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EXPERIENCE OF NEW UNIVERSITY FRESHMEN

by

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Resume

University entering freshmen face a broad range of new experiences. A few of these experiences, particularly those occurring in classrooms, are required of students but by far the largest number are optional. By the end of the first quarter, most students have completed their initiation into the University and the purpose of this investigation was to learn about some of the experiences reported by students during their first three months in college.

Small samples of freshmen men and women in the College of Liberal Arts and the General College of the University of Minnesota and of men in the Institute of Technology completed a checklist which provided an inventory of 32 experiences available to University freshmen. A few experiences were shared by one-fifth or more of the students. For example, large proportions of students lived at home, lived in University residence halls, had jobs, and had courses in which controversial ideas were presented.

Most experiences, however, were shared by relatively small proportions of students. Relatively few students during their first quarter in the University became involved in student activities and organizations or used University programs related to music, drama, or publications. A large proportion of men but a small proportion of women reported experiences with the University athletic program.

Many students also reported that during their first quarter in the University they had made friends with persons of races different from their own, with persons from different countries, and with faculty members. Considering the impression that many persons have that such friendships are hard to establish in a large university, students are a friendly lot.

The results reported here could cause despair and one could complain that more than one-half of the entering students fail to become friends with a faculty member during their first quarter. On the other hand, one also could interpret these results as reflecting a campus where friendship is easily established. Should one despair that fewer than two percent of new freshmen during their first quarter became involved in activities related to the governance of the University or should one derive satisfaction from the fact that by the end of the first quarter, more than 150 freshmen have become so involved?

The results presented here provide an index of status. They leave little doubt that many freshmen are not exploiting the opportunities available to them on the campus for experiences which well might contribute to student development. The results also suggest that the extent of student employment and their living arrangements, with related time spent commuting, may help explain their limited use of University resources.

We know much about the characteristics of University students, particularly freshmen; their abilities, interests, personality characteristics, family backgrounds, and educational histories frequently have been observed, recorded, and reported (Berdie, 1968). In contrast, we have little information about what college students do. Assuming that education consists of experiences (Dewey, 1938), an early and necessary step in describing the University's educational program requires the observation of experiences of students and their reactions to these experiences. A University relatively easily can assemble an inventory of its resources and facilities. Only with great difficulty can it assess the impact of these resources and related experiences on students. However, an institution can observe the extent to which students use available resources, or the degree to which students allow themselves to experience the University. The purpose of this report is to describe for several small samples of University of Minnesota freshmen some experiences in the University during the quarter following matriculation.

In an attempt to observe the relationships between a variety of university experiences and dogmatism, the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale was given to most entering freshmen in the fall of 1970 and at the end of Fall Quarter, samples of students were randomly selected and again asked to complete the dogmatism scale. When they reported to the research office they also were asked to complete a brief University Experience Inventory which listed 32 statements describing possible student experiences. These are presented in Table 1. Each student was requested to place a check mark before any of the experiences he had had during the Fall Quarter and to place a double check mark before any he considered to have a significant impact on his educational development. A copy of the inventory is the appendix of this report.

Insert Table 1 about here

The samples of students asked to complete the inventory included 200 men and 200 women from the Arts College, 200 men and 200 women from the General College, and 200 men from the Institute of Technology. Letters were sent inviting students to come to a research office to retake the Dogmatism Scale and complete the inventory and each student was offered \$1.00 as an inducement. About two weeks after the original invitation was mailed, a postcard reminder was sent to non-respondents. The inventories were completed during January, 1971, following the Fall Quarter and holiday break.

Table 1 shows the number of students who completed the questionnaire. Thirty-eight percent of the total group completed questionnaires, with no significant sex difference. Of the Arts College, 40 percent completed the inventory, of the General College 30 percent, and of the Institute of Technology 44 percent.

The respondents provided a four percent sample of all Arts College freshmen, a five percent sample of General College freshmen, and a ten percent sample of Institute of Technology freshmen. For the women, the sample consisted of a

Table 1

Proportion of Students, by Sex and College,
Reporting Experiences They had During the First Quarter in the University

Experience	College of Liberal Arts		General College		Institute of Technology	Grand Total N=379	
	Men N=79	Women N=84	Men N=55	Women N=65	Men N=96	N	%
1. Live at home with parents	63	51	66	69	57	229	60
2. Become friends with persons of different race	54	60	55	72	52	220	58
3. Have a class with controversial ideas discussed	58	64	51	63	50	217	57
4. Be employed by job off campus	54	52	62	60	44	202	53
5. Commute for more than one hour per day	51	38	53	49	46	177	47
6. Become friends with persons of different country	44	51	22	34	40	150	40
7. Become friends with one or more of the faculty	38	42	40	37	43	152	40
8. Live in a dormitory	27	41	9	14	32	100	26
9. Talk with a counselor in the SCB	18	24	36	25	13	82	22
10. Participate in a University athletic program	29	2	20	3	39	75	20
11. Live in apartment or rooming house	10	11	22	17	8	48	13
12. Attend freshman camp	9	16	7	11	10	41	11
13. Be employed by a job on campus	10	20	6	6	8	40	10
14. Participate in a student movement	11	14	9	9	7	39	10
15. Bring a problem to SOE	9	8	2	3	6	23	06
16. Belong to a University recreation organization	5	5	4	5	9	22	06
17. Participate in a University musical program	5	11	6	2	6	23	06
18. Take an honors colloquium	9	7	0	0	5	18	05
19. Belong to a student political organization	6	7	7	3	3	20	05
20. Be active in city, state, or U.S. politics	5	7	9	3	3	20	05
21. Take a course on independent study	1	7	6	6	1	15	04
22. Live in a fraternity or sorority	3	1	0	3	5	10	03
23. Participate in a University theater program	5	4	0	5	0	10	03
24. Belong to a student religious organization	3	4	0	3	4	11	03
25. Participate in a University experimental program	4	2	4	3	4	13	03
26. Take Crises in Human Relations	3	4	2	3	1	9	02
27. Take ROTC	3	0	0	0	4	6	02
28. Participate in a social service program	0	2	4	0	4	8	02
29. Participate in University governance	1	4	0	0	3	7	02
30. Belong to a professional organization	3	1	0	0	2	5	01
31. Attend a Williamson Retreat	0	0	0	0	0	0	00
32. Participate in a University publications program	0	0	0	0	0	1	00

four percent sample of Arts College women, a one percent sample of General College women. The total sample of 379 responding to the inventory provided a 5.3 percent sample of the total 7,146 new freshmen in these three colleges. Although the initial samples of 200 were randomly drawn from the total group, the proportions responding to the invitation to complete the questionnaire are relatively small and at present no evidence can be provided concerning the representativeness of these samples. The results reported here must be interpreted as derived from the best samples of University of Minnesota freshmen that were available.

Although some descriptions can be applied to the University freshman class as a whole, the freshman class in each college is quite different in many ways from the freshman class in every other college and the differences between colleges and within colleges make University-wide descriptions of questionable significance. Table 1 does show the proportion of the total sample responding to, or checking with either a single or double check mark, each item on the Experience Inventory and the figures in the last column of the table do provide some estimates regarding experiences of all students. However, because of the college differences, more attention should be given to the later descriptions which follow of students in the Arts College, of students in the General College, and of students in the Institute of Technology.

University of Minnesota Freshmen

More than one-half of the total sample reported that they lived at home, made friends with persons of races other than their own, had courses where controversial ideas were discussed, and were employed on off-campus jobs. Between 40 and 50 percent of the students reported that they commuted, that they had made friends with persons from other countries, and that they had made friends with members of the faculty. Between 20 and 30 percent of the students reported that they lived in residence halls or dormitories, that they had talked with a counselor in the Student Counseling Bureau, and that they had participated in the University's athletic programs. Only two other experiences, living in an apartment or rooming house and attending Freshman Camp, were reported by more than ten percent of the students and the proportions of students participating in University organizations and activities tended to be small.

A large number of the total group of students share common experiences insofar as these are related to where they live; a large proportion make a variety of new friends on the campus and encounter new and controversial ideas; and a considerable proportion of men become involved in University athletic programs. Many students obtain counseling from University professional counselors.

Students in the College of Liberal Arts

The largest proportion of Arts College men, 63 percent, lived at home with their parents and slightly more than one-quarter lived in University residence halls. Relatively few lived in apartment or rooming houses (ten percent) or in fraternities (three percent).

Although total University figures are available for the residence of first year students and similar figures are available for students in the various colleges of the University, no all-University figures are available for first year students in each college so comparisons between the sample studied here and the total University population in terms of living arrangements can be only approximate. Of all Arts College men, seven percent live in University residence halls but more freshmen than upper classmen live in halls. The author estimates that the proportion of students in this sample who lived in residence halls was larger than the proportion of total Arts College freshmen. For the Arts College women, 41 percent live in residence halls and 51 percent lived with their parents. Again, a larger proportion of women in the sample lived in residence halls than is true for the total Arts College freshman women population.

Fifty-one percent of the men and 38 percent of the women reported that they spend more than one hour each day commuting to and from the University. The number of hours spent commuting by University freshmen each year approaches the astronomical and one wonders what could be done if even one-half of this time were devoted to study or educationally related experiences.

Four of the items of the Experience Inventory provided students with an opportunity to react to courses. The first item asked if students had taken an experimental social science course, Crises in Human Relations, designed to increase the tolerance of students for other persons with ideas, experiences, and attitudes differing from their own. Only two of the Arts College men and three of the Arts College women had taken this course, about five percent. This is not too different from the total proportion of Arts College freshmen who take that course. Two of the men in the sample reported they had taken ROTC and one man and six women in the Arts College reported they had taken an independent study course. Forty-six of the men and 54 of the women reported they had taken a class in which controversial ideas had been discussed so well over one-half of Arts College freshmen are exposed during the first quarter to what they regard as controversy.

Experiences related to special programs at the University not necessarily related to courses were elicited by eight items in the inventory. The first such "non-course" consists of Honors Colloquia. This program primarily is centered in the Arts College and eight percent of Arts College students reported they had been in an Honors Colloquium. About 12 percent of the Arts College freshmen reported they had attended a Freshman Camp. The item referring to attendance at a "Williamson Retreat", or a special program, was included when original plans scheduled such a retreat during the Fall Quarter. These plans later were changed and the retreats were scheduled in Winter Quarter and the fact that none of the students reported that they had attended a Williamson Retreat provides some small evidence regarding veracity of response.

