This paper emphasizes the college role in student development in areas other than intellectual competence. Autonomy, identity, and interpersonal relationships should be main concerns of the college. The campus environment can directly affect student development through the curriculum, residence halls, evaluation methods, and student-faculty interaction. The author proposes ways in which the above can be used to promote healthier student development. (NS)

Campus Climate and Development Studies[1]
Their Implications for Four Year Church Related Colleges

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"Campus Climates and Development Studies - Their Implications for Four Year
Church Related Colleges." I suppose the most striking thing about that
title is its monumental pretentiousness, a fact that escaped me when I blithely,
indeed eagerly, agreed to speak about it. But as the time to produce inexorably
arrived, as my last grain of procrastination dropped to the bottom of the glass,
and as my terror escalted, the pretentiousness became all too clear. Yet in re-
viewing the literature I have been reassured. There are findings of relevance to
our problems. There are propositions which receive substantial support. In the
interests of clarity and succinctness I've stated these propositions rather baldly.
Those qualifying expressions like "tend to", "for the most part", "under normal
circumstances", with which we are prone to hedge our bets and cover our rear, have
been dropped. One effect may be an exaggerated implication of conviction and
dogmatism; you are, therefore, advised to insert your own qualifying phrases
where it seems appropriate. Such insertions will move any of these propositions
closer to accuracy.

Proposition 1 - Student development in college occurs in seven major areas:
(a) Development of Competence, (b) Management of Emotions, (c) Development of
Autonomy, (d) Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships, (e) Development of Purpose,

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(f) Development of Identity, (g) Development of Integrity.

You will recognize that not all these terms are original. I will briefly elaborate aspects of four as a context for discussion of institutional impact; Competence, Autonomy, Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships, Identity.

Competence is a pitchfork with three tines, interpersonal competence, physical and manual skills, and intellectual competence. Some tasks require only one kind of competence; others require a mixture. But you can't pitch much hay without a handle and the handle is what R. W. White Calls "sense of competence", the confidence one has in his ability to accomplish what he sets out to do. (63, p. 64) Of course one's sense of competence is related to the reality of one's competences; yet the productivity and effectiveness achieved with a given level of ability varies greatly with one's feelings about and orientations toward, the levels of competence attained. Intellectual competence is that aspect of development to which the major efforts of most colleges are devoted. Without fail, college objectives concern the development intellectual skills and the acquisition of information. We shall therefore, take this aspect of Competence, along with sense of competence, as one point of focus in further discussion.

The Development of Autonomy involves the development of emotional independence, of instrumental independence, and the recognition of interdependence. To be emotionally independent is to be free from continual and pressing needs for reassurance, affection, or approval. Instrumental independence has two major components, the ability to carry on activities and to cope with problems without seeking help, and the ability to be mobile in relation to one's own needs and desires. "Mature dependence" (19) or recognition and acceptance of "interdependence" (64) is the capstone of autonomy. As interdependencies

are recognized, boundaries of personal choice are seen more clearly and one can become an agent for oneself; one's particular existence can be carved out of the larger context of one's life.

The "Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships" is also White's term. He says, "Under reasonably favorable circumstances the natural growth of personality moves in the direction of human relationships that are less anxious, less defensive, less burdened by inappropriate past reactions, more friendly, more spontaneous, more warm, more respectful." (62) Such development involves an increasing tolerance for a wider range of persons; tolerance not only in the sense of "putting up with", but also in the sense of not being upset by exposures that earlier caused distress. Ideally this tolerance develops not through increased resistance and immunization, but through an increasing capacity to respond to persons in their own right rather than with particular conventions or stereotypes.

Identity is characterized by Erickson as "a feeling of being at home in one's own body, a sense of 'knowing where one is going', and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count." (18, p. 118) The development of identity is like learning to drive. Progress occurs in fits and starts and there is much wandering from one side of the road to another. But with experience and practice change occurs. The driver and the vehicle become acquainted. Pecular requirements for operation become known. The driver comes to know his own limits and those imposed by certain conditions. In time, snow, heavy traffic, occasional skids, and mechanical failures are encountered with assurance and with some ease. Finally driving becomes a pleasure, not a chore, and other things can be attended to while doing it.

An example and a metaphor for such development is provided by what Gardner Murphy calls "human rhythms" (39, pp. 185, 186) which he illustrates by photic driving. If an individual submits himself to an instrument which emits flashes at intervals, he may reveal his own breaking point, the point at which the rhythm induces a convulsion. If, for example, the number is 16, he may rapidly lose consciousness as this number of flashes is presented in the standard time interval. Seventeen and 15, however, are safe numbers for him. It is not until 32 or other multiples of 16 is reached that he breaks again. Like the piano wire that hums or like the glass that shatters, we all probably have our critical frequencies in a variety of areas. The Development of Identity thus can be seen as the process of discovering what kinds of experiences, at what levels of intensity and frequency, we resonate with in either satisfying, safe, or self-destructive fashion.

There is evidence indicating that change does occur in these areas during the college years. Further, four year liberal arts colleges, including those with church affiliations, usually aim to foster such development, at least as they describe their objectives in their catalogs. So with these four major dimensions of development in mind we ask, "What is the potential impact of college? What relationships exist between institutional policies, practices, and conditions, and development in these four areas?"

Proposition 2 - Impact increases as institutional objectives are clear and taken seriously, and as the diverse elements of the college and its program are internally consistent in the service of the objectives.

Eddy, reporting his study of college influence on student character said, "The potential of environment is measurably increased by a feeling of community. And that feeling appears to begin where it should -- in common understanding and acceptance of commonly shared goals." (16, p. 143, 144) Jacob's survey of

research concerning the effect of college on attitudes and values found little

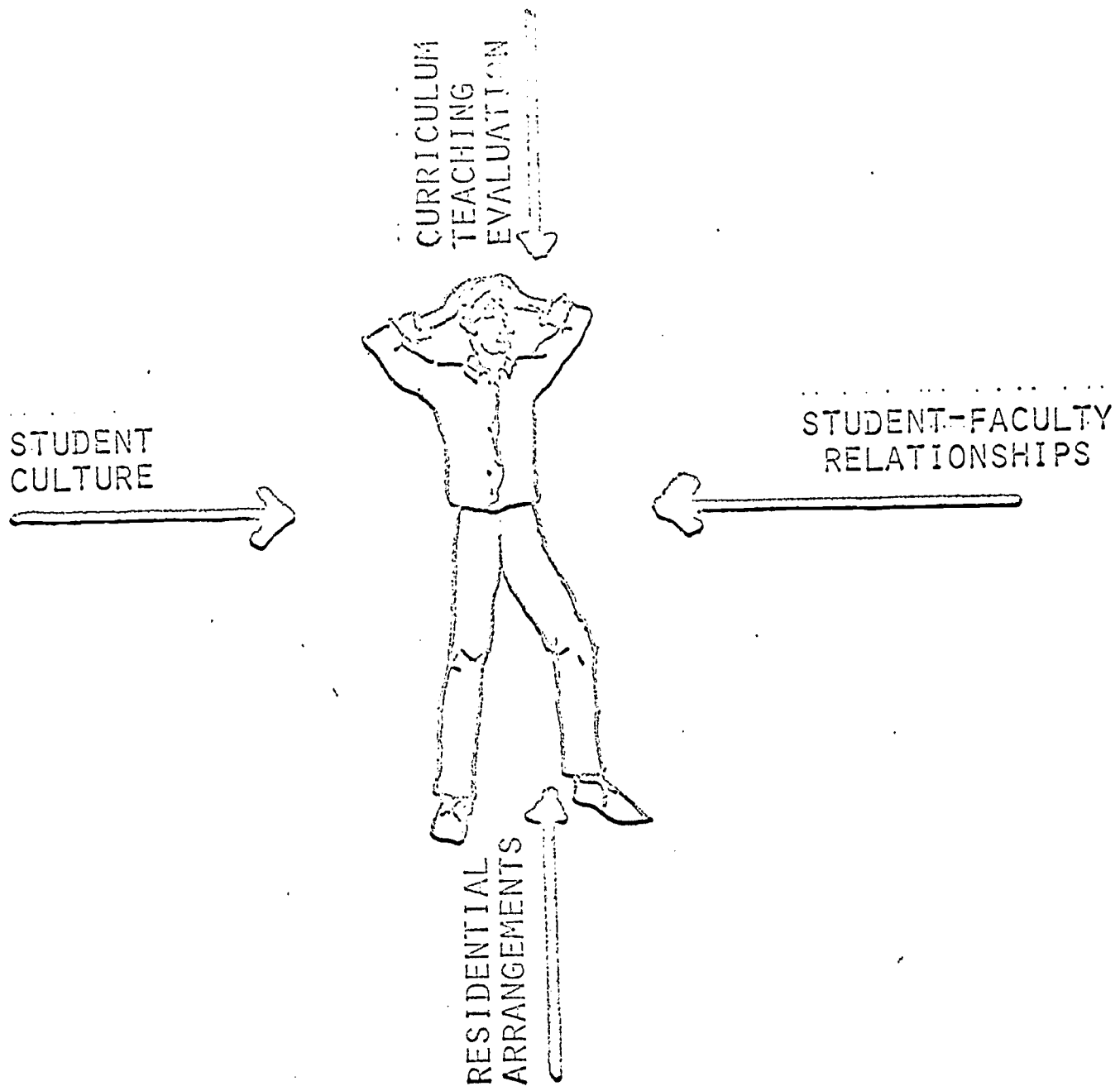influence except at a few institutions where a distinctive climate prevailed.

