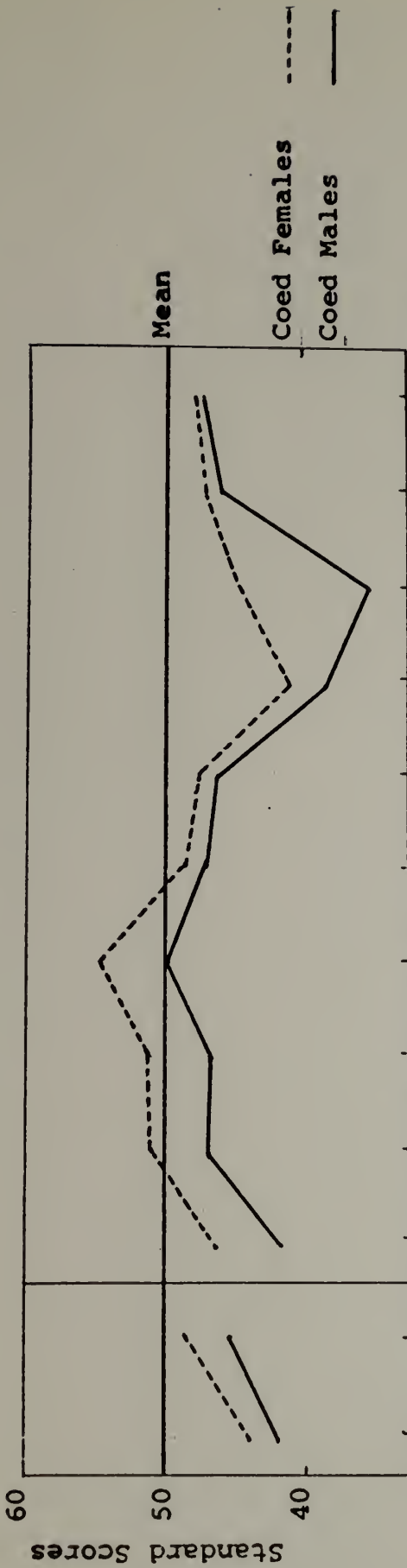


Fig. 7. Profile of coed males and females as scored on the Personality Orientation Inventory

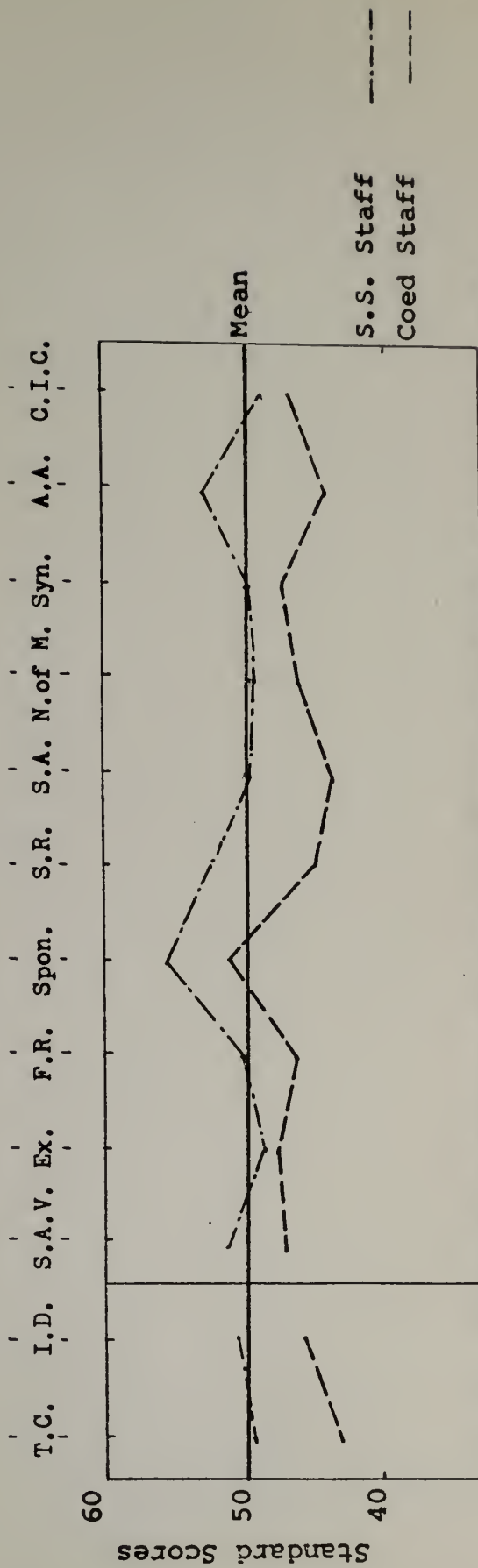


Fig. 8. Profile of single sex and coed resident staff as scored on the Personality Orientation Inventory