Students were asked whether they had participated in University athletic programs. Twenty-nine percent of the men and two percent of the women responded. The sex ratios were somewhat reversed for the item referring to participation in musical programs where five percent of the Arts College men and eleven percent of the women reported they had participated. Five percent of the Arts College men reported they had participated in University theater programs as compared to four

percent of the Arts College women and none of the Arts College freshmen reported they had participated in University publications programs. None of the Arts College men and only two of the Arts College women reported they had participated in University social service programs. When students were asked whether they had participated in a University experimental program with academic emphasis, three of the men and two of the women reported they had.

These figures suggest that the non-course programs at present attract a relatively small proportion of students during the first quarter in the University with the exception that a significant number of men do participate in University athletic programs.

Included in the Experience Inventory were seven items pertaining to student organizations. As reported before only two percent of the students lived in fraternity or sorority houses, although additional students may have been members of these organizations. Three percent belonged to student religious organizations, six percent to student political organizations, two percent to student professional organizations, and five percent to the University recreational organizations. Obviously, no one type of student organization attracted large numbers of freshmen in the Arts College. One man and three women reported they participated in some way in University governance. Nine of the men and twelve of the women reported that they had participated in student movements, or thirteen percent of the freshman class. Similar data are not available for previous classes but estimates in the past have suggested that no more than five percent of students participated in student movements in the early part of the sixties.

Two items referred to students' use of University services. Eighteen percent of the men and twenty-four percent of the women reported they had talked with a counselor in the Student Counseling Bureau during their first quarter. Eight percent of the students reported they had brought a problem to the Student Ombudsman Service.

Two items referred to student employment or work. Ten percent of the men and twenty percent of the women said they had been employed on a job on the campus and 54 percent of the men and 52 percent of the women reported they had been employed off campus during the quarter. Well over one-half of these new freshmen, regardless of sex, had paid work experience during their first quarter in college and the largest proportion of these students work off campus.

Five percent of the men and two percent of the women described themselves as active in local, state, or national politics.

Three items referred to personal relations of students. Somewhat over one-half of the students reported that during the quarter they had become friends with one or more persons of a different race and slightly fewer students, but almost one-half reported that they had become friends with persons from a different country. In both instances somewhat more women than men reported such new friendships. About 40 percent of the students, with little sex difference, reported that they had become friends with one or more faculty members. Responses of these students suggest that even on a large campus friendships between students and faculty members can be established by a significant proportion of students.

General College Students

About two-thirds of the General College students lived at home with their parents, nine percent of the men and fourteen percent of the women lived in University residence halls, no men and only two women lived in fraternity or sorority houses, and about eighteen percent of the students lived in apartments or rooming houses. Just about one-half of the General College students spent one hour or more commuting to the University.

Three of these students reported they had taken the course, "Crisis in Human Relations;" none of them reported they had taken ROTC; six percent reported they had taken a course on independent study; and 51 percent of the men and 63 percent of the women reported they had taken a course where controversial ideas were discussed.

None of these students had participated in an Honors Colloquium (the General College does not have an honors program); seven percent of the men and eleven percent of the women attended a Freshman Camp.

Twenty percent of the men and three percent of the women in General College reported they had participated in University athletic programs. Six percent of the men and two percent of the women reported they had participated in University music programs. The sex ratio was reversed in the General College compared to the Arts College. None of the men but three of the women reported they had participated in University theater programs and none of the students had participated in University publications programs.

Two of the men but none of the women reported they had participated in a University social service program and three percent of the students reported they had participated in some University experimental programs such as the Living-Learning Center or Experimental College.

In responding to items referring to student organization, only two of the women and none of the men reported they belonged to student religious organizations. Six students reported they belonged to student political organizations; none reported they belonged to student professional organizations. None of the students in the General College sample reported that they were involved in any way with University governance. Nine percent of the men and women reported they had participated in a student movement and five percent of the women and four percent of the men reported they belonged to a University recreation organization. Again, no single type of student activity and no organization attracted large proportions of General College students. Even the athletic program in the University did not attract large proportions of General College men.

A rather large proportion of students had talked with a counselor in the Student Counseling Bureau during the Fall Quarter, 36 percent of the men and 25 percent of the women. Three percent of the men and two percent of the women had brought a problem to the Student Ombudsman Service during the quarter.

Only six percent of these students had jobs on the campus but 60 percent had jobs off the campus. Nine percent of the men and three percent of the women described themselves as active in local, state, or national politics.

In terms of personal relations, 55 percent of the men and 72 percent of the women said they had become friends with persons of different races and 22 percent of the men and 34 percent of the women said they had become friends with persons from different countries. About 38 percent of the students reported they had become friends with one or more faculty members. General College students, like Arts College students, had extended their range of friendships during the first quarter in college.

Institute of Technology

Almost one-third of the Institute of Technology freshmen lived in a residence hall (their college encourages students to do this); 57 percent lived at home with their parents.

Only one of the Institute of Technology freshmen had taken the course, "Crisis in Human Relations;" four had taken the ROTC course; one had taken a course on independent study; but one-half of the students reported they had courses in which controversial ideas were discussed.

Five of the engineering freshmen reported they had taken Honors Colloquia; ten percent reported they had attended a Freshman Camp; 39 percent reported they participated in University athletic programs, six percent in musical programs, none in theater programs, and only one in University publications programs. Four students reported they had participated in a social service program and four students reported they had participated in a University experimental education program.

At least five of the students belonged to fraternities and four to student religious organizations. Three percent of the students belonged to student political organizations and two percent to student professional organizations. Three percent of the students reported they were involved in some way in University governance; seven percent reported they had participated in a student movement; and nine percent reported they belonged to a University recreation organization.

Thirteen percent of the engineering freshmen reported they had talked with a counselor in the Student Counseling Bureau although no reports were requested regarding the number of students who had talked with a Student Counseling Bureau counselor housed in the Institute of Technology office. Six engineering freshmen had brought a problem to the Student Ombudsman Service.

Eight percent of the students reported they had jobs on the campus; 44 percent reported they had jobs off the campus.

Three engineering freshmen reported they had been active in city, state, or U.S. political activities.

One-half of the Institute of Technology freshmen reported they had become friends with persons of different races and 40 percent reported they had become friends with persons from different countries. Forty-three percent reported they had become friends with one or more faculty members.

Educational Impact

One purpose of the study was to observe the extent to which each experience had an educational impact on the student, as reported by him. Unfortunately, the research and experience inventories were not adequately designed to answer this question. The author and others who reviewed the inventory before it was printed had so fixed in their mind the concept of a positive contribution to education that they did not consider the possibility that students might report certain experiences as having detracting or distracting effects on their education. A statement should have been included to indicate that students should report by double checking those experiences which contributed positively to their education. As a result of the format of the inventory, when students indicated that an experience had a significant impact on their educational development, the response did not reveal whether the experience was interpreted as contributing to or detracting from the educational development of the individual.

For example, from six to fifteen percent of the students in various groups indicated that commuting for more than one hour each day had a significant impact on educational development. Some of these students might have meant that discussions with other students while commuting provided significant educational experiences. Other students might have meant that the time spent commuting distracted from study or other University activities. The only way to interpret the student's ratings of educational impact of an experience is in terms of a possible perception on the part of the students of the experience being relevant in some way or other to their education.

Among the Arts College men only one experience, living at home with parents, was checked by more than 20 percent of the students as having an educational impact and only three additional items were checked by as many as thirteen percent of the students, living in a residence hall, being employed on a job off campus, and having a class with controversial ideas. In other words, in none of the groups and for none of the experiences do a large proportion of students indicate that a given experience had a significant impact on educational development.

Differences Between Colleges

Students in the three colleges had different living arrangements. More of the men in the Institute of Technology and fewer of those in the General College lived in University residence halls and far more of the women in the Arts College than in the General College lived in residence halls. More of the General College men and women lived at home and more of the General College students than of students in other colleges lived in apartments or rooming houses.

The General College men far more than the men in the other colleges used the resources of the Student Counseling Bureau but this difference was not pronounced for the women. More of the Arts College students reported they had used the Ombudsman Service than did students in the other colleges but again that service is administratively located in that college.

Fewer of the General College men and more of the Institute of Technology men reported they participated in University athletic programs and more of the Arts College women and fewer of the General College women reported they participated in musical programs. The colleges also differed in terms of their on and off-campus work experience. Ten percent of the Arts College men reported they worked on the campus as compared to six percent of the General College men and eight percent of the Institute men and the figures were 20 percent and six percent for the Arts College and General College women. On the other hand, more of the General College men and women worked off-campus when compared to the Arts College students.

For the men a difference appeared in the proportion involved in local, state, and national politics and more of the General College men and fewer of the Institute of Technology men reported such participation.

The new friendships reported made considerable sense. More of the students in the General College reported that they had made friends of another race and the General College contains a more diverse freshman group in terms of race than do the other colleges. More of the Arts College students reported they had made friends with students from other countries and this college contains relatively more foreign students than do the other colleges.

Sex Differences

The two sexes differed in terms of living patterns with relatively more women living in University residence halls and fewer living with their parents. The sex difference was notable in the Arts College, not in the General College. Proportionately more women than men attended Freshman Camps and in the Arts College more women than men went to the Student Counseling Bureau but the ratio was reversed in the General College. The largest sex differences observed were in the participation in University athletics and ROTC. In the Arts College proportionately more women than men were employed on the campus but this was not true in the General College. The proportion employed off campus were about the same for the two sexes. In the Arts College the women reported making more friends of different races and from different countries than did the men, but the ratios were reversed in the General College.

On the other variables sex differences were not noticeable.

Conclusions

The results indicate that of the 32 experiences listed in the inventory, relatively few are shared by a large proportion of students. A few experiences are shared by hundreds, or perhaps even thousands of entering University freshmen. These include the experience of living at home while attending the University and the experience of living in University residence halls. Large proportions of students are exposed to controversial ideas in their classes and large proportions of men participate in the University's athletic programs. A large proportion of University students are employed while attending the University and a large proportion obtain counseling at the Student Counseling Bureau.