(28, 1957) At the time of Newcomb's study in the late 1930's Bennington was

dominated by a liberal social and political outlook. Students whose attitudes

changed were those who most identified with this dominant orientation. (41)

And the follow-up study of these same students twenty five years later indicates

that for most the change in attitudes has been sustained. (42) Figure 1
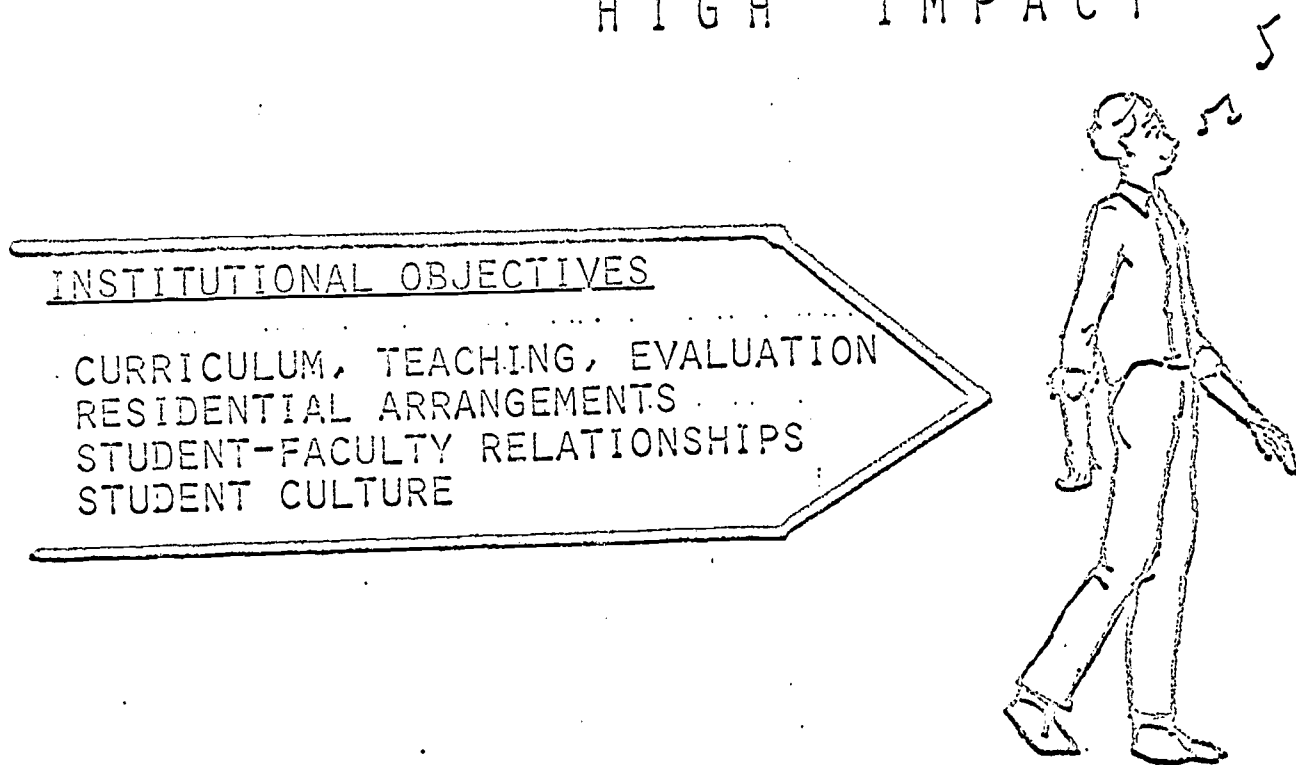
illustrates this second proposition.

(Insert Figure 1 about here)

Of course it is not the simple statement of objectives that has an impact.

Every college catalog contains such statements. Some speak frankly of hopes

or aspirations. Others claim achievement of these ideal ends and for these

consumer protection legislation would be appropriate. But where objectives are

taken seriously, institutional impact is strengthened three ways. First, policies,

programs, and practices tend toward greater internal consistency. When faculty

members manning ubiquitous committees make decisions in terms of commonly shared

and explicit institutional objectives then the various parts fit together with

greater coherence and integration. The developmental impact of one element

less frequently runs counter to another. Second, clear objectives help students

make more explicit their own reasons for attending the college and their own

purposes while there, and help them use time and energy more directly in the

service of those objectives they value. Third, it is important to be explicit

about objectives because they contain within them strong value commitments.

No institution is without such commitments and often they are absorbed unwillingly

by students and are learned as matters not to be questioned. At some institutions,

for example, the work-success ethic, rugged individualism, personal achievement,

# FIGURE 1

## LOW IMPACT



CURRICULUM
TEACHING
EVALUATION

STUDENT
CULTURE

STUDENT-FACULTY
RELATIONSHIPS

RESIDENTIAL
ARRANGEMENTS

## HIGH IMPACT



INSTITUTIONAL OBJECTIVES

CURRICULUM, TEACHING, EVALUATION
RESIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENTS
STUDENT-FACULTY RELATIONSHIPS
STUDENT CULTURE

self-denial and future time orientation, or a puritan morality, are among

the dominant values which are assumed and left implicit, which are not

questioned or made explicit. And at other institutions, a similar condition

exists for such emergent values as sociability, a relativitistic moral

attitude, conformity, or a hedonistic present-time orientation.

Such unconscious learning tends to seal off these matters from conscious

control and modification and thus leads to rigidity and dogmatism. When

objectives are explicit and when the attendant values are overtly expressed,

they can become the object of examination, disagreement, and challenge.

Then the learning which occurs makes for more conscious and flexible inte-

gration of these values with other components of personality and behavior.

In time another factor begins to operate. Because the objectives are

those of "the college" they can be perceived as somewhat outside of and

beyond any particular student. One can thus identify with them and be

missionary about them; one's own self-interest becomes tied up with their

realization both by oneself and by others. Under such conditions campus

visitors are exhorted to modify their own values and behavior and the vir-

tues of the institution in fostering the objectives are persuasively extolled.

This leads to self-selection by prospective students and faculty members,

and Eddy's community of shared ideas and goals becomes a self-sustaining

reality which operates with increasing force and subtlety.

<u>Proposition 3</u> - Output is primarily determined by input.

Because of self-selections and because of varied admissions criteria,

entering students differ greatly from college to college, and Figure 2 will

recall some types we have all encountered.

(Insert Figure 2 about here)