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The results of the present study leave little doubt that (1) coed and single sex residence halls are seen as having vastly different psycho-social climates; (2) personality characteristics are significantly related to certain aspects of the dormitory atmosphere; (3) coeducational living engenders a substantial interaction effect upon both male and female students which accounts for sizeable proportions of the variability in perceptions of the residential environment.

It is clear that the experience of living in a coed house is very different from that of living primarily with one sex. The focus of loyalty and social activity, along with accepted norms for male/female behavior is strongly influenced by the psycho-social ambience of the residence hall.

In this chapter I shall describe the outstanding features that distinguish coed from single sex dormitories, examine and interpret the factors that seem to influence these differences, consider theoretical implications arising from the data, and address some of the problems that I believe need attention.

Residence Hall Environment

Coed. Male and female students in coed houses both

tended to perceive the environment in terms of the same attributes, differing only in degree, but not in direction, on their descriptions of psycho-social climate. In general, these houses were seen as very emotionally supportive, very tolerant of individual independence, innovative, high in student involvement and influence, and moderately high in intellectual atmosphere. A casual life style was implicit in the low scores for traditional social orientation.

Single sex male. Male students described a structured setting. Residents were seen as very involved in the house, with a strong organization bent which was responsive to student influence. The dormitory was described as offering moderate emotional support, and was characterized by a slightly competitive spirit, tolerance for individual independence, and some concern for formalized dating and male/female parties. The house was not seen as having a distinctly intellectual atmosphere.

Single sex female. Female dormitories were discerned as being very different from the other two types of houses. Female students described considerably more emphasis on traditional dating patterns and concern with academic achievement than the other types of houses (but not a particularly intellectual atmosphere). They reported significantly less involvement in dormitory activities and less experimentation with innovative behavior than any of the other houses. The single sex women's house was seen as fairly

supportive emotionally, somewhat tolerant of independence, and generally influenced by student residents.

Similarities and differences. There was striking similarity between coed and single sex male residence halls on seven of the ten characteristics measured by the URES. The dimensions on which descriptions differ most dramatically are: (1) Emotional Support, which was strongly evident in coed houses and fairly weak in male dorms; (2) Intellectuality, a moderately visible component of coed house climate, but rated lowest of all scores on the URES by single sex males; (3) Order and Organization, the one measure on which male residence halls were seen as uniquely unlike either coed or female houses.

Single sex females perceived far less identification with their living unit than was true for the other two groups. Their residence hall was seen as the setting for individual interests and activities such as dating and studying, rather than as a place where a cohesive group of students could be involved with each other in a supportive fashion, or engaged with one another in common pursuits.

Four dimensions of the living environment were reflected in remarkably similar fashion by all students in the sample. All residence halls were considered to be substantially responsive to Student Influence, and Independence was reportedly fostered by the psycho-social climate in all dormitories, although most highly visible in coed houses.

Conversely, Competition and Academic Achievement were viewed as having slight manifestation in the total ambience of all the houses. (I shall return to this observation later.)

Using the figure-ground concept of gestalt psychology, one could say that three distinct configurations, or student subcultures, seem to emerge from the residence hall area under study. Coed dormitories exemplify a Cohesive Alliance, offering support when needed, encouraging rather freewheeling independence when that is desired. Male single sex houses resemble Social Clubs, with rules of order, some social activity, and the sense of belonging to a team. Female residences reflect a rather loose Association of moderately traditional individuals (or perhaps a collection of small cliques).

It seems appropriate to conceptualize the subcultures under study here in organizational terms, since the descriptive data from the URES scales was derived from reported behavior and personal interactions, as well as attitudinal constructs. Other typologies of student subcultures have been based on professed attitudes of individual students toward certain aspects of the college experience. One such classification is that of Clark and Trow (1966) which these authors labeled as Academic, Nonconformist, Collegiate, and Vocational.