Perhaps most notable, and somewhat surprising, are the responses regarding friends made in the University. Large universities such as the University of Minnesota frequently are referred to as impersonal or unfriendly. A surprising number of students reported that during their first quarter in the University they established friendships with persons of other races, with persons from other countries, and with members of the faculty. Perhaps at least one-half of the new freshmen do not find the University an impersonal or unfriendly place.

These results suggest that students during their first quarter in the University do not become extensively involved in student organizations or in programs related to the governance of the University. One must recall here, however, that even when the percentages are small, the absolute numbers for the entire freshman class can be quite large. For example, although only two percent of these freshmen reported becoming involved in activities related to the governance of the University, if this proportion is applied to the total 7,000 new freshmen in these colleges, approximately 150 are involved in University government. Some of the small proportions might make one somewhat skeptical about the contribution of a program or of an activity; small proportions providing relatively large numbers of students may suggest other interpretations.

Students in the colleges are somewhat different. The students live in different places; relatively few General College students live on the campus. They differ in terms of the counseling they receive and they differ in terms of their participation in University athletics. Quite noticeable is the fact that freshman men in the Institute of Technology less often are employed on jobs than are men in the other colleges.

The sex differences are in the expected direction. In general, the experiences reported by men and women do not differ except regarding such things as participation in athletics and ROTC. The question well might be raised as to whether physical fitness is not as important for women as it is for men. What investment has been made by the University in providing facilities for women and in encouraging them to develop habits of exercise and games.

The information here refers only to the experiences of new freshmen during their first quarter in the University. It is also based on a small sample of freshmen and consequently we have here only suggestive data regarding the first and preliminary activities of students when they begin their University careers.

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Appendix

UNIVERSITY EXPERIENCE INVENTORY

Name _____ College _____ Date _____

Below is a list of "experiences" that some students have had during their first quarter in the University. Please place a check (✓) before any of those experiences you have had and double check (✓, ✓) any you think have had a significant impact on your educational development.

- Live in a residence hall or dormitory.
- Live in a fraternity or sorority.
- Live at home with my parents.
- Live in an apartment or rooming house.
- Commute for more than one hour each day.
- Taken an honors seminar or colloquium.
- Attend a freshman camp.
- Attend a "Williamson Retreat".
- Take Crisis in Human Relations (Social Science 1-201).
- Talk with a counselor in the Student Counseling Bureau.
- Take ROTC.
- Participate in University intramural or varsity athletic programs.
- Participate in University musical programs.
- Participate in University dramatic or theater program.
- Participate in University publications program.
- Belong to a student religious organization.
- Belong to a political or social action student organization.
- Belong to a University departmental or professional organization.
- Participate in a student social service program.
- Participate in University governance through a student governing body or a student-faculty committee (UBOG, MSA, Senate, or College Committee, etc.).
- Be employed in a paid job on the campus.
- Be employed in a paid job off the campus.
- Be active in city, state, or national politics.
- Become friends with one or more persons of a different race.
- Become friends with one or more persons of a different country.
- Participate in a student demonstration or movement.
- Become friends with one or more members of the faculty.
- Participate in a University "experimental" program such as Living-Learning Center or Experimental College.
- Take a course on independent or directed study.
- Bring a problem to Student Ombudsman Service (SOS).
- Belong to a University recreation or hobby organization.
- Have a class in which controversial ideas are discussed.

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PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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PARENTS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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Parents of University students play an uncertain role. Students want to be independent of their parents and claim the University should not represent the interests of parents; they call for the demise of in loco parentis. Some faculty members and administrators also think parents have no role to play in educating students; they insist they are the "educators," and parents should not interfere. Because such forces de-emphasize the role of parents in the education of University students, descriptions of parents' views often are reduced to stereotypes such as "permissive" mothers and "stern" fathers. However, with the rise of student dissent, administrators, faculty, and students have been forced to communicate with and seek the assistance of parents.

This study focuses on parental attitudes about campus dissent and parental satisfaction with University management of student life. Parents' attitudes about dissent probably vary with political attitudes (Spaeth, 1969) and with the tactics and goals of dissenters (Biggs and Vaughan, 1970). Even in the special case of parents of student activists, it is not clear whether they approve or disapprove of campus dissent (Solomon and Fishman, 1964; Schiff, 1964; Lipset, 1968). Feyer (1969) thinks dissent represents a conflict between parents and students in which the partisans disagree about the issues. On the other hand, Flacks (1970) thinks that student activists and their parents are in basic agreement about the issues. For him, dissent represents a conflict between humanistic family values and contrasting values which student activists encounter in society.

In spite of the fiscal, social, and educational impact of parents' attitudes on universities, little research about parental satisfaction with university student life has been reported. The popular press reports that many parents are upset about the activities of students. Yet, these reports often

are based on comments of a small sample of vocal and very outspoken parents. Biggs and Vaughan (1970) showed that parental attitudes about campus dissent were related to parental satisfaction with university student affairs. However, their study was based on a small and unrepresentative sample which made it difficult to generalize from the findings.

Neither theoretical nor empirical considerations justify specific hypotheses about parental attitudes concerning campus dissent or their satisfaction with the management of student life at a university. Yet, it is reasonable to suggest that demographic characteristics of parents such as their sex, age, occupation, and education should be related to these attitudes. Also we should expect that characteristics of their families like size, how much they agree with their children about social and political issues, and how much they discuss social and political issues as well as campus dissent with their children may be associated with both parents' attitudes about dissent and their satisfaction with university student life. Finally, we thought parental attitudes about dissent and student life might be related to their feelings of general social alienation, their feelings of alienation from university life, their attitudes about campus freedom of expression, and their sense of effectiveness and understanding of the decision-making processes at a university.

Method

Sample

A random sample (N=408) of fall 1970 University of Minnesota students was selected. Parents' names and addresses for these students were obtained, and in December 1970, the questionnaire was mailed to them. After three follow-up letters, 315 parents (77%) returned a completed questionnaire. The parental sample consisted of 60% males and 39% females, the majority (52%) of whom were between the ages of 46 and 55. Twenty-two percent were older than 55 and 19% were between 36 and 45. Educational backgrounds of the parents were diverse. Thirteen percent had not completed high school, twenty-one per-

cent were high school graduates but went no further, and 33% had gone to business or trade school or some college. 22% of the parents had graduated from college and an additional eight percent held graduate degrees. Occupations of the parents showed similar diversity. The largest number (24%) of parents were managers or proprietors, while 22% were skilled workers, 15% held clerical jobs, and 15% held semi-skilled or labor jobs. Nineteen percent of the parents were in professional occupations.

Measures

The questionnaire used in this study asked questions about parents' educational background, occupation, and age, and about characteristics of their families: size, how much they agree or disagree with their children about social and political issues and campus dissent, and how often they discuss such issues with their children.

Parents completed a general alienation scale (Srole, 1956); the Hoyt reliability for this scale is .72. They completed a campus freedom of expression scale (Biggs and Vaughan, 1970) which contains questions about freedom of students and faculty to express their opinions and to sponsor controversial lectures on campus. Hoyt reliability for this scale is .75. Parents indicated whether they felt alienated from University student life on six items adapted from an educational alienation scale (Ramsey and Klemmack, 1969). Five of these items concerned perceived power to influence activities at the University of Minnesota and the sixth asked whether parents felt the administration and faculty cared what people thought about the decisions made at the University. Hoyt reliability for this scale is .74. We then asked parents if most of the decisions made by the administration of the University were too complicated for them to decide if they were right or wrong. This question is a modified version of the one used by Somers (1965) to assess students' sense of effectiveness and understanding of the decision-making processes at a university. He reported that more militant students than conservative ones felt that they had the capacity to take a hand in administrative decision-making.

Parents reported their attitudes about campus dissent using an 8 item

scale which is a modified version of a scale developed by Biggs and Vaughan (1970). Respondents indicated whether they favored or opposed the goals and tactics of student activists. Goals concerned civil rights and anti-war activities and tactics included holding meetings, sit-ins, picketing, and destroying property. Hoyt reliability for this scale is .89. Parents also indicated satisfaction with University student life on a five item scale developed by Biggs and Vaughan (1970). Hoyt reliability for this scale is .80. Respondents reported whether they were satisfied with: 1) the University, 2) how the majority of students conduct themselves, 3) how the University handles cases of student misconduct, 4) with the University as a place to send their children, and 5) with the education students receive at the University.

Statistical Analyses

Pearson product moment correlations and multiple regression analyses were used to examine relationships between variables. Differences between groups of parents were analyzed using both one-way and two-way analyses of variance.

Results

Attitudes about Campus Dissent

Parental support for the goals of activists decreases as their tactics become more assertive. Table 1 shows parental approval and disapproval for goals and tactics of activists in two situations. In the first, students were dissenting because they thought the admissions policy of the University discriminated against Black students. In the second, students were dissenting because of the United States involvement in Cambodia. In both cases, if students hold meetings to express their dissent, most of the parents approve of their goals and tactics. However, when students express their dissent through sit-ins, marches, or destruction of property, we find that parents disapprove increasingly of both goals and tactics. Goals, which remain the same in the two situations, are rejected increasingly as the means to these goals become more objectionable. Parents' perception of means and goals of student activists are not independent.

Pearson product moment correlations between parental background characteristics and attitudes about dissent were all low. Education level of parents was correlated .21 ($\leq .01$) for fathers and .20 ($\leq .05$) for mothers with attitudes about dissent. We found a slight tendency for more educated parents to have more positive attitudes about dissent. We examined differences in attitudes about dissent of parents in different occupations and of fathers and mothers. Two-way ANOVA yielded a significant F ratio ($F= 15.6$ and $p\leq .000$) for sex, but not for occupation. There was no significant interaction effect. Mothers were more favorable toward campus dissenters than were fathers. We found no difference in attitudes about dissent for parents in different occupations.