Figure 2.  Students
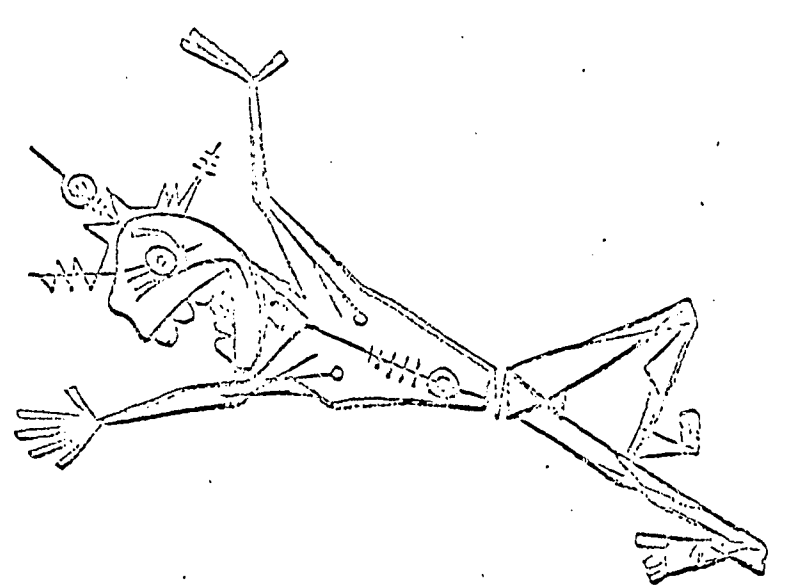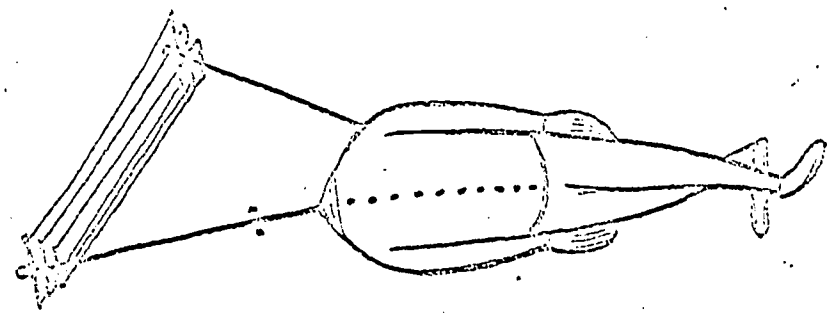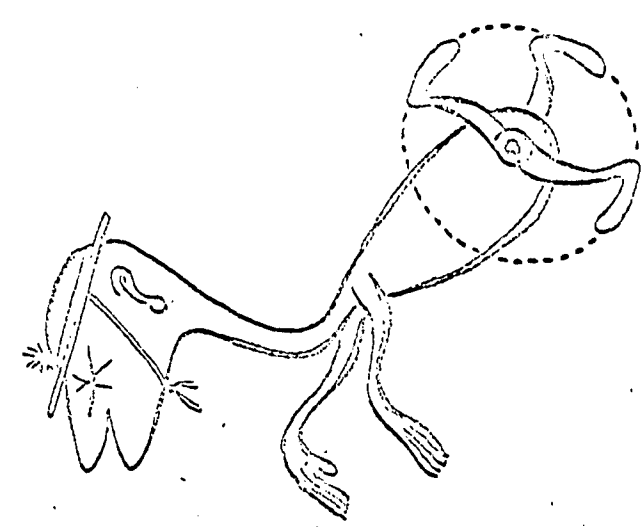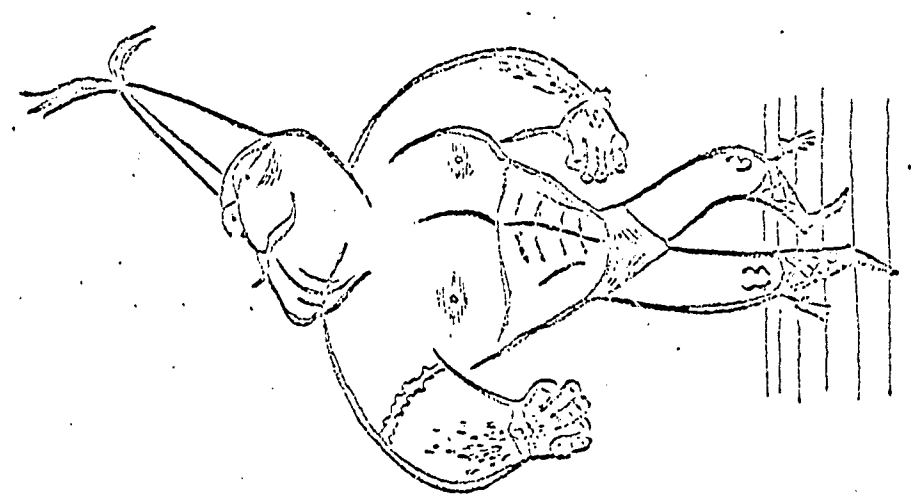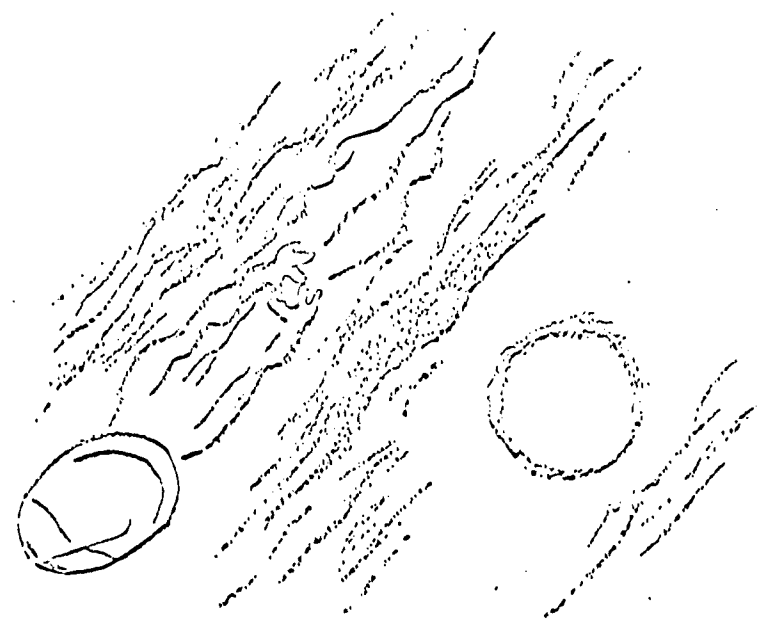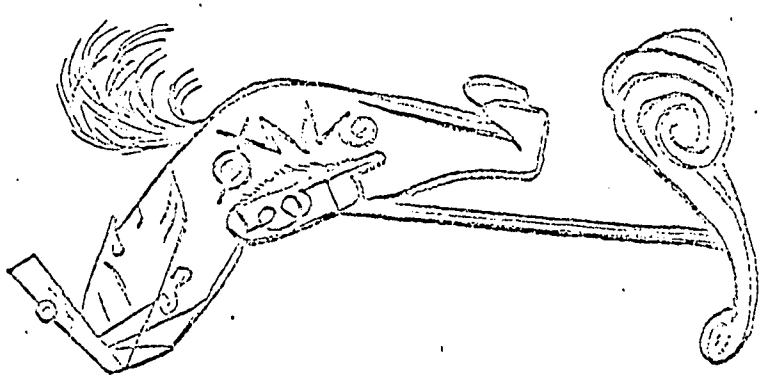
There is substantial diversity among student bodies in characteristics of importance to educational practice. In scholastic aptitude, for example, McConnell and Heist report, "The mean ACE total score for the 60,539 students in the sample of 200 schools was 104.4 with a standard deviation of 27.1. Among the schools, the mean scores ranged from a low of 37.5 to a high of 142.2.... When converted to percentiles ... the two extreme mean scores were equivalent to the first and ninety second percentiles." (34, pp. 232) Data from the Omnibus Personality Inventory (6) collected at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, in the context of our own Project on Student Development and in other studies, indicate large differences in attitude and personality characteristics among students in different liberal arts colleges. On measures of social maturity, self-confidence, originality, intellectual interests, esthetic interests and sensitivity, political and religious liberalism, impulsivity, and personal integration, variation in pattern from college to college indicates clearly the distinctive quality of particular student bodies.

The first point, therefore, is the obvious one. Whether graduates from a particular college are frequently Rhodes Scholars and Woodrow Wilson Fellows, political activists or talkative liberal, committed religious leaders, artists, or scientists, depends in large measure upon the characteristics of the students initially attracted and admitted.

The second point is less obvious. It is clear that the impact of a given program varies depending upon its appropriateness to the characteristics of the students being served. Consider institutions A and B, both of which aim to help students become "responsible and independent democratic

citizens". At A, students are self-controlled, self-confident, respectful of authority, unimpulsive, conservative, and relatively lacking in originality and social concern. At B, students are highly concerned about social issues, impulsive, rebellious toward authority, with a flair for the artistic and original. To become responsible independent citizens who can well serve a democracy, students at A seem primarily to need awakening, challenging, opening to experience; students at B need greater integration, organization, self-discipline. To achieve the same objective at these two institutions requires quite different programs.

Or consider the "development of intellectual interests and critical thinking ability" at institutions A and B where A students tend to be "authoritarian" and B students, "anti-authoritarian". According to research by Stern,

"The typical authoritarian student preferred studying alone, since working with others always meant a bull session in which nothing definite was ever settled. He also preferred to study in the same place throughout the year, in a room that was neat and orderly and free from the distraction of the radio, television, or phonograph. He developed rigid time schedules for studying, reading, and review, and relied heavily on formal study aids, teacher suggestions on outlining and notetaking, and rote memorization of significant facts to get himself through. Difficult reading materials were particularly frustrating to him, and he dealt with this problem by going to the instructor or to better students for help. Theoretical discussions in class were another source of difficulty, and the authoritarian student most preferred a straightforward exposition by the instructor to any other classroom activity. He prepared for the final examination by reviewing classroom

and reading notes and memorizing the main points. The only thing he liked

about essays was getting them done....

"The responses of the typical antiauthoritarian indicated that his place

of study varied, as he alternated between satisfying his desire to be with

people and isolating himself as a defense against this need. He enjoyed

cooperative study because he liked other viewpoints, liked discussions, and

because it gave him an opportunity to be with other people. He didn't

care much where he studied as long as it was quiet. Readings challenged him

and he sought out additional materials to improve his understanding. He

liked it when the class discussed side issues and took notes of stimulating

and challenging ideas that he intended to explore later. He prepared for

the final examination by trying to arrive at some sense of the course as

a totality, and liked essay assignments because they gave him a chance to

work with ideas, to express himself, and to explore abstract concepts."

(54)

Thus, the response of the authoritarian or the anti-authoritarian, to

given patterns of curriculum, teaching, and evaluation will differ sharply.

In summary, then, the developmental level at graduation depends largely

upon the particular characteristics students bring with them at entrance.

These characteristics influence the response of students to varying insti-

tutional conditions and educational practices and also limits the amount and

kinds of development that can be expected within a four-year period in a

college setting.

Figure 1 suggests four major areas of institutional policy and practice

which must be coordinated for maximum impact: (a) curriculum, teaching,

and evaluation;   (b) residential arrangements;   (c) student-faculty rela-
tionships;   and (d) the student culture.        Any institution has more than
these four arrows in its quiver, but these are of major importance and for
now discussion will be restricted to them.  We take them one at a time in
the order mentioned.

Proposition 4A - When the curriculum is highly structured with few
electives, when teaching is by lecture, and when evaluation is infrequent
and competitive, ability to memorize is fostered.  Sense of Competence,
Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships, and Development of Autonomy and Identity
is not.

Proposition 4B - When the curriculum provides for choice and flexibility
of program, when teaching is by discussion, and when evaluation involves
frequent feedback concerning the substance of behavior and performance, the
ability to analyse and to synthesize is fostered.  Under such conditions
Sense of Competence, Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships, and Development
of Autonomy and Identity is also fostered.

That two part proposition covers a lot of territory.  Curriculum organ-
ization, teaching practices, and evaluational procedures are so systematically
linked that the force of one element is difficult to disentangle from the
force of the other two.  Figures 3 and 4 illustrate two curricular approaches,
the unstructured, which takes the needs and interests of student as its
basis for organization, and the tightly structured which takes the disciplines
as its basis and where no student appears.  Most colleges fall somewhere be-
tween the two though probably closer to the structured than the unstructured.
Now lets look at some of the research relevant to relationships between
curriculum, teaching, and evaluation, and student development.