Recently, Walsh (1973) has criticized much of the research on student cultures, because, with the exception of Newcomb, et al. (1967), writers have ignored the interactional

relationships of students with similar orientations. The important interactive effect of personality and/or sex differences, in terms of shaping attitude and behavior, is also neglected in the literature.

Since it may be assumed that most students are living within the environment of their choice (of what is available on the campus), it is appropriate to examine similarities and differences among students from the various house types as scored on the POI. Personality characteristics may originally have influenced the self selection of students into particular residence halls, and determined the attendant student expectations for differential life styles.

Personality Factors

Single sex female. By and large, females who chose single sex dormitories seem to have reached a stage of developmental maturity beyond that of females who chose coed dormitories. This conclusion is supported by the fact that for each score of the POI which shows a significant difference, single sex women show more elevated scores. The scales significantly reflective of this tendency include: Time Competence ($p < .01$); Self Actualizing Values ($p < .05$); Self Regard ($p < .04$); Nature of Man ($p < .01$).

Personality characteristics that separate single sex and coed women most clearly establish single sex women as holding themselves in higher personal esteem, being more present oriented, more concerned with self growth and self

fulfillment than coed women. They tend, also, more than coed women, to view man as essentially good. This last observation may reflect the impact of scores from single sex female isolates who have not developed cynicism through "worldly" experiences, or have, perhaps, romanticized and idealized mankind. The personality profile of single sex women is similar to that for Peace Corps volunteers (Shostrom, p. 11) who impressed examiners with their idealistic fervor.

Coupled with their personality orientation, the marked concern for traditional dating patterns and academic achievement apparent in the residence hall indicates a good "fit" with the typical female stereotype. Residents of female single sex dormitories may indeed have little need for emotional support from the total house population, and may be relatively indifferent to a highly structured house government.

The difference in degree of psycho-social maturity between coed and single sex women may, perhaps, be more apparent than "real," if judged on POI scores alone. Many of the women in single sex dormitories may be ignoring or passively enduring deprivation of basic developmental needs for Intimacy and Independence, while striving for Competence through academic achievement, because of a greater need for esteem from parents or peers. Thus they may be adding to their previously acquired strengths, while women in coed dorms may be more concerned with extending their developmental

learning and experiencing.

Single sex male. There are no significant differences between single sex and coed males on ten of the twelve scales of the POI, but collectively, males score lower than females. The two significant difference scores which did occur between male coed and single sex groups (Existentiality, $p < .05$; Feeling Reactivity, $p < .05$) may indicate a slightly greater tendency among single sex males to establish pre-formed value judgements, and slightly less sensitivity to their own feelings and needs.

Male residents of single sex houses may find it hard to give or accept emotional support among peers. This could well be a reflection of societal taboos against show of affection among males, or fear of being labeled homosexual. Male single sex residents may, therefore, seek security in a competitive, highly ordered social organization. The "social club" atmosphere alluded to previously very likely reinforces the "machismo" image that is a generalized stereotype of American male adolescents.

Coed males and females. The POI profiles for coed males and females are strikingly similar, but female scores are elevated above those of males on all twelve scales. The two scales that do show significance are Spontaneity ($p < .03$) and Synergy ($p < .01$). Spontaneity refers to the ability to express feelings behaviorally, which is a culturally reinforced feminine norm, and Synergy implies an ability to see opposites

of life as meaningfully related. (It might be argued that ability to compromise and rationalize could be considered culturally reinforced for females.)

It would not be reasonable to infer that significant differences on two (out of twelve) measures indicate wide disparity in personality orientations between the two sets in this group. However, learned disparate behavioral response "styles" (between males and females) and the differential impact of these behavior modes upon others (as suggested by these two significant findings) slightly weakens the case for considering coed men and women as being identical in personality orientations.

There is a significant gradation on the POI measurements for Feeling Reactivity and Existentiality as one looks at coed males and females and at single sex males. Coed women are more in tune with their inner feelings, and more able to react comfortably to situations as they find them, than men students of both types (coed and single sex males); this is especially true for the differences on the Feeling Reactivity and Existentiality dimensions for single sex males and coed women. The research design did not permit assigning a cause and effect relationship to differences. It may be, however, that coed women exert a positive overall maturing influence on men who live in the same dormitories with them, and it may also be that they exert an influence on their coed male counterparts that results in the latter assuming a more

self-aware, present-oriented life style.