We observed certain characteristics of the parents' families and their attitudes about dissent. Pearson product moment correlations were quite small. For fathers, the amount of agreement with their college age sons and daughters about social and political issues and campus dissent was correlated .19 ($\leq .05$) with attitudes about dissent. Family size and the frequency with which parents had discussions with their college age sons and daughters about social and political issues were not related to attitudes about dissent. We compared differences in attitudes about dissent of parents with different size families: those with one child, those with two and three children, those with four and five children, and those with six to nine children. The F ratio for the one-way ANOVA was not significant. Thus, we found no significant differences in attitudes about dissent of parents of large and small families.

We looked at some other social attitudes of the parents and their attitudes about campus dissent. Parental attitudes about campus freedom of expression has a fairly substantial ($\leq .01$) correlation with attitudes about dissent ($r = .45$ for men and $r = .52$ for women). Feelings of general social alienation were not related to attitudes about dissent. However, for fathers, feelings of alienation from University student life had a small ($\leq .01$) correlation ($r = .23$) with attitudes about dissent.

We then computed multiple correlations using attitudes about dissent as the dependent variable. Parental attitudes about dissent were primarily related to their attitudes about campus freedom of expression. Both fathers and mothers who have more liberal attitudes about campus freedom of expression were more likely to approve of campus dissent.

Finally, we examined differences in characteristics of parents who hold more and less favorable attitudes toward campus dissent. Using the total score on the attitudes about campus dissent scale, we categorized parents as Conservatives (1%-25%), Moderates (26%-50%), Liberals (51%-75%), and Radicals (76%-99%). A series of one-way analyses of variance yielded significant F ratios for age, satisfaction with University student life, attitudes about campus freedom of expression, and alienation from University student life. Scheffe comparisons revealed that conservatives were significantly ($\leq .04$) older than radicals, more dissatisfied ($\leq .01$) with University student life, and more restrictive ($\leq .00$) of campus freedom of expression. Scheffe comparisons also indicated that liberals were more dissatisfied with University student life ($\leq .04$) than were radicals. Of the four groups, radicals were least restrictive of campus freedom of expression, liberals were next, then moderates and conservatives.

Satisfaction with Management of University Student Life

The second major question in the study concerned background characteristics of parents, certain characteristics of their families, some of their social attitudes, and their satisfaction with the management of University student life. Table 2 shows degree of parental satisfaction with several facets of University student life. It is somewhat surprising to find that parents are generally quite satisfied with University student life. However, it should be noted that a fairly large number (29%) were dissatisfied about the way the University handles cases of misconduct.

We looked at the background of parents and their satisfaction with University student life. Neither age nor level of parental education was related

to satisfaction with University student life. We also compared differences in mean satisfaction scores for fathers and mothers and parents in different occupations. Two-way analysis of variance yielded a significant F ratio for sex ($p \leq .04$) but not for occupation. There was no interaction effect. Mothers were more satisfied with University student life than were fathers.

We examined characteristics of the families and parental satisfaction with University student life. Neither size of families nor frequency of discussions with college age sons and daughters about social and political issues were associated with parental satisfaction. For fathers, agreement with sons and daughters about political issues, social problems, and campus dissent was somewhat ($p \leq .01$) related ($r = .30$) to satisfaction. Using one-way analysis of variance, we examined differences in parental satisfaction with University student life for parents with large and small families. We found no significant differences in satisfaction between parents of one child, two or three children, four or five children, and six to nine children.

We looked at some other social attitudes of the parents and their satisfaction with University student life. Attitudes about campus freedom of expression and attitudes about campus dissent were not related to satisfaction with University student life. However, feelings of alienation were somewhat related to parental satisfaction. For both fathers and mother, feelings of alienation from University student life were significantly ($\leq .01$) related to satisfaction ($r = .21$ for males and $r = .31$ for females). Feelings of general social alienation also had small but significant correlations ($\leq .05$) with satisfaction ($r = -.18$ for men and $r = -.21$ for females).

We computed multiple correlations using satisfaction with University student life as a dependent variable. The amount fathers agree with college age sons and daughters about social and political issues and campus dissent was the most highly related to their satisfaction. In the case of mothers, feelings of alienation from University student life was the most highly related to their satisfaction.

Finally, we examined differences in the characteristics of parents who were more and less satisfied with University student life. We divided the

sample into fourths using the total score on the satisfaction with University student affairs scale. One-way analysis of variance yielded significant differences for general social alienation, alienation from University student life, and amount of agreement about social and political issues between parents and college age sons and daughters. Scheffe comparisons indicated that the least satisfied parents (bottom 25%) felt more socially alienated than either of the most satisfied groups (51% to 75% and 76% to 99%). The least satisfied group also felt more alienated from University student life than either of the most satisfied groups (51% to 75% and 76% to 99%). Finally, the most satisfied group (76% to 99%) felt less alienated from University student life than the moderately satisfied group (26% to 50%).

Discussion and Conclusion

If fathers and their children tend to agree about social and political issues as well as campus dissent, fathers tend to be more satisfied with University student life. Fathers who are most dissatisfied with students may not communicate as often with their children and as a result are poorly informed about campus events. It is also possible that fathers who find that they disagree with their college age sons and daughters attribute the causes of these conflicts to their childrens' experiences on campus.

Parents who were more liberal about campus freedom of expression were also more favorable toward campus dissent. This finding is very similar to that of Spaeth (1969) who reported, "Regardless of their age or whether they have attended college, liberals are more likely than conservatives to condone protests." It is certainly reasonable that attitudes about dissent are related to attitudes about campus freedom of expression. Parents probably view free expression, dissent, protest, and violence as points on a behavioral continuum rather than different forms of behaviors.

Dissatisfaction with University student life was related to parental feelings of general social alienation and alienation from University student life.

Parents who were most dissatisfied with University management of student life were more apt to feel detached and unable to influence the social institutions around them. Parental dissatisfaction with University student life may be a reflection of the social alienation many contemporary citizens feel. New outreach programs should be developed which bring parents, professors, administrators, and students into the policy-making processes of universities.

Results show that mothers were somewhat more approving of campus dissent than fathers. Also, there was a slight trend for more educated parents to be more approving of campus dissent. Those who most strongly disapprove of dissent were found to be somewhat older than those parents who most approved of dissent. Parents of large and small families did not have significantly different attitudes about dissent, and we found no relationship between the frequency with which parents discuss social and political issues as well as campus dissent with their college age sons and daughters and their attitudes about dissent. Parents' feelings of social alienation were not related to their attitudes about dissent. Of all the factors considered, parental attitudes about campus freedom of expression was most related to their attitudes about dissent. Parents who have more liberal attitudes about campus freedom of expression were more approving of dissent.

Most parents were quite satisfied with the management of student life at the University. We found that mothers were more satisfied than fathers. Parents' age, education, and occupation were not related to their satisfaction with University student life. Parents of large and small families, and parents who had more and less frequent discussions about social and political issues as well as campus dissent with their college age sons and daughters did not feel significantly different about the management of student life at the University. However, fathers who agreed more with their college age sons and daughters about social and political issues as well as campus dissent were more satisfied with University student life. Mothers who perceived themselves as having more power to influence matters at the University were more satisfied with University student life.

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Table 1
Parental Attitudes about Campus Dissent (N=315)

Incidents	Approve of goals and methods	Approve of goals but disapprove methods	Disapprove goals but approve methods	Disapprove goals and methods
	%	%	%	%
A group of students thinks that the admissions policy at a university discriminates against black students. To make their position known, they hold meetings on campus to discuss the issue.	61	21	7	11
A group of students disagree with United States involvement in Cambodia. To make their position known, they hold a peaceful "sit-in" for a short period of time (without destroying property).	46	30	9	15
Some students think the admissions policy at a university discriminates against black students. To make their positions known, they march around campus carrying signs, picketing classes, and trying to persuade other students to stay out of class.	8	53	1	38
Some students disagree with United States involvement in Cambodia. To make their position known, they hold meetings on campus to discuss the issues.	71	8	13	7
A group of students thinks the admissions policy at a university discriminates against black students. To make their position known, they occupy a campus building, destroy records, and forcefully keep others from entering the building.	1	54	1	44
Some students disagree with United States involvement in Cambodia. To make their position known, they march around campus carrying signs, picketing classes, and trying to persuade other students to stay out of class.	7	53	1	38
A group of students thinks the admissions policy at the U of M discriminates against black students. To make their position known, they hold a peaceful "sit-in" in a campus building for a short period of time (without destroying property).	40	33	8	18
Some students disagree with U.S. involvement in Cambodia. To make their position known, they occupy a campus building, destroy records, and forcefully keep others from entering.	2	53	1	43

Table 2

Parental Satisfaction with University Management of Student Life (N=315)

	Completely satisfied	Well satisfied	Satisfied	Indifferent	Dissatisfied	Very much dissatisfied	Completely dissatisfied	No response
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I In general, how satisfied are you with the University of Minnesota?	8	31	44	4	9	2	1	1
How satisfied are you with the way the majority of University students conduct themselves?	9	31	46	5	4	1	1	3
How satisfied are you with the way the University handles cases of student misconduct?	5	19	37	3	22	4	3	7
How satisfied are you with the type of education students are getting at the U of M?	16	33	39	2	6	1	1	3
How satisfied are you with the University of Minnesota as a place to send your children?	12	31	41	4	6	1	2	3

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AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, AND HOME ECONOMICS STUDENTS ON ACADEMIC PROBATION

by

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At first glance, academic probation appears to be a very questionable educational practice. The population of students to be helped consists of a heterogeneous group of individuals with widely different needs. Some lack ability, some have inadequate study habits, others have financial problems, while still others have personal or health problems. Furthermore, the probationary process is a treatment which seems to be based on fear appeal and little else. However, Fischer (1967) has presented fairly strong evidence that placing borderline students on probation motivates them to achieve higher grades. He has also reported that when all probation students were compared with all non-probation students, this response-to-probation phenomenon did not appear. Suddarth (1957) found that very few students who entered Purdue University in 1957 and went on probation one or more times ever graduated. Little other research on the effects of academic probation has been done, and in order for such research to be meaningful, more needs to be known about the characteristics of probation students, as well as their experiences while on probation.

This study describes some of the attitudes of students placed on academic probation, as well as some of their experiences while on probation. Questions include: 1) Why do students think they are on probation, 2) do probation students make changes in their life styles, 3) what are the self-made academic predictions of probation students, and 4) with whom do students talk about their probationary status and how helpful do they find these conversations?