(Insert Figures 3 and 4 about here)

Figure 6
The Unstructured Curriculum

# Figure 4
## The Tightly Structured Curriculum

General Courses ▢

and the Comprehensives ◯

Specialized Courses in Humanities

Specialized Courses in Social Sciences

SOCIAL SCIENCES

Specialized Courses in Mathematics

Specialized Courses in Physics and Chemistry

Specialized Courses in Biology

HUMANITIES

NATURAL SCIENCES

Soc Sci IV

Hum IV

Soc Sci III

Hum III

Soc Sci I

Nat Sci III

Nat Sci IV

RHETORIC

Nat Sci II

Hum II

Math I

Hum I

Soc Sci II

Nat Sci I

ANALYSIS

LOGIC

HISTORY

foreign language

PHILOSOPHY

History IV

Phil V

History III

foreign language II

All I, II, & General Courses

All I & II General Courses

Intellectual competence does not just happen. As Harlow points out, "Thinking does not develop spontaneously as an expression of innate ability; it is the end result of a long learning process.... The brain is essential to thought, but the untutored brain is not enough, no matter how good a brain it may be. An untrained brain is sufficient for trial and error, fumble-through behavior, but only training enables an individual to think in terms of ideas and concepts." (24, p. 6) It is clear from evidence already available that teaching practices in college produce different kinds of cognitive behavior and therefore are likely to foster different kinds of intellectual competence. The evidence concerning the differential effects of lectures versus discussion classes is now abundant and consistent. In a nutshell, lectures are superior for the transmission of information, particularly information quite specific in nature (3) which does not run counter to beliefs already held. Discussion classes provoke more active thinking than lecture classes (4) and a number of experiments have demonstrated that active learning is more efficient than passive (36). As McKeachie observes, (35) "if we are trying to achieve application, critical thinking, or some of the higher level cognitive outcomes,... students should have an opportunity to practice application and critical thinking and to receive feed-back on the results. Group discussion provides an opportunity to do this ... it permits presentation of a variety of problems enabling a number of people to gain experience in integrating facts, formulating hypotheses, amassing relevant evidence, and evaluating conclusions. In addition, when information encounters intellectual or emotional resistance, discussion holds the possibility of revealing the source of resistance so it can be examined and dealt with. And as Levin demonstrated, the presence of a group contributes to changes in

motivation and attitudes, because it is often easier to effect change in a group than with a single individual"(31).

The evaluational procedures used also influence cognitive behavior. As Mayhew observes, "If teachers base their grades on memorization of details, students will memorize the text. If students believe grades are based upon their ability to integrate and to apply principles, they will try to acquire such ability." (33, p. 225) Early research by Meyer (37) and by Terry (56), for example, suggested that the prospect of an essay exam led to study activities which emphasized the organization and interrelationships of facts and principles, where an upcoming multiple choice exam led to memorization. And as Dressel observes in the context of Michigan State, "the seeming necessity of covering large masses of material ... leaves too little time for any but the most able students to reflect on the meaning, interrelationship, and applicability of knowledge which is being gained. The able student, too, often displays reluctance to think for himself, in part because the exercise of thought and judgement is time-consuming and difficult and in part, no doubt, because he sees little evidence that such effort will yield returns in the currency of the academic realm.... The most discomforting finding was the total inability of some students to engage in a pattern of reasoning or even to realize that this was possible .... Much as we continue to be disturbed about these findings, we cannot feel that the blame rests entirely on the students. It was evident that for many ... the task of thinking through to an answer, rather than recalling one, was a novel experience." (14, p. 199, 202)

Research concerning student-centered teaching is also relevant here, and is summed up by McKeachie as follows: "In eleven studies (of student-centered teaching), significant differences in ability to apply concepts, in attitudes, in motivation, or in group membership skills have been found between discussion techniques emphasizing freer student participation compared with discussion with greater instructor dominance. In 10 of these the differences favored the more student-centered method....

"In short, the choice of instructor-dominated versus student-centered discussion techniques appears to depend upon one's goals. The more highly one values outcomes going beyond acquisition of knowledge, the more likely that student-centered methods will be preferred." (35, p. 1140)

Sense of Competence also may be sharply affected. Most to the point are the studies of Thistlethwaite. He reports that "Increase in level of aspiration (motivation to seek advanced degrees) was associated with: (a) strong faculty press for enthusiasm, humanism, affiliation, independence, achievement, and supportiveness; (b) weak faculty press for compliance; and (c) strong student press for estheticism." (57, p. 313)

"Colleges outstandingly successful in encouraging undergraduates to get the doctorate in humanistic fields are characterized by (a) excellent social science faculty and resources, (b) flexible, or somewhat unstructured curriculum, (c) energy and controversiality of instruction, and (d) informality and warmth of student-faculty contacts." (53)

The results of Davis' nationwide study are congruent with Thistlethwaite's findings. Davis found that high prestige, intellectually elite colleges significantly under-produced future scientists when the talent and the interests of their entering students were taken into account. The encouragement

of a faculty member led students to pursue further work in science, but
faculty members rarely encouraged any but their A students. Since grades
frequently were distributed according to a rough normal curve, many students
in these colleges received B's and C's even though they were among the top
ten percent on any national measure of scientific aptitude or achievement.
(12) Thus the consequence of this competitive grading was a reduction in
student self-esteem and a lowering of career aspirations.

Research by Atkinson and Litwin concerning the differential effects
of negative and positive motives reveals the extent to which such lowered
self-esteem and highly competitive grading practices can become a vicious
circle. They found that men students who were high in anxiety about tests
more frequently completed examinations first and did more poorly on the exam
than in their general course work. Students with positive motivation, in
this case high "need achievement", tended to stay in the examination room
longer. (2)

So much for research relevant to relationships between patterns of
curriculum, teaching and evaluation, and the development of intellectual
competence and sense of competence. The findings so far suggest fairly clear
lines of force associated with various practices.

Development of Autonomy is also influenced. Snyder, from the perspective
of his work at M.I.T., says: "The student goes to lecture and hears from
his professor that the course ... is exciting. Much independent thought
will be demanded. He is urged to think about the subject, reflect on what
he reads, and develop the habit of skepticism. The first quiz, in the student's
eyes, calls for the playback of a large number of discrete facts. The

message that some students hear is that reflection of original thought is for the birds and that memorization will get the A. Some possible student responses to such dissonance include alienation, cynicism about the academic enterprise, a determination to play the academic game with shrewdness, or conformity to the task of getting grades." (53, p. 351) None of these potential responses is likely to foster Autonomy. And such responses are made. A study of men who do well academically, conducted by Black at the Counseling and Testing Center at Stanford, found the most salient trait to be "cooperativeness", which included the tendency to be helpful, moderate, respectful, appreciative, sympathetic, and sensitive. Black observes that such traits are more characteristic of women than of men in our culture and thus may account for the fact that while men constitute seventy percent of the undergraduates at Stanford they consitute only fifty-seven percent of the Dean's List. (38, p. 3)

Thus, when the curriculum specifies what shall be studied, when learning involves memorization of information designated as important by the teacher, and when grades depend upon conformity and cooperativeness within this system, then Autonomy is not fostered.

Closely associated with the Development of Autonomy is the Development of Identity. Three basic conditions foster such development: (a) varied direct experiences and roles; (b) meaningful achievement; and (c) relative freedom from anxiety and pressure (18, 49 ). Most of us are familiar with the typical student responses to limited arenas for achievement and exploration combined with competitive pressures. We see the frequent and premature settling on one style of life, a single frame of reference, as the focal point for self-organization and self-esteem, as the core of one's

being. We see the beats, the grinds, the jocks, the party boys, the hippies.

However, we can also see, in some settings where opportunities are many and

varied and where competitive pressures are less, students who range more

widely, who can try on various styles, assume varied roles, and through-

out, be less tenacious and totalistic in their investments. Freedman sees

no evidence that grading helps people lead the good life and argues that

the grading system discourages the development of intrinsic and lasting

intellectual interests and self-definition in general. His assertion is

substantiated by Hoyt and Heath. Studies reviewed by Hoyt showed no rela-

tionships between grades and the adult achievement of businessmen, physicians,

scientists, engineers or teachers. He further reports that "studies in

miscellaneous occupations and in non-occupational areas are consistent in

showing little or no relationship between academic success and various

criteria of adult performance." (26) Heath reports that, "persistent

academic pressure punctuated by the ever recurring examinations and papers

forces a student into an increasingly auto-centric existence." (25, p. 27)

Perhaps Riesman puts it best when he says, "Leading from strength may rob

the students of the possibility of discovering other areas in which they

may not be so well-equipped, but which may nevertheless be more relevant

for them as they slowly grow." (46, p. 182)

Meaningful work can provide a counterbalance for totalistic adoption

of a particular role. Yet students testify to the meaninglessness of college

work. The recent conference on student stress (52) which impelled the notion

of relevance onto the educational scene is only one of many pieces of evidence.

Observation of "free universities" and student taught courses indicates that

when students develop courses and programs of study for themselves, the

subject matter, the role of the teacher, and the learning activities pursued, depart markedly from those of the typically organized curriculum, lecture, and examination.

The Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships is also affected. Freedman sees a connection between competitive climates and the sense of isolation on some campuses. Sanford explains the dynamic nicely. Observing Stanford students, he reports that "among the men students at Stanford today there are virtually no friendships.... The thing that I was impressed by ... was that these boys could not really be friends with each other because they could not reveal themselves to each other enough to establish an intimate relationship. In that situation, they saw each other as everything else except friends -- as competitors, as people who could be manipulated, who could make one feel big or make one feel little -- as everything except genuine objects of human relationship. So they had to put on an act all the time, even with ... their fraternity brothers and roommates. There was always the possibility that this guy would get something on them that would somehow be harmful in the general race that they were all running together.... As a matter of fact I think that the early marriages in college are largely a result of this. The boys can't really be intimate with each other. The only person they can find who will listen while they reveal their softer sides is one of the girls. A friendship will develop with her and this will be mistaken for a romance, and marriage will follow.... The thing I see at Stanford and at other high-pressure places ... is that the idea of the college as a moratorium where people have a few years to discover themselves and to learn how to relate to other people ... is being given up. Instead the whole

thing is being treated as a kind of training program or a business enterprise ... which is likely to be quite damaging both to the development of our people and to their mental health." (48, pp. 21, 22)

So much for curriculum, teaching, and evaluation. The relationships of various patterns of practices to Intellectual Competence and Sense of Competence, to Development of Autonomy and Identity, and to the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships seem clear and forceful.

Proposition 5 - Residence hall settings foster or inhibit Development of Competence, Autonomy, Identity, and the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships, depending upon the diversity of backgrounds and attitudes among the residents, the opportunities for significant interchange, the existence of shared intellectual pursuits and interests, and the degree to which the unit becomes a meaningful culture or reference group for its members.

Development in the residence hall setting stems from two major sources: (a) close friendships and accompanying bull sessions; and (b) the general values and attitudes carried by the house as a cultural entity. It does not surprise us when Dressel and Lehman say, "The most significant reported experience in the collegiate lives of these (Michigan State University) students was their association with different personalities in their living unit. The analysis of interview and questionnaire data suggested that discussions and bull sessions were a potent factor in shaping the attitudes and values of these students." (13)

An example of what can occur is given by Robert White, who describes the following incident for a student he called Hale: "It was during his freshman year that Hale came to his decision to be a doctor.... Across the hall

in the dormitory lived a student who enjoyed argument. Hale also enjoyed argument and he particularly like debating with this neighbor who was always reasonable and therefore did not irritate him and throw him into stubborn negativism. Hale reports 'One night for some reason or other ... he decided, he got it into his mind, that I should be a doctor instead of going into advertising. And so he started to argue with me about it and when morning came I agreed that he was right. He did a very logical, very thorough job on me, and so I went down the next day and I changed my field of concentration to biology. Then I called up my family and told them what I'd decided, which they didn't like.' (62)

Now, obviously, not all career decisions are made in such fashion, but it is clear that such discussions have significant impact. Indeed Wallace, on the basis of his study of student culture suggests that "the main criteria of ... friendship selection and the main influence of the resulting friend-ships may not be on attitudes relevant to ... life as a student, but rather on those ... larger and often more burning problems of developing an orientation to life in general; problems of becoming an adult in an adult world; problems in short, of life cycle ..." (61, p. 114)

Farnsworth, commenting on some still unpublished research, indicates that "in dormitories the sexual behavior of students varies tremendously according to the degree of aggressiveness shown by the popular girls. One aggressive girl can quite definitely change the sexual behavior of several girls in the group. If there are three or four girls in a given entry who are the prestige girls and who have high standards, they can cause others to hold onto the ideals with which they came to college in the first place." (20, p. 72)

It is also clear both from research and from our own experiences that some college housing units develop quite distinctive characteristics, "subcultures" in the jargon of the social scientist, which may persist at length and be resistant to change. The evidence also indicates that these different sub-cultures have an influence. For example, Vreeland and Bidwell, who studied Harvard Houses, found that "when peer involvement is high, House effects upon student value and attitude change are marked.", and indicate that the affective climate of the House is the central mechanism of change. (60, pp. 247-248)

Such research suggests the powerful forces for development, or for its retardation, which reside in residence hall settings. Development of Competence, of Autonomy, of Identity, and the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships can be fostered or inhibited depending upon the conditions which prevail. In another publication I have spelled out some of these relationships. (8) To manage residence hall conditions in developmentally productive ways is a complex and difficult thing, but there is little room to doubt the need for continued and informed attention to the task.

Proposition # 6 - When student-faculty interaction is frequent and friendly, and when it occurs in diverse situations calling for varied roles, Development of Intellectual Competence and Sense of Competence, of Autonomy, and of Identity, is fostered.

Wallace's study illustrates the potential impact of student-faculty relationships on intellectual competence and sense of competence: "admiration of faculty members was associated with higher GPA's, and with spending less time on dates...", (61, P. 163) He found this relationship to be strongest for high aptitude students and for these students he also found that "admiration

of faculty members positively affected the graduate school aspirations."
(61, p. 113) These findings recall those of Davis mentioned earlier, where
faculty encouragement was a major influence for going on to graduate school.
Thistlethwaite, on the basis of his multi-college research, describes the
teacher who stimulates graduate study as follows: "he does not see students
only during office hours or by appointment; open displays of emotion are
not likely to embarrass him; students need not wait to be called upon be-
fore speaking in class; in talking with students he frequently refers to
his colleagues by their first names; students do not feel obligated to
address him as 'professor' or 'doctor'." (59, pp. 185, 189)

Esther Raushenbush reports an exchange with a boy, which reveals the
impact of a good teacher:

"He said, 'Professor Anderson did everything for me.'

'What was the most important thing he did for you?'

'He taught me to think.'

'What does that mean? It is so easy to say.'

'Thinking -- how to take one step at a time to find out what you want
to know -- the wonderful experience of being able to do that. He didn't
answer questions; he said, 'What are the alternatives?' But he helped you
along -- 'Now let me say this alternative won't do. Why not?' And he got
you to work on every possibility, one after another...'"

She goes on to say, "About Christmas time that first year, perhaps
three and a half months after he began studying in the new program, he came
in to see Mr. Anderson. He said, 'What I have to know now is whether you
think I have what it takes to go into medicine. I have to make up my mind
now, because this is my last chance to get into the Golden Gloves competition.'
That afternoon he gave up boxing -- a kind of certificate of commitment to
try to study. By the end of the first year he had abandoned the idea that
he would be a doctor, and decided he wanted to be a theoretical chemist."
(46, pp. 86, 87)

The first step in the Development of Autonomy is disengagement from the parents, and as the first steps are taken, the support of non-parental adults as well as peers is sought. This dynamic accounts for the isolization and idealization of warm and sensitive teachers and other adults by young college students. Because of this, those adults who are accessible and who are fully known can have substantial impact whether they be cook, custodian, or college professor. With them the actions and reactions habitual with parents and other adults which were learned during childhood can be re-examined and alternative behaviors can be tested. In this fashion new modes of relationships with persons in authority and with institutional expressions of authority can be developed. Thus a student can move from dependency or rebellious independence toward relationships of mutual respect and regard where areas of interdependency are recognized within which living space for an autonomous existence can be built. By serving as examples of varied life styles and value orientations such adults can also help foster development of identity. Through them students can perceive more clearly the satis-factions and frustrations which accompany varied patterns of vocation and avocation and varied relationships of marriage and family. In conversation with them students can clarify their own values and interests, their own notions of a satisfying existence, their own areas of consonance and dissonance.

There is substantial evidence concerning the impact of student-faculty relationships on variables relevant to the Development of Autonomy and Identity. Both Jacob (28) and Eddy (16) found "values" and "character development" to be influenced primarily by relationships with individual

teachers who had strong value commitments of their own and who made these clear. Wilson, at Antioch, found that courses and teachers "accounted for 41 percent of new interests, tastes, and appreciations developed" (65, p. 3)

Raushenbush ties it all together beautifully. She says, "The ways in which teachers affect seriously the education of their students are many; but however the teachers function in the classroom, whatever their style, their subject, their way of talking to the students or with them, what students remember, what reached the heart of their learning, what they cherished more than any other one thing, is the sense of shared experience with a teacher. They know the teacher is going through something when the students are; the students speak of this when it is happening, and often afterward, for the sense of communion lasts. Such teachers care about what becomes of their students, but their concern for their students is not limited by a wish to do something _for_ them. There is important experience to be discovered, work to be done, a world to function in; and the education of the students, their growth to manhood, the personal enlargement education should bring, has a better chance of accomplishment if the teacher can forward the experience, reveal work to do, help them to find in study ways to function....

"In sometimes inarticulate and ungraceful language they explained what teaching had done for them, 'Through contact with people, I learned to understand myself more and to understand other people. And in dealings with a few instructors ... I began, you know, to look into myself and to find out what it was I was doing in school, and to me this is really some-

thing; because if by coming here and finding out what I'm here for, what
I want and what I want to do later on, I can get my bearings. Here you
know, I've been able to talk and not be on the defensive -- not putting on
an act all the time. If I don't know something I can come out and show my
ignorance, and to me this has been a big help, because most of the time in
high school and other courses at the University, I act my way through rather
than learn.... And it wasn't until I got into personal contact with some
of the instructors that I began to realize that learning was more than
this, and learning was more important than this..." (46, pp. 135, 136.)

Of course, as Adelson (1) points out, a teacher may also serve as an
"anti-model"; as a lodestar from which the student sails away as fast as
he can, saying to himself, "Whatever he is, I will not be; whatever he
is for, I am against." Figure 5 illustrates some of these lodestars whom
we have all observed, at least on campuses other than our own. Teachers
who are such a force for revulsion also provoke development, and each of
us must recognize that if we are a force at all, for some students the valence
will be negative, not positive. But better that students encounter a sub-
stantial being, than a calculating role player or an elusive shadow.