In the previous chapter (Table 4, p.46) it was pointed out that POI variables are significantly predictive of the URES criterion Emotional Support. Further, the regression equation for this criterion (Table 13, p. 53) indicates that among the POI subscales, Spontaneity and Synergy have high positive loading, and Self Actualizing Values ,(which is significant for between-female groups), had high negative loading. This combination of coed female scores (high Spontaneity and Synergy, and low Self Actualizing Values) may make a unique contribution to the strong perception of Emotional Support in coed residence halls.

The very low perception of traditional male/female relations and "proper" behavior (Social Orientation) in coed residents suggests that new modes of cross-sex interpersonal relating may be a partial explanation for coed residents considering their houses as Innovative. This trend toward more casual and comfortable intimacy, as opposed to strictly sexual or "romantic" intimacy, may also be a strong contributing factor to greater perceived Emotional Support for both coed males and females when compared with males and females living in single sex dormitories.

The reported high levels of Involvement and Student Influence in coed houses lead to strong speculation that the living area is an important focus of the college experience for these students. Because of the greater opportunity for

casual contact with members of the opposite sex, this kind of housing seems to provide optimal conditions for meeting students' basic developmental needs for increased autonomy and intimacy. It is reasonable to infer that males are influencing females to adopt their casual social mode in coed houses, and that females are influencing males to be more candid and impulsive in expressing positive feeling.

Lingering questions remain about overall characteristics of dormitory environments. When one focuses on the similarity of perception among residents of all house types, Independence and Student Influence are scored high; Competition and Academic Achievement are low.

It is no surprise that Independence is a common characteristic for all student populations. Though manifested in a variety of ways, the developmental need to assert Independence is a hallmark of late adolescence. POI scores were found to be highly predictive on this URES criterion (Table 5, p. 47), and Synergy was unquestionably the distinguishing personality measure contributing to Independence (Table 13, p. 53). Perhaps students rationalize their behavior to correspond to their own self image.

The perceptions of little Competition and much Student Influence may reflect a shared heritage from the "flower people" and the "free speech" movements of the 60's. None of the variables included in this study was found to be predictive of Competition, and all were found to be

significant with regard to Student Influence. Dormitories may indeed be responsive to student influence; coed houses were not instigated by administrators or faculty. Experiential courses and pass/fail options reflect the University's response to both student influence and this generation's distaste for competition.

The universally low URES scores for Academic Achievement, as compared with the relatively high scores on such measures as Emotional Support, Innovation, and other indices of personal-psychological-social concerns, could reflect merely a lack of competitive spirit. However, when one looks at the relatively high position of Intellectuality in coed dormitories, and couples this with the high scores just referred to, a unique atmosphere that is supportive of learning would appear to exist. (I shall argue this point subsequently.) The low Academic Achievement score confronts us with a paradox for the coed students. They value intellectuality but not the symbols that attest to intellectual accomplishment in a university atmosphere. Surely this points up a kind of disconnectedness in students that educators should try to understand and perhaps address in the classroom and other places.

Heads of residence and counselors. There were no significant differences between resident staff and students on the URES scales when individual houses were compared. This indicates that there is close agreement in the way the total

house population views the psycho-social atmosphere within the residence hall.

A comparison of POI scores for resident staff, grouped by the type of residence served, shows that the profiles of these two groups most closely resembles that of females in single sex dorms. Since single sex women were judged to be more mature than other students, this is not a surprising result. It suggests that the residence hall leadership is more mature than most of the students whom the leaders serve. However, when one considers that the counselor group includes undergraduate men from both single sex and coed dorms, one is reminded of the 1954 article by Farson, "The Counselor is a Woman." The inference is that undergraduate male counselors feel freer than the general population of undergraduate males to adopt attitudes and behaviors that have traditionally been stereotyped as female. No doubt POI scores for staff also reflect the selection process and staff training outcomes.

The mean scores of single sex dormitory staff personnel were higher in magnitude than coed dormitory personnel on all twelve POI variables. Significant differences were measured on three of these personality variables: Self Regard ($p < .03$); Self Acceptance ($p < .04$); Acceptance of Aggression ($p < .01$).

Leadership in single sex and coed dorms differ on certain aspects of self concept. Heads of residence and

counselors in single sex houses prize and accept themselves more highly than their counterparts in coed dorms, and are more accepting of their own aggressive impulses. Differences may not be related to the types of students they work with so much as they may indicate the type of atmosphere these leaders create in single sex residence halls. The ability to tune in on self and to be more self valuing and self accepting (perhaps less defensive and controlling) may provide just the sort of climate that can support the wide divergence that characterizes the scores on the POI scales for students in the single sex houses.