METHOD

Sample

The sample included 148 University of Minnesota, St. Paul campus students who were on academic probation Winter Quarter 1971. Sixty percent were in

the College of Agriculture, 27% were in the School of Home Economics, and 11% were in Forestry. Most (69%) were males. Sixteen percent were freshmen, 42% were sophomores, 25% were juniors, and 12% were seniors.

A considerable number of the students on probation have average or above average academic aptitude. American College Testing (ACT) Program composite scores were available for about 63% (N=93) of the sample. (The ACT is a measure of academic aptitude.) ACT composite scores for the probation students ranged from the first to the 99%-ile (University of Minnesota Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics norms). The modal ACT score was 23 and the median ACT score was 21.38. The mean ACT score for U of M Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics students is 23. Fifty-eight percent of the probationary students had less than a 22 ACT composite score.

After Winter Quarter, 20% of the students were no longer on probation, 13% had withdrawn, 60% were still on probation, and 4% had been dropped. Thirty-two percent of the sample did not register Spring Quarter.

A large percentage of the students on probation earned average or above average grades for the Winter Quarter. The probation students' grade point averages (GPA) for Winter Quarter ranged from .00 to 3.73 (1=D, 2=C, 3=B, 4=A). Fifty-four percent of the students received better than a 2.00 GPA and 25% had better than a 2.50 GPA for the quarter.

Measures

The questionnaire asked about the students' reasons for being on probation. They checked the appropriate reason from the following list: administrative error in calculating GPA, course work was too difficult, inappropriate study habits, courses were not interesting, vocational choice was inappropriate, and working too many hours.

We looked at changes in student life styles. Students indicated whether they had changed either their residence or their major since being on probation. They also reported whether their involvement in certain activities had increased, stayed the same, or decreased since being on probation. Activities were: number of credits taken, hours of study time per week, membership in student organizations, attendance at meetings of student organizations, attendance at athletic events, attendance at dances, attendance at plays or concerts, membership in non-campus organizations, and amount of dating activities. Subjects completed the College Opinion Survey (COS) (Biggs and Tinsley, 1971; Biggs, Roth, and Strong, 1971) which was constructed to measure self-made academic predictions. Eight of the COS items (COS₁) were from the General Self-Concept of Ability to Learn Scale (GSCOA) (Brookover, 1962) and eight items (COS₂) were from the Importance of Achieving Higher Grades than Others Scale (IG) (Brookover, 1962). Biggs, Roth, and Strong (1970) report that self-made academic predictions have substantial validity as guides to students in making decisions and pacing their performances. The 16 items ask the student to estimate his ability compared with those of different reference groups such as friends, high school students, college students and professional school students, and to evaluate his ability to get grades and finish college. They also indicate the importance they give to getting grades, having a high academic standing, and doing better than others.

We asked students if they discussed their probationary status with any of the following student personnel workers: 1) counselor from Student Counseling Bureau, 2) Financial Aid counselor, 3) faculty adviser, 4) staff member from their college office, 5) residence hall counselor, and 6) adviser

from the Student Activities Bureau. Subjects indicated one of the following: 1) they had talked with this person, 2) they had heard of this position but had not talked with such a person, or 3) they had never heard of this position. They were also to report whether the person was: 1) most helpful, 2) some help, or 3) no help.

We asked students if they had talked about their probationary status with any of the following people: 1) University professor or instructor, 2) former high school teacher or adviser, 3) mother or father, 4) brother or sister, 5) friends, and 6) boyfriend or girlfriend. They reported whether: 1) they talked much with this person, 2) some with this person, or 3) had not talked with this person at all. They indicated if the person was: 1) most helpful, 2) some help, or 3) no help.

RESULTS

Most (68%) of the students thought they were on probation because of their bad study habits. Some (37%) said their courses were not interesting and some (37%) reported that personal problems were the reasons they were on probation. A few (22%) thought they worked too many hours, a few (18%) thought their course work was too hard, and a few (13%) thought their vocational choice was inappropriate. Very few (3%) indicated health problems were a reason and extremely few (2%) said there had been an administrative error in calculating their GPA's or that grade changes had not been processed.

Students made few changes in their life styles after being on probation. Most (64%) changed neither their majors nor their places of residence since they were on probation. Of those changing their housing, many moved from dormitories to apartments. Before being on probation, 31% of the students who made housing changes lived in dormitories, while only 3% lived in dormitories

after being on probation. Before being on probation, 31% of these students lived in apartments, while after being on probation, 49% of them lived in apartments.

We asked students if certain activities had increased, stayed the same, or decreased since they had been on probation. Most (64%) said the number of hours of study time per week had increased. A large percentage (47%-78%) said their involvement in the following activities had remained about the same since being on probation: number of credits taken, hours of work, membership in non-campus organizations, membership in campus organizations, attendance at student organization meetings, attendance at athletic events, dances, plays, and concerts, and amount of dating. The mean number of changes in activities was 3.4. Thus a typical student on probation has changed his level of involvement in few activities.

We examined probation students' attitudes about their ability, grades, and future academic achievements. Approximately 84% thought they were average or above average in school ability as compared to either their close friends or other students in their high school class. The majority (63%) thought they definitely had the ability to complete college. A large percentage (56%) thought they would rank average, above average, or among the best in their class in a professional school such as medicine or graduate school. Yet only 37% thought it was somewhat likely or very likely they could complete such advanced work. Twenty-five percent were not sure and 23% thought it was unlikely.

We asked students to disregard how others have graded their work in the past and to give their opinion of their work. Most (47%) felt their work was average. A few (11%) said it was below average, and some (39%) said it was good.

Students on probation had mixed feelings about the importance of grades. A sizable percentage (41%) felt grades were important, while an almost equally large number (31%) felt that grades were not particularly important, and very few (3%) felt grades did not matter at all. Some (45%) said good grades were among the important things in school, while others (41%) said that some other things were more important than good grades. A considerable number (46%) of them would like to get better grades than almost everyone else, and an additional 29% would like to get the same grades as everyone else.

Probation students appear optimistic about their capability of earning above average grades; most (75%) thought they were capable of getting "B's". A large percentage (78%) of the students try to get "C's" and "B's" in their classes. The majority (60%) feel bad if they do not do as well in school as they know they can, and only one percent said it does not bother them at all.

Students were asked about the people with whom they discussed their probationary status. Table 1 presents their evaluations of the helpfulness of these conversations.

Students most often talked about their probationary status with faculty advisers, friends, and parents. Less than half (43%) talked about probation with a staff member from their College Office and only about one-third (33%) of the students talked with a counselor at the Student Counseling Bureau. Very few students discussed their probation with a financial aid counselor, a residence counselor or an adviser from the Student Activities Bureau. Most of those who talked with faculty or student personnel staff members found these conversations some or most helpful. Surprisingly, the majority of students report that almost anyone with whom they discussed their probationary status were some degree of help.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

A large number of students think their bad study habits were a main reason they were on probation. Some said their courses were not interesting and some said they had personal problems. These findings suggest that probationary students may be potential clients for counseling. However, only about one-third of them had talked with a counselor. It could be that students on probation are aware of their problems but do not perceive counselors as legitimate sources of help. Data not reported in this study suggest that many of those who had not seen counselors thought they probably would not be helpful.

Students on probation made few changes in their life styles. As might be expected, a large percentage of them increased their hours of study time per week. Since many of the students perceived their probationary status as a reflection of poor study habits, it is certainly logical that their major change in behavior was an increase in study hours. Students have many conversations with friends, parents, and faculty advisers who may find it easier to give them a "pep" talk about study habits than to discuss more threatening problems such as lack of responsibility. Some students may have to realize that they have academic problems because they have not behaved responsibly and they may not like facing this fact. The problem is that most of the students discussed their probationary status with people who may not feel free to confront them with issues of responsibility because they may not want to run the risk of being viewed as unsympathetic. Probationary students should be encouraged to talk with staff members who can deal with these relationship problems and still help them develop responsible strategies and plan for handling academic difficulties.

Many probation students could be described as academic optimists. A

majority felt they had the ability to complete college and the ability to earn above average grades. Many would like to get the same grades or better than everyone else, but almost half of the probation students felt other things in school were more important than good grades. The fact that the majority of students evaluated their previous academic work as average or above average shows that they misunderstand the meaning of their low grades.

Obviously, students on probation are in need of different kinds of help. Some need realistic encouragement and should be helped to interpret the probationary status in an academically productive manner. A considerable number need information about the specific details of the probationary policies in their school or college, and an additional group of students should learn to set realistic academic goals and, in some cases, consider alternative vocational goals. Thus, the problems of students in academic difficulty are complex and attempts should be made to create a central identified resource person or office for them. Trained peer counselors and voluntary faculty advisers might provide the necessary staff. Student personnel workers could then supply training and research services. This combination of faculty, students, and SPW's could be an effective team approach which would limit the possibilities that probation students would get conflicting advice and erroneous information from different people.

Finally, one student in the study suggested the following as a means of helping students with probation problems. "Try to make students aware that being on probation isn't an unforgivable sin, that it can be remedied, that it isn't a crime to talk to a counselor - some think they don't want to bend that low to admit the need for a 'counselor,' but that counselors and advisers are there to help you - and of course that everyone isn't college material whether your parents think so or not!"

Table 1

Student evaluation of conversations with staff, family,
other students, and faculty

Individual	N	Amount of Help		
		Most	Some	None
1. Counselor from Student Counseling Bureau	46	35%	52%	13%
2. Financial Aids Counselor	12	25%	50%	25%
3. Faculty Adviser	110	29%	51%	20%
4. Staff Member from Your College Office	64	45%	42%	13%
5. Residence Hall Counselor	13	31%	46%	23%
6. Advisor from Student Activities Bureau	4	25%	25%	50%
7. University Professor or Instructor	69	26%	55%	19%
8. Former High School Teacher or Adviser	17	24%	59%	17%
9. Mother or Father	82	23%	60%	17%
10. Brother or Sister	58	19%	60%	21%
11. Friends	101	22%	63%	15%
12. Boyfriend or girlfriend	79	44%	43%	13%

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PEER GROUP ACTIVITIES AND DIFFERENT STUDENT SUBCULTURES

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Peer Group Activities and Different Student Subcultures

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A popular method for describing differences among students has been the four subcultures discussed by Clark and Trow (1966). The subcultures labeled vocational, academic, collegiate, and non-conformist represent clusters of attitudes, norms, and modes of behavior and not groups of people. The Clark-Trow subcultures reflect combinations of two dimensions: the degree to which students are involved with ideas and the extent to which they identify with the college. The collegiate subculture represents much identification with the college and little involvement with ideas; the academic subculture represents much identification with the college and much involvement with ideas; the vocational subculture represents little identification with the college and little involvement with ideas; and the non-conformist subculture represents little identification with the college and much involvement with ideas.