(Insert Figure 5 about here)

Proposition # 7 - The student culture amplifies or attenuates the impact
of curriculum, teaching and evaluation, residence hall arrangements, and
relationships with faculty.

The student culture defines for those who come into it the acceptable
modus vivendi between student and institution. It sets the framework within
which a student builds a repertoire of attitudes and activities with which

Figure 5.   Our Dedicated Faculty and Administration
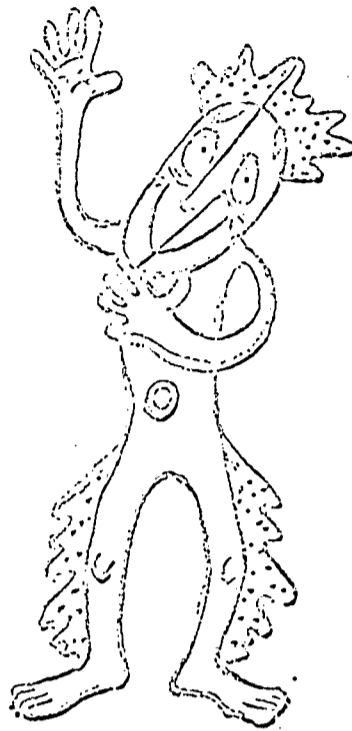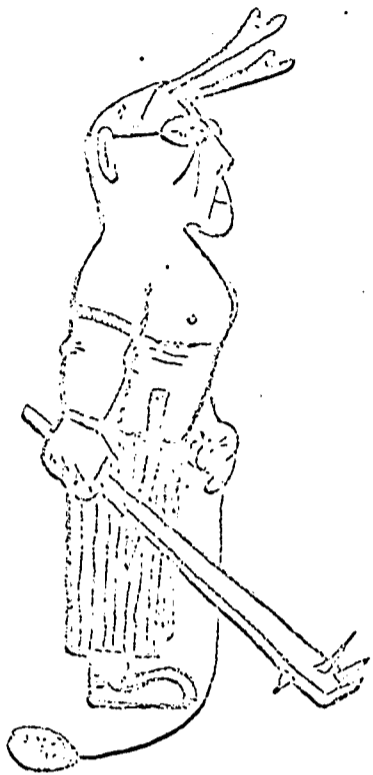


From W. Steig
"The Lonely Ones"

he responds to the opportunities and frustrations, the freedom and constraints, the ideals and the disillusions, which the institution provides. It is the student culture which interprets to the newcomer the range of deviancies which the institution will tolerate and the likely consequences if one steps out of bounds. Further, the student culture may carry values and emphases of its own, distinct from or in opposition to, those of the institution; or it may go beyond the faculty and administration in endorsing and acting on values to which the institution ascribes. Thus student culture has substantial impact on student development.

Its impact on the Development of Intellectual Competence is well documented. Hughes, Becker, and Geer (27) describe the ways in which student culture in medical school influences not only how much work will be done but also which knowledge and skills will be given most attention and which neglected. Studies of fraternities and sororities also reveal the strength of this force. Scott, for example, found that fraternity men valued independence, intellectuality, and creativity less, and social skills and social status more, than their non-fraternity peers, and found that pledging and non-pledging freshmen moved in different directions throughout their freshman year. (50) Similarly, Wallace found that membership in Greek-letter societies imparted a powerful downward push to the orientation to achieve high grades. (61, p. 80) On the other hand, as Stern's studies have demonstrated (54, 55) the student culture can also maintain a strong intellectual climate where readings, writings, and artistic products are valued and shared, and where ideas are the principle focus and substance of student conversations rather than the latest developments in heterosexual relation-

ships or the most recent or upcoming athletic event.

It is the student culture which principally defines the appropriate responses to institutional authority and the accepted modes of interaction with faculty members. Thus it may facilitate or limit the Development of Autonomy. Where friendship with a faculty member is seen as currying favor to receive higher grades, easy relationships where free exchange and mutuality of regard might grow are difficult to develop and sustain because the attendant jibes are too painful or the risks of rejection too great. When the culture maintains a conspiracy of silence and supports subversion of regulations, quiet deviation, and playing it cool, those confrontations with persons in authority and those challenges to outdated rules and regulations which are necessary for both individual and institutional growth do not occur. Or when the culture demands intransigent rebelliousness which precludes listening, reflection, or compromise, then impasses develop which fix both students and institution in anti-developmental positions.

Student culture similarly effects the Development of Identity. Identity is best fostered when one can range freely through varied situations and test varied responses to them, when one can try different roles with varying degrees of commitment and investment, and when in so doing one receives clear feedback uncontaminated by the stereotypes of others and unclouded by one's own anxiety. But where status is accorded to only a limited set of roles, be they athlete or intellectual, activist or addict, party boy or pre-professional, and when the range of situations for approved activity are limited, then Development of Identity suffers. Premature and totalistic investment in a single alternative, or passive non-investment, are frequent

responses, neither of which provides the basis by which a wide range of resonances can be tested and through which a satisfying and productive sense of self can be built.

The impact of student culture on the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships is sufficiently clear to need little elaboration. Where the culture precludes, or assigns second class citizenship to, students of particular background, of particular talents, of particular interests, values, or attitudes, then stereotypes are reinforced and opportunities to learn how to live and to work with such persons are limited. Thus the degree of openness and flexibility which characterizes a particular student culture and the extent to which restrictive sub-cultures exist on a given campus, are factors of special significance for the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships.

So much for relationshps between student development and four major aspects of the campus environment; curriculum, teaching, and evaluation, residence hall arrangements, student-faculty relationships, and student culture. Seven propositions have been offered which to my mind receive reasonable research support and which are congruent with the experiences of many of us.

## Implications

What are the implications of these seven propositions for four-year church-related colleges? Let's take them in reverse order and consider what changes in customary practice might lead to increased effectiveness. I know there is substantial diversity among the institutions represented here, so I recognize that there are exceptions to some of my assumptions about

"customary practices" but as generalizations I believe they apply to most.

## Student Culture

Student culture is difficult to manage. Yet when it is non-supporting of, or in opposition to, major institutional objectives action is necessary. Effective action is difficult because primary reliance must be placed on indirect measures which operate in general fashion over a considerable length of time. A foundation stone for influencing the student culture is the involvement of students as bonafide members of major faculty committees which are concerned with institutional practice and policy. Regular membership, with sufficient provision for continuity, allows students to experience the full complexity of problems and enables them to explain these complexities more fully to their peers. Further, such membership calls attention to, and pulls interest toward, the primary purposes of the institution and thus provides a counterbalance for the pulls of extracurricular and extra-college attractions. Students have participated in curriculum planning, in teacher and course evaluation, in revision of rules and regulations, in decisions about food services and their operation, and in deliberations concerning residence hall arrangements, in enough different college settings to demonstrate the value of such involvement. The experience of most institutions is that under conditions of regular membership students are responsible and energetic; they bring information and insights which might have been missed and they serve as sound mediators between the institution and the student culture. After such a practice has been in operation for a time, student-faculty task forces can be set up to deal with particular problems and a reservoir of student experience and competence is there to call on.

The small size and the sense of community which characterize many church-related colleges offer a context where greater student involvement can yield good dividends. On many campuses relationships between the student culture and its leaders, and the faculty and administration, are benign and cooperative. The sharp conflicts which have arisen frequently elsewhere have not yet developed at most church-related colleges. Neither have the tough problems concerning sex, drinking, and drugs grown to such proportions that drastic action is needed. Thus conditions are now propitious for the development of more widespread and more substantial student involvement. Then if the problems currently plaguing the large public and small private institutions come to your church-related colleges, a foundation of experience and a tested framework for cooperative effort will be ready.

Of course direct action is also possible through new programs: tutorials, independent study, freshman seminars, intercession workshops, all campus discussion groups, flexible programming, all have been introduced and have given the intellectual climate a shot in the arm. Experience suggests it is best to start building a modified student culture with the freshmen, and further, that it is important to begin as soon as, and if possible before, they arrive on campus. Wallace's research and other studies suggest that substantial freshman change in response to the existing student culture occurs by the end of the first semester, and even during the first six weeks. But if an entering student is confronted with a new program and treated in ways which define him as something special then there is not only some insulation from the impact of the old timers, but also he may maintain a different orientation long enought to influence the old patterns. Most

students enter college with high ideals and high expectations. Sharp and quick disillusionment is the fate of many. If they meet creative programs which express the institutions's investment in its own primary purposes, its concern to develop a more educative community, and its faith and assumption that they can meet the challenge, then enthusiastic response often occurs, and in the course of two or three years student culture may be significantly modified.

## Student-Faculty Relationships

Student-faculty relationships may be more intransigent than student culture. But most church-related colleges have a head start in this area. First, they have long been primarily teaching institutions, both by design and by necessity. Second, there is frequently a high level of concern for the individual student and open espousal of values explicitly stated. Thus, faculty motivation and institutional orientation are both favorable. Some institutions, however, as they increase in size, as federal funds for research become more readily available, as they are able to pay better salaries and attract persons with a large collection of academic credentials, and as it becomes possible to aim for prestige rather than simple survival, are attempting to yoke the glamorous filly research to the old workhorse teaching. It seems clear from the expeirence of institutions large and small that these two don't pull together smoothly, and indeed often pull in contrary directions, leaving the institution immobilized if not torn apart. It seems to me the small church-related college should develop from its strength, teaching and concern for individual development, rather than from its weakness, research, where most are ill equipped to compete successfully. Few can be two-event

men. Therefore, maximal development of that area of major strength and experience is most likely to yield a place on the team. Pattillo puts it well, "In this day when the teaching of undergraduates has clearly taken second place to research and perhaps third place to research and service in universities, liberal arts colleges, including the church colleges, can make an educational contribution of the first order by giving priority to good teaching. ...In an age of bigness and impersonality, the church college has at its disposal a view of the worth and dignity of the individual which can give to undergraduate teaching an ingredient badly needed." (43, p. 59)

Public and wholehearted allegiance to this orientation would attract students and would attract faculty members who want to work with them. And it would get the climate firmly in favor of working relationships between students and faculty members to foster student development. In such a context students could go to faculty members less anxious about interrupting the "more important" activities of research and writing. Faculty members in turn could respond with greater sense of leisure and concern, and could more often establish those relationships with students which are clearly satisfying and productive.