Staff in coed houses, when compared with staff in single sex dormitories, seem to be more nearly like the students they serve. This may reflect their own needs and personal reasons for selecting themselves into coed living arrangements.

Perceptions of environmental attributes do vary in an ordered sequence as a function of complex interactions of sex, house type, and personality variables. The nature of the results obtained by this study do not imply causality, since in no case were the predictor variables experimentally manipulated. In general, however, the strength of a statistical relation is reflected by the extent to which knowing X reduces uncertainty about Y, and therefore, these data have highlighted potent interrelationships which indicate the possibility for predicting residence hall satisfaction

or suitability for certain types of students.

Alternative hypotheses could be postulated to account for other sizeable proportions of the variability in perception of dormitory atmosphere. Haase et al. (1973) found two levels of population density to be significantly predictive of student satisfaction with living conditions. Recent studies that relate to observed behaviors as a function of crowding suggest not only that behavior is a function of a difference between spatial density and social density (i.e., social here refers to friends or strangers), but also that there is greater adaptability to crowding if an opportunity exists to escape social tension by occasionally removing oneself to a more isolated space (Draper, 1973). The extremely high desirability of single rooms on this campus probably attests to a human need for privacy within dormitory settings.

Other factors which probably influence students' perceptions of dormitory environment include the type and amount of social activity within the house, noise level, academic orientation of other residents (study habits and area of interest), distance from center of campus, or architectural style of building.

Theoretical Implications

Social scientists have emphasized the person/environment interactive effect for decades (Murray, 1938; Lewin, 1951;

White, 1963, etc.). There are many aspects of the physical environment that impinge upon, or shape behavior, but I shall address the phenomenological features of experienced life space which were included in this study, as these seem to influence students and reflect in coed residence halls.

Much of the research on student subcultures has borne out the suggestion by Holland (1966) " . . . that the character of an environment is dependent upon the nature of its members, and that the dominant features of an environment are dependent upon the typical characteristics of its members. If we know what kind of people make up a group, then we can infer the climate that the group creates (p. 53)."

This theory holds up well for small "elite" colleges and for many single sex residence halls. Most research on students has confirmed that they have a tendency to choose to live with peers who most closely exemplify those qualities they recognize and value within themselves. In those cases where there is "goodness of fit," attitudes and values are socially reinforced and reflect in the total ambience of the situation. Peer influence for change or modification of existing attitudes is well documented (Coleman, 1961; Feldman & Newcomb, 1969; Havighurst & Neugarten, 1962; Sanford, 1966), and this impact tends to strengthen or reverse characteristic modes of new students' behaviors and attitudes. When there is pronounced dissonance, students tend to leave the environment (Astin, 1965; Chickering, 1969; Pervin & Rubin, 1967).

These studies (cited above) were based on same-sex sample groups (primarily male), and have been concerned with stereotypes of "fraternity" vs. "intellectual," "engineer" vs. "aesthetic," etc., but leave much unanswered in trying to interpret the marked similarity among coed dormitories, as revealed by data from this study and others (Gerst & Moos, 1973; Gerst & Sweetwood, 1973; Haase et al., 1973).

As I have sought to clarify my understanding of the ecology of coed residence halls, and to arrive at a reasonable interpretation of the antecedent factors that interact to produce a distinct type of psycho-social environment (characteristic of coed living as reported from widely diverse geographical locations and academic settings), the learning theory and personality constructs conceptualized by Mogar (1969) have helped to integrate and give direction to my thinking.

In his theory of psychological education, Mogar has outlined two modes of perceiving--sensing (conscious processes), and intuition (inner perception), and two modes of evaluating or judging--thinking (e.g., true or false), and feeling (e.g., valued or not valued). These modes may be present in any of four perception-judgement combinations as an individual's preferred method of learning. Mogar has also described three educational approaches: (1) uniformity, (2) congruity, and (3) compensatory. Formal education has traditionally and consistently been concerned with what he

calls sensing-thinking (or didactic-cognitive) methods, the preferred perceptual mode for a relatively small percentage of the total population.