The Clark-Trow model has been criticized by Frantz (1969) because the subcultures were defined independently of the behaviors making up the subcultures, because the definitions gave no indication that such subcultures have correlates in reality, and because the definitions did not consider sex differences. Warren (1968) clarified some of the ambiguities in the definitions of the subcultures, showed the value of conceptualizing them as dimensions rather than categories, and confirmed much of what Clark and Trow said about the academic, vocational, and collegiate subcultures. Gottlieb and Hodgkins (1963) who defined subcultures as segments of the student body also reported that their hypotheses about social class, academic achievement, perceived attitude

changes, and post college expectations of students in different subcultures were confirmed. Still a persistent problem with most research on the subcultures has been its descriptive nature (Frantz, 1969). Little is known about the factors which explain why students adopt one subculture orientation rather than another (Apostal, 1970), (Williams, 1971) and even less is known about the effects of different subculture orientations (Richardson, 1970).

After an extensive review of the literature, Feldman and Newcomb (1969) criticized the research on the Clark-Trow model because it does not provide evidence that students classified in the same subculture interact with each other and are aware of their common orientation. Such data would have more than descriptive implications because if students in a similar subculture interact with each other, these peer group activities could be alternately a dependent and an independent variable in the formation of different subcultures. The subculture orientation of a student effects his selection of various peer group activities and in turn, his peer activities influence his subculture orientation. This study looks at some of the peer group activities of students classified according to the Clark-Trow subcultures. We expected individuals in different subcultures used different individuals and groups as standards or comparison points for making judgments about the rightness and the wrongness of their opinions. We also expected that friends, because they reinforce values and attitudes were an important factor which accounts for differences between students in different subcultures. This research looks at some of the differences in reference groups and friendship groups for students who describe themselves as vocational, academics, and non-conformists.

Method

The sample used in this study consisted of (N=266) students on the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis and St. Paul campuses. Forty-three percent

of them were females. Twenty-seven percent of the students were freshmen, 26% were sophomores, 30% were juniors, 10% were seniors, two percent were graduates, and two percent were adult specials. The majority (43%) of the students were enrolled in the College of Liberal Arts, a few (19%) were in Agriculture, a few (15%) were in Education, and a very small number were enrolled in Technology, Home Economics, Dentistry, Nursing, and Forestry. A large percent (38%) of the students lived with their parents, 13% lived in residence halls, 22% lived in fraternities and sororities, 16% rented an apartment, and four percent owned or rented a house. Fifty-three percent of the sample were commuters.

Measures

The questionnaire used in the study asked about the student's age, sex, year or school, type of residence, college, and whether the student was a commuter. Students indicated how well satisfied they were with the University using a seven point scale: completely dissatisfied, very much dissatisfied, dissatisfied, indifferent, satisfied, well satisfied, and completely satisfied. Students were also asked how well they liked the place where they were living while attending the University. They used a seven point scale: hate it, dislike it, don't like it, indifferent, like it, like it very much, and like it better than I could possibly like anything else.

Students were presented with four short descriptions of the Clark-Trow subcultures adapted from those developed by Gottlieb and Hodgkins (1963).

The paragraphs were labeled Types W, X, Y, and Z. Descriptions were as follows:

Vocational: For the most part, my main reason for being in college is to prepare myself for an occupation. I am not particularly interested in either the social or the purely intellectual phases of campus life, although once in a while I take part in some campus activities. I do my homework to keep up my grades, but otherwise my

reading is pretty light. My primary reason for being in college is occupational or vocational training.

Non-Conformist: I am interested in learning about life in general, but in a manner of my own choosing. I am interested in the world of ideas, but I would rather learn in my own way, instead of depending on teachers or classwork. I want a more complete understanding of things than classes can give. From a social point of view, I don't have much to do with fraternities or sororities or the social events on campus. If I do join a group, it would probably be one of the political or more academic campus groups. I am primarily motivated by intellectual curiosity.

Academic: I am interested in learning about life and the world of ideas. I see my classes as one way of gaining this knowledge, and I work to maintain a fairly high grade point average. In addition to my intellectual interest, I am also involved in the social phases of campus life. I like working with the student government and activities of this type.

Collegiate: Although I am concerned about my education, my college experiences are mainly centered about the social phases of campus life, such as social and athletic events. I have some intellectual interest and do the work that is required of me for my courses, but these are of secondary importance to my social life.

Subjects indicated which of the subcultures best described themselves, most of their friends, students who live in residence halls, members of fraternities and sororities, and most commuters.

They were asked how important each of 22 individuals or groups were to them when they made judgments about the rightness or wrongness of certain issues. The list included different groups of students, parents, faculty, brothers and sisters, friends, and people they were dating. Subjects reported whether the individuals' opinions were not at all important, slightly important, somewhat important, important, very important, or did not apply.

Students indicated if none, a few, or most of their friends were residence hall students, fraternity and sorority members, or commuters. They also reported if none, a few, or most of their friends were not students at the University of Minnesota, and what number of their friends were from their

high school. They gave the percentage of their friends who never attended college, dropped out of college, attended a college other than the University, or attended the University. They also reported what percentage of their friends they met since high school graduation and what percent they met before high school graduation. They were asked how they became acquainted with most of their friends and how they felt about the University as a place in which to make friends. Students reported how similar in background their current acquaintances were from those they had prior to college.

Statistical Analysis

Students were categorized according to their choice of a subculture which they thought best described them. We looked at differences between the subcultures using one-way analysis of variance.

Results

Most of the students described themselves as either vocationals (35%), non-conformists (23%), or academics (30%), a few described themselves as collegiates (6%). Since such a small number described themselves as collegiates, we will discuss only results for academics, non-conformists, and vocationals.

Table one shows pertinent demographic information for vocationals, academics, and non-conformists. Some of the differences between the three groups were interesting and provide support for the Clark-Trow model. We found that twice as many males as females saw themselves as vocationals, and that the majority of vocationals were commuters. However, it was rather surprising that such a large percentage of vocationals were students in the College of Liberal Arts. The majority of the non-conformists were in Liberal Arts or Education; very few were in Agriculture. About an equal percentage of males and females saw themselves as non-conformists, and the majority of the non-conformists were commuters who lived with their parents or rented apartments. An almost

equal percentage of males and females saw themselves as academics. The largest percentage of academics were in Liberal Arts, and a fairly large number were in Agriculture. The majority of the academics do not commute.

One way to test the validity of the Clark-Trow model was to determine the stereotypes students have about other students. Thus, we asked which of the subcultures best described most residence hall students, most fraternity and sorority members, and most commuters. Students were almost equally divided in their descriptions of residence hall students. Twenty-four percent described them as vocationals, 18% described them as non-conformists, 26% described them as academics, and 18% described them as collegiates. The majority thought fraternity and sorority members were collegiates (51%) or academics (31%), few (5%) described them as vocationals and almost no one (.88%) described them as non-conformists. Most (67%) of the students described commuters as vocationals, some (15%) described them as non-conformists, a few (6%) described them as academics, and almost no one (.88) described them as collegiates. Thus, a majority of students perceive commuters as vocationals and fraternity and sorority members as collegiates. However, students differed considerably in their perceptions of most residence hall students.

We also examined self descriptions of residence hall students, commuters, and fraternity and sorority members. The largest percentage (45%) of residence hall students described themselves as academics, some (31%) described themselves as vocationals, some (21%) described themselves as non-conformists, and very few (3%) described themselves as collegiates. Over half (54%) of the fraternity and sorority members described themselves as academics, some (26%) saw themselves as vocationals, a few (10%) saw themselves as collegiates and

very few (9%) saw themselves as non-conformists. An almost equal percentage of commuters saw themselves as either vocationals (42%) or non-conformists (35%), some (16%) saw themselves as academics and few (5%) saw themselves as conformists.

Since the Clark-Trow subcultures were defined in terms of relative identification with the college, we expected students in different subcultures were more or less satisfied with their University experiences. A one-way ANOVA for differences between the mean satisfaction with the University as a whole for students in different subcultures was significant ($F = 4.75$ and $p = .004$). Scheffe comparisons indicated that academics were more satisfied with the University than were the non-conformists ($p = .005$). Students in the different subcultures also reported on how well they liked the place they were living. A one-way ANOVA for differences in mean satisfaction with living arrangements was significant ($F = 7.75$ and $p = .000$), and Scheffe comparisons indicated that non-conformists were more dissatisfied with their housing than were either the academics ($p = .000$) or vocationals ($p = .007$).

The first question in this study explored differences in reference groups for students in different subcultures. Seventy-eight percent of the students considered their friends' views important or very important, 60% considered their parents' views important or very important, 60% also considered the views of students with similar social and political attitudes important or very important. About 58% considered the opinions of students in their major important or very important, some (40%) considered the views of the faculty important or very important, and a few (36%) considered the opinions of advisers and counselors important or very important.

We looked at differences in the mean importance ratings given to the 21 reference groups by academics, vocationals, and non-conformists. The series

of one-way ANOVA's yielded six significant F values. Scheffe comparisons showed that academics attach more importance to the opinions of members of their fraternities and sororities than do non-conformists, ($p = .02$). This is probably due to the fact that more academics than non-conformists live in fraternities and sororities. Academics also considered the opinions of their roommates **more** important than do vocationals ($p = .03$). Opinions of parents were more important to academics than to vocationals ($p = .04$) or non-conformists ($p = .003$), and brothers' and sisters' opinions were more important to academics than to non-conformists ($p = .033$). We also found significant differences between the subcultures in the importance they attached to the opinions of faculty in their departments ($F = 2.53$, $p = .05$) as well as staff members ($F = 2.88$, $p = .03$). Academics have the highest mean importance ratings for both staff and faculty although individual group differences do not achieve statistical significance.