Residence Hall Arrangements

The developmental potential and impact of residence hall settings has received little systematic attention. If church-related colleges gave some thought to relationships between the usual residence hall arrangements and the Development of Intellectual Competence, the Development of Autonomy, and the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships, I suspect two modifications would follow: (a) more adequate space for joint study and for group conver-

sations would be provided in new structures and in renovation, and (b)
regulations would become more flexible.

In bull sessions and individual debates, intellectual skills are
sharpened and new information is acquired, values are clarified, stereo-
types are questioned and destroyed. Residence hall design and the regulations
imposed can foster or inhibit such exchanges and can influence the range
of persons with whom such exchanges may occur. When lounge space is available
bull sessions can occur and roommates can study without direct interference.
When a lounge must be crossed to get to a room the possibilities of being
captured by a hot argument increase. A small increase in the square footage
of a lounge may yield a large increase in the number of groups or pairs that
can be accommodated. Lounges with somewhat broken space accommodate more
groups with less interference than the same space as an uninterrupted
rectangle. Thus attention to the size, the design, and the location of
lounges in residence halls can yield developmental dividends.

Regulations also play a role. Rules which severely restrict visiting
within and between houses may curtail opportunities for significant ex-
change when the time for it is ripe. Curfews and room checks may nip fruit-
ful discussion and may generate reluctance to open up important areas of
concern when one cannot look forward to pursuing them until some temporary
resolution is achieved. Over-concern for maintaining silence or quiet
conditions may create an insistent fog which dampens the free exchange and
emotional expression that is part of any serious consideration of issues
significant to the person one is or that one tentatively might become.
In short, regulations and housing design may create a condition where because

fruitful exchange is difficult to achieve, it becomes "not the thing to do", or at least generally not done. But with attention, conditions more developmentally propitious can be arranged. And the potential gains are great enough to warrant such efforts.

## Curriculum, Teaching and Evaluation

Despite the importance of student-faculty relationships and residence hall arrangements, for the church-related college the primary focus for concern must be its system of curriculum, teaching, and evaluation. This is particularly true for the Catholic colleges and for colleges serving the Baptists, Lutherans, and other evangelical and fundamentalistic protestant denominations. For them the need is urgent for two reasons. First, because the balance of evidence suggests intellectual under-productivity relative to other American colleges. Second, because the characteristics of students who seek out and are admitted to these institutions are such that prevailing practices are not the ones most likely to foster the development of higher order Intellectual Competence, the Development of Autonomy, or the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships. And further, when these institutions are staffed by their own or by similar graudates a system of limited productivity is perpetuated.

Now I realize that these are hard words and I recognize that there are exceptions. But the weight of the general evidence seems clear. I can only be illustrative, not exhaustive, but if you are unfamiliar with this literature I recommend the summaries given by Trent (59) and Pattillo and MacKenzie (44). Each of these reflects somewhat the orientation of the author, but taken together they provide a comprehensive picture of the

relevant research.

The relative lack of intellectual productivity among American Catholics
is reflected by ratings of college's educational quality, proportions of
Ph.D., proportions of scholarly and creative contributions in the arts,
humanities, or sciences, or the expression of attitudes known to be associated
with scholarliness. And the fundamentalistic Protestant sects follow
closely after the Catholics. (11, 23, 29, 30, 47). Thistlethwaite (57)
found flexibility of curriculum, and energy and controversiality of instruction
to be positively related to hours of study, reflectiveness, breadth of inter-
ests, and intellectual endeavor. Catholic colleges, however, espoused
closeness of supervision and direct teaching which minimized controversy,
and these factors were negatively related to the items mentioned above.
Neel (40), found a Catholic faculty group to be "fact-oriented", aiming to
give students the basic facts of a subject, compared to a non-Catholic
faculty which was more "problem oriented", aiming to stimulate thinking
about problem areas in a subject. Our own research indicates that those
conditions cited for the Catholic colleges also characterize our conser-
vative Protestant institutions. (9)

What are the characteristics of the students who encounter this conven-
tional orientation and its attendant teaching practices? Dressel admin-
istered a battery of instruments to Michigan State students and found the
Catholics as a group to be more stereotypic than all others and this was
particularly true of parochial school graduates. And he found Baptists
to be highly similar. (15) Farwell and Warren (21) studying National Merit
Scholarship winners found those enrolled in Catholic colleges compared to

those enrolled in all others, to be the most superficial in their perceptions, the least interested in abstract thought and the manipulation of ideas, and the most authoritarian. And again, the findings for the students entering the conservative Protestant colleges in our Project are consistent with this picture. (9)

Such findings are not attributable to variation in academic aptitude nor in social class because they still occur when such factors are taken into account. (10, 59) Nor are they a simple function of religious faith. Basically, they seem to stem from in-group cohesiveness and defensiveness which has fostered rigid and restrictive norms for behavior and belief, authoritarianism, fearfulness of ambiguity and conflict, and thus lack of interest in complex and subtle ideas. This is the basic dynamic posited by Trent and his own studies of students in colleges of different religious orientations offer solid and clear support. Those of you who are familiar with the recent Danforth Foundation Report (44) will note the remarkable congruence between the findings of that comprehensive effort and the more particular studies mentioned above.

As one moves toward more liberal religious orientations or more nominal church affiliation, the picture changes. Swarthmore, Haverford, Grinnell, and Kenyon, for example, are among the top ranking institutions. Thus I want to reemphasize that the findings and the dynamic described here apply most forcefully to the Catholic and the fundamentalistic Protestant colleges. And we should also not forget the contribution of church related colleges to the service professions of medicine, ministry, and teaching (5, 32, 45) as we focus on this other problem area.

The basic points concerning curriculum, teaching, and evaluation for the church related college are these: (a) a required curriculum, implemented by lectures and competitive evaluation procedures fosters memorization of information in conformity to teacher expectations and requirements, and inhibits the Development of Autonomy, Identity, and the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships; it does not foster higher order critical thinking and problem solving abilities, (b) this pattern prevails in most church related colleges, (c) students who enter such institutions are not strongly interested in things intellectual and are already predisposed toward conformity and toward passive and uncritical acceptance of "the facts" as given by the teacher, (d) consequently, there is only limited development of higher intellectual skills, and limited Development of Autonomy. Stereotyped attitudes and behaviors toward others are also little affected.

The centrality of this problem requires that it receive attention. Despite the complexity of different patterns of curriculum, teaching, and evaluation, action is possible which can lead to fundamental improvements. Here we can only list briefly some changes which have been viewed with satisfaction where tried:

- It has been recognized that sound resources for learning and opportunities for developmentally useful experiences exist away from the campus and that each institution does not have to provide the full range with its own limited resources. In response to this shift in thinking, curricula have been modified to accommodate study abroad and at other colleges in this country, Peace Corps service, work in city slums and with American Indians, participation in community development and community action programs, and similar activities.

- It has been recognized that not all learning occurs in classes and that not all teaching must be done by faculty members. Thus reading periods, week-end conferences, intercession seminars, student taught courses, independent study, and tutorials with persons outside the institution are no longer new or radical notions.

- The effectiveness of self observation in improving performance has been recognized. Consequently, some institutions have begun to use audio and video tape recordings of class sessions for subsequent review by the teacher alone or with a colleague or two, as a way to improve teaching.

- It has been recognized that evaluational procedures can be modified and that the traditional system has within it room for considerable flexibility. Consequently:

-- Pass or fail grading has increased, especially for courses "outside the major".

-- Students have been permitted to take courses and be exempt from any grade.

-- Within courses instructors have put substantial portions of work on a simple pass-fail basis, or have let the grade derive from a limited sample of performance while asking for other materials which are not subjected to grading of any form.

-- Group oral exams and group papers have been used to promote cooperative rather than competitive effort.

-- Two answer sheets have been distributed with multiple choice exams. One is turned in at the end of the exam period. The other is taken away to be reviewed with books available and with the benefit of more time

for thought. When this second sheet is turned in half credit is given for correct answers which were in error on the first sheet.

-- Whether to take the final has been left to individual decision. At the end of the last week of classes each student is told of his grade up to that point. He is told also what exam scores would yield different grades. In the light of this information each student decides whether or not to take the final.

-- Students have been given problems and sample answers reflecting varied levels of performance. With these in hand they have graded themselves and other class members.

-- Students have been asked to state their own purposes in taking a course and to develop the criteria and measures by which successful performance would be assessed.

This array of ideas[1] obviously is not offered as a set of recommendations. But it does indicate some of the things which have been tried and suggests practices which would probably improve the effectiveness of most current systems. Because curriculum, teaching, and evaluation is so central, modification must take place here before change in residence hall arrangements or student-faculty relationships is likely to have much effect. And because the consequences of current practices seem so severe, change is indicated even if it is limited to some of the small steps described above.