Self-directed learning employs techniques that are congruent (i.e., feed the person's dominant style of learning) with developed modes of perception-judgement when one is in a deficit developmental stage (e.g., identity crisis). Only when one is in a secure enough (self actualized) developmental stage (or environment) to withstand dissonance which might otherwise be threatening or overwhelming, can compensatory techniques be maximally effective. In other words, learning for survival calls for teaching to strengths; teaching in a self actualizing climate permits teaching to one's developmental deficits (or those aspects in self that are least developed--the complementary part to one's learning style).

Men and women students who are attracted to coed living may have more fully developed feeling modes of evaluating; if they are complementary in perceiving, i.e., one sex dominantly sensing and the other dominantly intuiting, then they may learn from and teach each other wider modes of valuing, acting, thinking, and coping with life situations. If this conjecture is correct, the coed approach to learning is thus in part congruent and in part complementary for each sex, and the coed living situation provides a powerful experience in self-directed learning. The outcome of this

kind of mix would also account for the striking similarity of coed environments.

Volumes have been written about the "necessary and sufficient" conditions for effective psychotherapy, and the whole "human potential" movement has also demonstrated that customary modes of behavior and attitude undergo dramatic changes within the context of situations where the norm is clearly understood to be more relaxed, open, honest, and intimate than is customary in the "real world." Shared understanding of this new norm is an important component of the process of "unfreezing" the "closed system" of customary behavioral responses, and in a climate of mutual trust and experimentation, "trying on" new modes of behaving, relating, and experiencing.

The dynamics of coed residences suggest that a similar expectation for coed living may be another commonality shared by both male and female residents, which does not show clearly in the personality profiles created from POI scores. Within the framework of developmental theory, and also as a stage in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, "belonging" and the concomitant search for greater intimacy is an important step, both in identity formation during late adolescence, and in the process of self-actualization. People change when they feel safe and defenses can be dropped.

Many decision making processes are based on the idea of the "collective wisdom" of the group (brainstorming,

consensus, majority rule, etc.), and " . . . innovations in our social institutions . . . reflect a partial response to the over-specialization and fragmentation that characterizes the individual today as well as his social institutions (Mogar, p. 33)."

Coed residence halls may be seen as a manifestation of this "collective wisdom" of students in an attempt to compensate for the impersonal atmosphere which has come to pervade the total environment of many campuses. Serendipitously, these dormitories create an atmosphere that Carl Rogers (1959) has called essential for creative learning:

" . . . an atmosphere of psychological safety, in which the individual feels accepted as of unconditional worth; in which he feels he can be spontaneous without fear that his actions or creations will be prematurely evaluated by rigid external standards; in which he feels empathic understanding; an atmosphere of psychological freedom; of permissiveness to think, to feel, to be whatever is discovered within oneself (p. 74)."

The soil is prepared for maximally effective total learning experiences. Students appear spontaneously to have created many aspects of the ideal learning situation. Mogar's compensatory techniques suggest one focus of program implementation that holds promise for integrating students' personal and intellectual development, and enhancing their capacities to lead purposive lives.

The literature of social scientists indicates awareness of conditions that trigger dissatisfaction and despair among college students today, and offers many creative

intervention strategies to ameliorate these stresses and enhance student life (e.g., Banning & Kaiser, 1974; Blocher, 1974; Crookston, 1974; Katz, 1971; Morrill, Oetting & Hurst, 1974, etc.).

Problems: Questions of Values

Improving student life in residence halls. Mogar (1969) warns, "Uniformity of any one (learning) approach leads to highly select capacities, leaving the bulk of human resources undeveloped (p. 29)." Thus a concentration of the sensory/feeling approach leads to hedonistic, other directed behavior--(as perhaps exemplified by some of the early "commune movement" of the 60's). As behaviorists have demonstrated, overly strong reinforcement can freeze behavior, or, as Mogar has pointed out, learning that is solely directed to the dominant or preferred mode of perceiving leads to wasted human resources.

"Creative" learning, (that which maximally enhances personal growth, and the development of latent intellectual resources), assumes a compensatory approach, and some dissonance with regard to preferred perception-judgement learning mode. The support factor in coed living environments creates the safe place to loosen up and strengthen those aspects in the self that are least developed. Another necessary condition for this kind of significant creative learning, according to Mogar, is a personal involving

relationship with an inspiring teacher-guide.

"Students cannot create without inspiration and stimulation, and they will not create without the ameliorating influence of a warm, safe and permissive atmosphere . . . The time of creation is a tender time (Mogar, p. 39, underlinings mine)."