The second question in the study explored differences in friendship experiences for students in different subcultures. The majority of the students (76%) said that less than 20% of their friends never attended college. Most (63%) had met 20 or more friends since starting college. Many became acquainted with their friends in college classes (66%), almost as large a percentage (62%) met their friends in their neighborhood, residence hall, or fraternity and sorority. Few (24%) met friends at work, in campus groups (23%), or in off-campus groups (11%).

Students described their friends using the Clark-Trow subcultures. Most (64%) of the vocationals said their friends were vocationals, most (62%) of the non-conformists said their friends were non-conformists, and most (69%) of the academics said their friends were academics.

The one-way ANOVA for differences in number of friends which academics,

non-conformists, and vocationalists had met since starting college was significant ($F = 5.79, p = .001$). Scheffe comparisons showed academics had met more friends since starting college than had the vocationalists ($p = .01$) or non-conformists ($p = .009$). The one-way ANOVA for satisfaction with the University as a place to make friends was also significant ($F = 8.31, p = .0001$). Scheffe comparisons indicated that academics are more satisfied with the University as a place to make friends than were the vocationalists ($p = .000$) or non-conformists ($p = .003$). The one-way ANOVA for number of friends who never attended college was significant ($F = 3.29, p = .02$) and Scheffe comparisons showed that vocationalists had more friends who never attended college than did academics ($p = .03$). The one-way ANOVA for number of friends who attend the University was significant ($F = 7.24, p = .000$). Academics have a larger percentage of friends who attend the University than did either the vocationalists ($p = .002$) or non-conformists ($p = .009$).

Discussion and Conclusion

Findings from this study show that students in the academic subculture were more highly identified with the University than were students in either the vocational or non-conformist subcultures. Several factors may account for this phenomenon. Most of the academics were not commuters, while most of the vocationalists and non-conformists were commuters. Academics may also be more conforming. They consider the opinions of more people important when making judgments about the correctness of their own opinions than do either the vocationalists or the non-conformists. Another factor which could be important is that academics have met more friends since starting college and have a larger percentage of friends who attend the university than do either vocationalists or non-conformists.

This study supports the adage, "Birds of a feather flock together." Most of the students in different subcultures described their friends as having a similar subculture orientation as their own. This finding is also a partial answer to Feldman and Newcomb's (1969) criticism that Clark and Trow have not shown that students in a given classification interact with one another and are aware of their common orientation.

Many students have clearly defined stereotypes of fraternity and sorority members and commuters which differ from the self descriptions of a large number of greeks and commuters. The majority of students described most fraternity and sorority members as collegiates, and most commuters as vocationals. In contrast, slightly over half of the fraternity and sorority members described themselves as academics and extremely few described themselves as collegiates. Less than half of the commuters described themselves as vocationals, while about one-third of the commuters saw themselves as non-conformists. The differences between the self descriptions of the fraternity and sorority members and the stereotypes held by many students could certainly influence inter-personal relations between greeks and others. Fraternities and sororities may be having trouble recruiting sufficient numbers of new members because so many students stereotype them as collegiates and this appears to be socially undesirable. The differences between the self descriptions of commuters and the stereotypes held by many students are also important. Far more commuters see themselves as involved with ideas than many students seem to realize. Future research should explore faculty stereotypes of different student groups.

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Table 1

Descriptive Information About
Collegiates, Academics and Non-Conformists

Variables	Subcultures		
	Vocational (N=77)	Non-Conformist (N=61)	Academics (N=65)
Sex			
Female	33%	45%	49%
Male	66%	52%	50%
Class			
Freshman	31%	24%	26%
Sophomore	22%	27%	32%
Junior	25%	32%	27%
Senior	12%	8%	10%
Graduate	2%	4%	
Adult Special	5%	1%	
College			
Liberal Arts	41%	57%	44%
Inst. of Technology	4%	3%	
General College	4%	5%	
Agriculture	22%	8%	26%
Education	15%	18%	16%
Home Economics	4%	1%	4%
Other	10%	8%	10%
Residence			
Parents	44%	40%	27%
Relative	1%	1%	
U. Residence Hall	11%	10%	21%
U. Apartment	1%	1%	
Frat. or Sorority	16%	6%	38%
Own/Rent House	6%	6%	1%
Rent Apartment	16%	31%	6%
Rooming House		1%	3%
Private Residence Hall	1%		1%
Commute			
Yes	65%	69%	31%
No	33%	31%	68%

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CHANGE PROCESSES IN COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

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Abstract

Client change in therapy is a result of the psychological impact of the therapist's remarks on the client. A remark the client perceives to imply a change generates psychological forces impelling as well as restraining change. Impelling forces arise from the power-dependence relationship between the therapist and client. Restraining forces are resistance and opposition. Therapist power arises from the correspondence of the client's need for change and the therapist's resources which mediate need fulfillment. Resistance arises from the perceived legitimacy of the therapist's proposing a change, while opposition is a function of the benefits of current behavior which would be lost if the change were made. Sources and characteristics of power, resistance, and opposition are presented. Overall, therapy is presented as a series of strategies which systematically operate on the magnitude and direction of the components of the behavior change process.

Change Processes in Counseling and Psychotherapy¹

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The purpose of this paper is to present part of a theoretical framework for understanding psychological change in counseling and psychotherapy. We begin with the assumption that psychological change occurs as a consequence of the interaction of psychological forces generated and altered in the exchange between therapist and client. The nature, sources, and effects of the psychological forces in interaction are then successively redefined and elaborated with the objective of approximating a concrete technology for changing behavior through conversation.

The view of change processes presented here is a consequence of taking the fact that all behavior (actions, feelings, cognitions) is caused by factors operating on the person at the time of emission of the behavior. Lewin (1936) labeled this view "systematic" causality, as distinct from historical or teleological causality. Most attempts to understand therapeutic processes have implicitly assumed historical causality in which client behavior is seen as a consequence of (caused by) historical events in the client's development. Psychodynamic and learning theory positions most often attribute the client's behavior to his past circumstances and see his change as residing in an undoing of these events. As a result of this assumption, efforts to understand theory are directed at analyzing the relationship among the client's past circumstances, past actions, and the events of therapy. More recently, teleological growth principles have been seen as the cause of the client's change. The pull from future growth and actualization is seen as distorted by noxious or unnatural restraints which are removed in therapy. With this view of causality, research efforts are directed to exploring growth processes and methods of unleashing them. As distinct from past and future cause assumptions, systematic causality views all behavior as a necessary consequence of the interaction of forces operating

on the person at the time of the emission of the behavior. Thus past events have no necessary relationship to current events but represent the historically accidental circumstances of the person at that time. Likewise, the person's future behavior will necessarily reflect the forces operating at that time and will bear no necessary relationship to his present behavior. This view of cause directs observation and analysis to the current circumstances of behavior. The question becomes, "What forces must be operating at this moment to bring about the observed behavior?" This paper presents our view of what must be happening to account for a change in the behavior of one of the participants of a conversation as a consequence of his interaction with the other participant.

A basic fact of psychotherapy is that (voluntary) clients enter therapy because they wish to change their circumstances but find they cannot do so (easily) by themselves. The therapist's purpose is to serve as a resource to facilitate this change. Unless they can place their client in a controlled environment, therapists are restricted to conversation as a means of facilitating change. The desired change then is to be brought about by the actions of the therapist in his conversation with the client. Although it is parsimonious to say that therapist actions (comments) bring about client changes, it is psychologically more correct to say that the impact of therapist remarks on clients bring about client change. The crux of the question is, then, what controls the impact of the therapist's remarks on the client? Schematically, we are concerned with the following flow:

therapist remark \Rightarrow impact on client \Rightarrow client response.

If the therapist's remark implies some kind of change in the client's actions, thoughts, or feelings, then the impact on the client will be the stimulation of internal psychological forces impelling the acceptance of the change, as well as psychological forces restraining the acceptance of the change. Forces impelling acceptance can be conceptualized as the therapist's social power on the client. Restraining forces can be conceptualized as the client's resistance and opposition

to the therapist and his suggestions. The concept of the therapist's social power on the client comes from Social Power Theory, which has been applied to influence phenomena by many social psychologists (Cartwright, 1959, 1965; Dahl, 1957; Emerson, 1962; French & Raven, 1959; Schopler, 1965; Tannenbaum, 1962; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Social Power Theory specifies the factors and processes controlling one agent's ability to influence and control another agent's behavior. Agents in the theory are persons, groups, institutions, or countries. In counseling and psychotherapy, the therapist's social power on the client resides in the client's perception of being dependent on the therapist. The sources of this dependency are defined by the client's perception of correspondence between his needs and the therapist's resources (therapist's ability to meet the client's needs). For example, clients in need of advice about problematic personal affairs may see themselves as dependent on therapists who possess the knowledge and skills (resources) the clients need to solve these problems.

Resistance is defined as psychological forces aroused in the client which restrain acceptance of influence (acceptance of the therapist's suggestion) and are generated by the way the suggestion is stated and by the characteristics of the therapist stating it. Resistance is generated by the act of requesting change rather than by the behavior change requested. For example, a request to another person to open a window may be stated as, "Please open a window. I am very hot and I would appreciate it," or as, "you open a window immediately!!" The former statement implies that the requester is asking a personal favor which the recipient may grant or withhold, and that personal gratitude will result which may benefit the recipient at some future time. The latter case demands compliance implying that the recipient has no personal choice, and that the requester is prepared and able to deliver massive negative retaliation if his demand is ignored. The recipient's resistance to performing the requested action will be greater with the demand, because it implies a power relationship (coercion) the recipient may not perceive

the requester to have.

Opposition is defined as psychological forces which oppose the suggestion of change and which are generated by the characteristics and implications of the content of the suggestion. More specifically, opposition is a function of the anchorage of the client's present behavior in reference groups, ethics, counter influence agents as well as the costs entailed by the suggested change. For example, pointing out that a person ought to change his clothing style to one more traditional to his work role will meet little opposition if the person has the desired clothing and has no particular feelings about it one way or the other. However, considerable opposition will occur if his dress style is his badge of membership in a group with whom he identifies and shares values, or if he has not other clothes.