Characteristics of Entrants

Of course another way to foster the development of Intellectual Competence, of Autonomy, of Identity, and the Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships is to modify the "mix" among the students admitted. The distinctive

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1. Many of these were reported to me by James McDowell, with our Project this year while on sabbatical from Earlham.

characteristics of students entering different types of colleges is well
documented. For those colleges with a clear and well defined image, as is
the case with most church related institutions, the result is a homogeneous
student body. In our thirteen college project for example, the means and
standard deviations on personality measures for Goddard and Shimer and for
Bryan and Messiah were such that overlap in the groups was insignificant.
(9) I would argue that the impact of both these pairs of institutions
would be increased if each had some students of the other. To achieve
greater diversity within the student body at the same time that one maintains
a clear and forceful institutional philosophy and purpose, is not easy.
First, it requires careful and systematic recruitment with a resulting
increase in cost per applicant. Second, it requires enough applicants so
some selection is possible, and not all of us are in that position. But
third, and most difficult, it requires the courage to accept students who
clearly deviate from the pattern which gives us greatest comfort, and it
requires supportive efforts for such students after they arrive. No one
likes to give himself the needle, but injection of a few antibodies of the
right kind can lead to increased health and vigor. Of course, when the
antibody may make its presence felt for four years, we cannot be consoled
with the thought that "it will only hurt for a minute". On the other hand,
we may grow enough ourselves so that that which initially gives pain comes
to be felt as pleasure.

The point is that the major educative force for one student is another.
If Freeing of Interpersonal Relationships is to occur, and if Intellectual
Competence, Autonomy, and Identity are to be maximally fostered, greater

diversity than currently exists at most church related colleges is needed.

Simply raising the cut off points for college board scores will not foster

a rich and educative institutional climate. Values, beliefs, intellectual

style, and orientations toward authority, must also receive attention.

Careful student selection, guided by clearly formulated institutional pur-

poses and thoughtful balancing of diverse characteristics is one of the best

roads to improved institutional effectiveness.

Clarity of Objectives, Leadership, and Initiative

By now it should be clear that explicit institutional objectives which

are taken seriously, and a well informed and soundly developed point of

view concerning educational practice and student development, are both

necessary if congruent fields of force are to be generated. But to get all

the institutional arrows pointed in roughly the same direction is no mean

administrative task. To achieve it the small college president must not

only be able to raise funds. He must also have a coherent philosophy of

education, administrative skill, and the ability to delegate authority. Men

brought directly from the ministry or from business may be effective fund

raisers but they are often deficient in these other qualifications. A useful

response to this condition is the inauguration of workshops and more frequent

faculty meetings in which all members of the administration and faculty

are expected to participate. When such meetings are devoted to the educa-

tional process and to the strengths and weaknesses of various institutional

components, considerable refreshment and growth can occur. While outside

resource persons can be helpful, useful exchange can readily occur without

them. Interested faculty members can review the literature and present

relevant findings or selected materials which help move thinking along.
Or all members of the faculty and administration can read relevant studies
and examine their implications.

Church related colleges share another characteristic which is a two
edged sword. It is, as Pattillo delightfully says, their "responsiveness
to leadership." (43, p. 19) He attributes this "responsiveness" to their
relatively small size, but I suspect also it is a function of the generally
authoritarian characteristics of faculty members and administrators, and of
long standing practices and expectations where decisions and prescriptions
for behavior come down from above. It is interesting to note that later in
the Danforth Foundation report the second recommendation asks for "restructuring
of administration". The writers say, "We urge trustees and administrators to
give serious thought to the advantages of a group leadership pattern in which
the day-to-day work of the president would be more realistically defined....
We realize that some presidents may resist proposals for a more realistic
sharing of authority and responsibility on the grounds that this would tend
to weaken their position. This objection, it seems to us, is less telling
than the deficiencies of the present form of organization." (43, pp. 52, 53)
Indeed such reorganization is necessary if intellectual ferment and widely
shared participation in institutional improvement is to become indigenous.

One useful step might be to ask some members of the Board to join with
members of both administration and faculty in the consideration of institu-
tional problems, particularly those which involve more than funding and
finances. The survival of some sound church colleges is threatened by
intransigent Boards, and other Boards have severely hampered creative ad-
ministrative leadership which has generated energetic faculty support. More

joint effort which involved some Board members and which increased their sophistication concerning higher education and the problems of their institution, would help. Administrative and faculty leadership and initiative would then less often be squelched.

But administrative change of heart, or change of administrative personnel, will not yield immediate results. The authoritarian structure and disposition is as much a part of the faculty as of the administration. A friend of mine, recently returned to a conservative Protestant college which had brought in a new president had this to say, "You know, this new president is really ready to move. He's willing to let things happen. But nobody on the faculty will do anything. I used to think we never did anything because the administration didn't let us. Now you get a new idea and the administration says, 'Go ahead', and you can't get anyone to work on it."

My own experience in a workshop with that faculty and administration was instructive. The workshop comprised three, three hour sessions with all the faculty and administration. In the first session it became clear that a major institutional objective concerned the preparation of students to deal effectively with, and to have an impact on, American society which was perceived as needing modification in certain areas. In this discussion it was recognized that American society was essentially urban and suburban and was becoming more so. Next, attention was turned to data concerning the backgrounds of the entering students which indicated that the parents of ninety percent belonged to the denomination served by the college, that fifty percent had attended denominational secondary schools, and that most had grown up on farms, or in small or medium sized towns. In the second session we

attempted, through discussion, to address two questions. Given students
with this kind of background, (a) what aspects of the current program pre-
pare students to deal effectively with and to have an impact on American
society?, and (b) what changes or new programs might increase institutional
effectiveness in this regard. I use the work "attempted" advisedly because
starting discussion and getting it to run reminded me of my 1946 Jeep on
a thirty below zero morning. The participants seemed simply unable or un-
willing to examine the institution in relation to the ideas of concern, and
similarly unable to generate any new ideas for action. In the third session
the following morning, a brilliant ex-minister from a related denomination,
lately turned Dean and now with a state university, gave an impassioned
speech in which he reviewed the problem and suggested that the institution
send students for a period to live with families of the denomination in
New York or Philadelphia or Washington. During this period they would study
the city, undertake some kind of service work in it, and directly experience
it for themselves. Both the faculty and administration responded with great
enthusiasm to these remarks and to the suggestion. During this last year a
joint program was developed with the City College of New York with financial
assistance under the Developing Colleges act. This summer twenty students and
a faculty member will be spending six weeks studying and living in New York
and academic credit will be granted for the experience. It is worth noting
that despite the initial enthusiasm of faculty and administration two years
passed before action was taken. And it is probably also significant that
the faculty member who helped develop the program and who is going with the
students to New York is the one who commented to me about the passivity of
the rest.

Now I mention this not to indicate that significant change can't occur.
I think this new program is an important addition to the college and I sus-
pect it will enliven the institution and break the ground for additional
efforts. But note that while the faculty could not generate the rather simple
idea, it could respond enthusiastically to it when exhorted by an admired
authority of similar background. But also note, however, that it took the
push and energy of a more adventurous member, fresh from a year away, to
convert the idea into a program and to carry it out.

It is experiences such as this which suggest to me that something be-
yond more widespread delegation of authority and responsibility is required
if institutional change in the service of increased effectiveness is to
occur. Clear and vigorous educational leadership rather than a simple
laissez faire stance, is obviously necessary. But in addition it will
probably also be necessary to undertake a program of faculty diversification
similar to that needed for the student body. Faculty selection is, of course,
the most important vehicle for the maintenance and implementation of institu-
tional purposes, and faculty appointed must be sympathetic with those pur-
poses. Yet diversity of orientation concerning means, diversity of educa-
tional orientations, and diversity of backgrounds, can provide both the sti-
mulus to new and improved programs and the manpower to plan and to carry them
out. Again, as with students, an institution must be in a position to exercise
choice, and then careful balancing is necessary to preserve the basic
institutional thrust and to guard against chaos. But it seems clear that
adherence to a credal statement or general agreement with a particular
religious orientation, and/or appropriate academic credentials are not suffi-
cient criteria to assure a faculty which will provide continued institutional

self-regeneration. For that, additional dimensions of difference must be considered and additional criteria for employment exercised. And for an institution to survive in the current content of rapid social change, such self-regeneration is required.

## Student Development in College

In conclusion let me speak explicitly to that which I have left implicit so far. I have granted a major place to aspects of student development other than intellectual competence. I started out by positing six others that deserve attention and have commented on three in more detail. Many colleges have long given lip service to some of these but now words must be joined by deeds. When colleges simply served to prepare ministers, teachers, and aristocrats for their future occupations, and when few attended college, exclusive concentration on the verbal and on the intellect was sufficient for the needs of the students and of society. But consider this. In 1953 2,000,000 students enrolled for undergraduate and professional degrees; in 1963 the figure was 4,000,000; by 1973 7,000,000 are expected, and this will be about forty-six percent of the population aged eighteen to twenty-one. The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century created an adolescence where none existed before and now the technological revolution of the twentieth is creating another developmental period of young adulthood. It is in the college setting where this period will be experienced by more and more young people as universal higher education becomes a reality. During the next twenty years it is the college graduate who will assume control of the occupational, political, educational, and religious organizations in this

country. The kind of society that results will largely depend upon the kinds of persons they become. It is the prime responsibility of the college to address itself to that task, and to do so requires more than preparing students to pass finals and to score high on tests for graduate school admission.. It requires informed, thoughtful, and dedicated effort, and attention to the total college environment, if better management of emotions, freer interpersonal relationships, and the Development of Autonomy, Purpose, Identity, and Integrity are to be fostered.

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