College students have proved themselves able spontaneously to create communities and services to meet many developmental needs of young adults, but they cannot provide adult models for each other. Intellectual and moral development are closely intertwined with identity formation, and can be stretched or stunted through interaction with others. Role-modeling or imitative learning is part of folk wisdom, but has assumed scientific credibility with the theoretical formulations of Bandura (1965).

There have been instances on this campus of involving and intellectually stimulating experiential learning in residential settings, but this kind of opportunity has been unavailable to a large majority of students. Results of student descriptions of "ideal" residence environment were unanimous in showing a strong desire for high levels of student involvement, support, and intellectual stimulation, regardless of the way in which "real" or present house climate was perceived (Haase, 1973). This kind of readiness has strong implication for specific residence hall program development and direction.

In acknowledging the legal adult status of students, the University has abandoned its role of in loco parentis, but, in my view, has not sufficiently implemented its obligation to provide accessible mentors. The fragmenting dichotomy of classroom vs. residence hall learning may be doomed to persist unless faculty reward systems are changed, and total learning experiences of the "whole person" are seen as meaningfully related with the intellectual purposes of higher education. (Compensatory education for some faculty may also be indicated.)

Much of the educational impact of smaller and "elite" colleges is a function of size and style. Deliberate intervention into the system will be necessary to produce an approximation of that kind of impact within a large university. Newcomb (1969) has said, "A university consisting of congeries of small loci of diverse impacts might, indeed, be the apotheosis of effective higher education (p. 304)." In this era of increasingly centralized power, he boldly suggests multiple horizontal organizations, each to be invested with real autonomy. "If educational considerations are really superordinate, then administrative convenience is subordinate (p. 310)."

Special needs of women. The design of the present study did not provide for assessment of the impact coed living may have on the self-concept of women residents, nor of possible change in male attitudes toward sex-appropriate

role aspirations for women. But there is much need for research in this area. For example, Alper (1974) has found indication that the nontraditional concept of the achieving woman is now more acceptable to men than to women. What does this mean? What are the implications for the education of men and women students? The inclusion of adult women role models seems apparent. Accessible mentors of both sexes can provide examples of modes of living and value orientations from which students of both sexes can measure the consequences of their own life choices. "Those who fail to make sense, purpose, and direction for their lives while young most assuredly will find it difficult to do so later (Crookston, 1973, p. 61)."

Unclear goals and purposes of higher education. Throughout its long history, the "institution" of higher education has undergone many successive identity changes in response to both internal and external pressures. The outcome of student initiated extracurricular activities has often been dictated by the ways in which the institution supports, ignores, or tries to suppress these activities.

Early "literary" societies were formed as Greek letter societies to provide a forum for the discussion of pressing social, political, and personal issues which were not part of the "classical" curriculum. This covert criticism of the college structure engendered hostility from faculty toward many of these groups, which in turn bred secrecy

and elitism among the student groups. Thus the fraternity system became increasingly separated from the college's intellectual purposes, and acquired many of the characteristics that have become a large part of its identity (Beach, 1973).

On the other hand, informal "sandlot" games of sport, that were initially student-sponsored for relaxation, have been supported and institutionalized to the point that, for some schools, they have become "big business," and many universities are better known for their football standing than for their level of scholarship.

(Coed living is now accepted as a maturing experience for many. It is seen as providing a sense of community, and a psychologically supportive setting for accomplishing the developmental tasks of achieving greater Independence and Intimacy.) Benevolent approval of these limited outcomes is not enough to integrate personal and intellectual development, and to cultivate creative learning. The role of the residence hall is still largely undefined.

During this current period of economic uncertainty, colleges are being called upon to provide more practical "job" oriented training from students who have found little satisfaction or meaning in their fragmented course work. Increasingly, the response has been a de-emphasis of liberal arts and humanistically oriented programs in favor of technical "training" and preparation for practical

services. A recent advertisement for a book by Benson and Hodgkinson (1974) has chilling (for me) implications in offering strategies for: "investigating the latest research into educational productivity, increasing use of educational technology--to achieve 'efficient' use of faculty and student--for the purpose of accurately forecasting manpower needs and (to) show how to fill these needs with a minimum of wasted resources."

Are we being seduced into a limited vision of the uses of higher education? Either the rhetoric of democracy is to be acted upon to raise the quality of life through excellence in higher education, or the die is being cast toward our own brand of totalitarianism--individuals are to be trained to service the state and a runaway technology.

Conclusions

This research has, perforce, been limited in what was studied. In examining the social ecology of student residences, our data provide strong evidence that environmental perception is a function of complex interaction between sex, house type and personality orientations of student residents. Three distinct residence hall subcultures were identified: (1) Associational (single sex female), (2) Social Club (single sex male, and (3) Cohesive Alliance (coed).

There are no clearly definable criteria for the "ideal" environment; everyone has her own unique conception of Utopia. Mutual support and personal involvement in critical decisions

are among the essential components in a self actualizing climate. (Coed living would appear to create this kind of climate: one that permits teaching to one's developmental deficits, one that strengthens some of those aspects of the self that are least developed, and complementary to one's personality and learning style.)

"Human development is in essence a process of self-confrontation made possible by a conducive learning environment and interaction with skillful, expert teachers. Though the examined self can be an exhilarating, fulfilling experience, even under the best of circumstances self-confrontation is a painful, often threatening process, easy for many individuals to avoid and put off indefinitely (Crookston, 1973, p. 62)."

Suggestions for interventions and program implementation derived from this study were directed from an explicit value orientation. That orientation is concerned with promoting maximally effective personal-intellectual skills. An attempt was made to integrate the fragments of knowledge and new understanding presented here into the broader concept of higher education. This research has touched on only a small portion of the total learning needs of students. These include (for me) the honing of critical intellectual processes, the development of values to guide one's way of life, the fostering of mature interpersonal skills, the development of intellectual curiosity--and the integration of these qualities of the mind into a "self" that one is satisfied with, and one that functions well--not in subjugation

to utilitarian needs of the society, but as a competent, sensitive, creative, interdependent being, who can not only dwell within, cope with, and understand this world, but change it into a better place to live.

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Life, Nov. 20, 1970.

Appendix A

Subject Selection Procedure

It was important to obtain full cooperation from the Head of Residence in each of the houses to be studied, and also from each of the undergraduate resident-agents who had agreed to obtain completed protocols for the two test instruments (POI and URES scales) to be administered to the student residents. Time was spent prior to data collection developing the relationships necessary to assure cooperation.

The total populations for each of the houses ranged from 127 to 148 students. For the purposes of this study, it was decided that a randomly selected sample population of 50 students from each house, (totaling at least 200) would be representative, and a necessary minimum.

Each Head of Residence made available a current list of dormitory residents, which contained the class year and room number for each student. In order to avoid a biased sample, selection of students to be tested followed closely the principle of randomization. Each list of house residents was broken down into categories of class year (e.g., Class of 1976), and in the case of coed houses, by sex, in order to determine the percentage of each category in the total house population. The sample population was then selected within each category by means of a table of random numbers. (A total of 60 names from each house was selected in this

manner.)

An agreement was made with each of the student agents that a fee of 50¢ per set of two usable completed test answer sheets from each student in the sample group would be paid the agent, but it was stipulated that this fee would be paid only after 50 completed sets of answer sheets had been collected and returned to the investigator. (Any beyond 50 would be accepted, and paid for at the agreed upon rate, also.) Agents were responsible for delivering and collecting the test materials, and student respondents were assured anonymity by being asked to fill in only the blocks for class year and sex on their score sheets.

The POI and URES Scales were administered to the four Heads of Residence and to all undergraduate counselors in each of the four dormitories (totaling 25 resident staff protocols), which were analyzed separately.

This procedure worked very well, although the student agents found that the investigator was proved correct in predicting that the job of collecting answer sheets would be more difficult than they had anticipated. Each of the houses yielded the necessary 50 protocols, and these 200 students comprised the sample group used in the study.

Appendix B

Explanation of Study sent to Student Participants

The purpose of this study is to gather information about present living conditions in selected dormitories on the campus of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, investigate the type of students who choose among differing life styles, and attempt to determine the interactive effects each has upon the other. It is my contention that the total educational process is profoundly influenced by university residential atmosphere and peer groups. I believe further that inferences about present conditions in the dormitories, and constructive suggestions for enhancing those conditions that seem to facilitate positive intellectual and emotional growth, require that decision makers in student personnel have a clearer understanding, based on empirical research, than exists at the present time. It is my hope that the results of this study will contribute meaningfully to that empirical base.

Questions? Call Barbara Southworth
549-0330 (after 5 o'clock)