The forces for and against a given change are viewed as vectors because they have both direction (for and against change) and magnitude (strong to weak). Forces representing the therapist's social power with a client impel acceptance of the change and are symbolized as \vec{P} (the arrow over the P indicates that the force is a vector). Restraining the acceptance of the therapist's suggestion are forces representing the client's resistance to the therapist's making the suggestion (symbolized by \vec{R}) and forces representing the client's opposition to the content and implications of the suggestion (symbolized by \vec{O}). By vector addition, the outcome or resultant of the interaction of \vec{P} , \vec{O} , and \vec{R} is a force corresponding to a directional change in the clients behavior of some magnitude, symbolized by $\vec{\Delta B}$. These relationships are expressed by the formula:

$$\vec{\Delta B} = \vec{P} + (\vec{O} + \vec{R}).$$

The resultant vector $\vec{\Delta B}$ determines the clients response: he complies with the therapist's request (resultant in the direction of the impelling force vector), he does not comply (resultant in the direction of the restraining force vector), or neither (equal magnitudes of impelling and restraining force vectors lead to a zero resultant).

The rest of this paper explores the sources and characteristics of therapist social power and client resistance and opposition. Also, we explore some of the characteristics of what sets the processes into motion--influence attempts, defined as therapist remarks the client views as suggesting change. Finally, we speculate about some of the determinants of systematic uses of influence attempts in therapy, or influence strategies.

Impelling and Restraining Forces

Impelling Forces: Therapist Power

A therapist's power to induce a client to change is a function of his relationship with the client. Therapist power is derived from the client's perception of being dependent on the therapist. Two factors intersect to form client dependence--the client's needs and the therapist's resources to meet these needs. The strength of client dependence (and reciprocally, therapist power) is determined by the degree to which the client sees the therapist's resources to correspond to his needs. The term correspondence is used because it refers to both kind and level of need fulfillment mediated by the therapist. For example a therapist's extensive expertise in systematic desensitization is an inappropriate resource for a client whose most pressing need is for vocational guidance. Likewise, a casual knowledge of desensitization would not correspond to the level of need-fulfillment required by a phobic client.

Dependence and power reside in the client's perceptions of his needs and the therapist's resources, not in "actual" needs and resources as defined by an independent observer. Thus, clients can overestimate as well as underestimate their need-resource correspondence with therapists. Both types of distortion of dependence and power surely affect the process and outcome of therapy. Clients also evaluate a therapist's resources in comparison with the need fulfillment potentially available in alternative relationships (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). If a client believes

that some other person, such as a father or a friend, can meet his needs nearly as well as the therapist, he will be less dependent on the therapist. The maximum power a therapist can attain is thus limited by the perceived need-resource correspondence provided by the best alternative relationship.

A therapist can increase his power with a client by increasing the client's felt need for help and by showing the extent of his ability to help. Therapists operate on client needs by reinterpreting them to be greater than the client first believed. An extreme example is when therapists convince involuntary clients that they have genuine problems for which they should actively seek help. Therapists build their resources by pointing out their unique control of test data, confidentiality, objectivity, patience, and relationship skills. Professional organizations of psychological help-givers often attempt to convince the public that their members have unique resources unavailable from other help-givers.

Different pairs of client needs and therapist resources can be classified into distinct sources of therapist power, each of which is termed a power base. A power base is thus a specific kind of dependency. The ways in which the client depends on the therapist delimit the kinds and degree of behavior changes the client is willing to undertake and affect the therapist's strategies to influence the client. A power base (PBi) is a result of the correspondence (\cong) of a client need (Ni) and a therapist resource (Ri):

$$PBi = (Ni \cong Ri).$$

In any given relationship therapists operate from a number of power bases, each with varying strengths. A client's total dependence and a therapist's total power (P) is a function of the combination of the therapist's power bases, which can be symbolized as:

$$P = f(PB_1, PB_2 \dots, PBi).$$

Different power bases seem to combine in different ways, Strong and Dixon (1972)

examined the combination of the expert and referent (social attraction) power bases in two laboratory studies of interpersonal influence processes. In both studies, students were interviewed about their levels of need for achievement. After twenty minutes, the interviewer presented his "opinion" about the students level of need achievement. Varied in the studies were the discrepancies between the interviewer's opinion and the student's initial opinion, and the student's perception of the expertness and attractiveness of the interviewer. The results suggest that expertness and attractiveness do not add together to create greater power but rather they mask the negative effects of the low power conditions. Expert unattractive communicators were as influential as expert attractive interviewers; attractive in experts were as effective as attractive experts. We should note that the student's evaluations of the unattractive expert suggested that they would tend to resist later influence attempts from him. Thus, while the referent base may not increase the expert's power, it may protect him from resistance which would reduce his control of the client's behavior over a long-term relationship. Another study, using a different combination of power bases, lends support to the notion that one power base may protect another from resistance. In an industrial setting, Raven and French (1958) found that individuals with an ecological base (supervisors) had more control over employees if they had been elected by the employees (giving them a legitimate power base).

An additional consideration in analyzing the therapist-client relationship is the client's power on the therapist. Analysis of client power would begin with a classification of therapist needs and the resources clients have to fulfill them. The importance of this aspect of the therapist-client relationship is not overlooked; it is simply unexamined.

Five power bases most prevalent in counseling and therapy are expert, referent, legitimate, informational, and ecological. This typology is closest to that of

Raven (1965) and descends from French and Raven's (1959) original classification. Expert, referent, and legitimate power bases are the main sources of therapist power in the interview, while informational and ecological power are primarily important for their uses outside the interview as means of broadening the impact of change processes begun in the conversation.

Expert Base. Clients often come to counseling and therapy because they have not been able to make decisions or solve problems. Their present solutions are too costly as, for example, they may anticipate a high probability of losing several years of hard work in a vocational track which may prove to be unsatisfying. They may have tried several ways of handling a difficult interpersonal relationship but have found their solutions cost them more in discomfort, distress, and anxiety than they believe is necessary to bear (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959, p. 109). They seek therapists because (1) they have a need to reduce their costs in attaining their goals and (2) they believe therapists have special knowledge and abilities (resources) which will meet this need. The magnitude of client dependence on the therapist in the expert base is a function of his motivational investment in achieving certain goals and his anticipated cost reduction of achieving the goals with versus without the help of the therapist. The more concerned the client is about the goal, and the more he anticipates the therapist can decrease his costs in achieving the goal, the more dependent he is on the therapist. Therapist "expert" resources are knowledge and skills (as perceived by the client) that can cut the client's costs in achieving his goals, such as knowledge of psychological processes, interpersonal relations, vocational choice, career patterns, and psychological tests, all of which reflect the therapists training and experience.

The "public image" of the helping professions is a critical determinant of who will seek therapy, as potential clients make their initial judgments of the best source of help in cutting the costs of achieving their goals before seeing a

professional helper. When a person does come to see a counselor or therapist, the physical surroundings of the office can enhance perceived expertise as can the therapist's confidence, rationality, and apparent knowledgeable while interacting with the client. Schmidt and Strong (1970, p. 87) developed expert and inexperienced role prescriptions from student evaluations of excerpts of video-taped counseling interviews. The major difference between the two roles were as follows:

The expert was attentive and interested in the subject. He looked at the subject, he leaned toward him and was responsive to the subject by his facial expressions, head nods, posture and so on. He used hand gestures to emphasize his points. The inexpert was inattentive to the subject. He either did not look at the subject, or he gave him a dead pan stare and was not reactive to him. He either did not use gestures, or his gestures were stiff, formal, and overdone. While the expert performed with an air of confidence, the inexpert was unsure, nervous, and lacked confidence.

The expert was organized and knew what he was doing. He structured the interview by suggesting possible topics and where the subject might begin. He described the task to the subject, and he explained that his own role in the interview was to facilitate the subject's discussion. The inexpert was confused and unsure of where to begin. He offered only minimal help to the subject and did not clarify his role in the interview.

Several experimental therapy "analogue" studies have shown that perceived expertness can be controlled by the surroundings, titles, and actions of interviewers and is one of the factors determining the amount of change obtained from attempted influence (Bergin, 1962; Patton, 1969; Schmidt & Strong, 1970; Strong & Dixon, 1972; Strong & Schmidt, 1970). In the long run, the client's experience of reduced (or not reduced) costs will guide his selection of an expert when he again feels the need for help.

Referent Base. The distress and discomfort which bring clients to therapy often are results of self-perceived inconsistency between behaviors and values (Strong, 1970). Persons' needs for psychological consistency are the basis of several theories of cognitive balance in social psychology (Heider, 1958; Newcomb, 1953; Osgood & Tannenbaum, 1955; Festinger, 1957). However, consistency among beliefs and actions is more a matter of subjective interpretation dependent on social comparison than of objective determination. As a consequence, persons seek other persons with whom to assess their consistency (Festinger, 1954; Strong, 1970). Depending on the similarity of basic values and attitudes, therapists can be referents by which clients can (in their perception) increase their psychological consistency. If the therapist and client discover strong similarities in world views, clients can be expected to adopt therapist interpretations, attitudes, and reactions because of the therapist's presumed greater consistency in applying the shared basic personal values. Jones and Gerard (1967) have referred to a sharing of values as co-orientation and suggest that co-oriented others are the source of changes in personal values and in the way these values are used to interpret events.

Reference or co-orientation can be described as interpersonal attraction. Persons who like each other assume they are similar in important ways (Byrne, 1961). Perceived similarity leads to liking or interpersonal attraction (Berscheid & Walster, 1969; Byrne, 1961; Schmidt & Strong, 1971), and interpersonal attraction increases the acceptance of influence (Brock, 1965; Strong & Dixon, 1972). The evidence amassed by Byrne and his associates (Byrne, 1961; Byrne & Blaylock, 1963; Byrne & Griffitt, 1966) suggests that persons, once finding points of similarity, assume more similarity than in reality exists and seek continually to expand the scope and range of similarity through constant reappraisal of their own position and penetrating examination of apparent dissimilarities. Because of this, influence stemming from a referent base is a consequence of the exposure of views, attitudes,

and behavior without formal or obvious attempts to influence.

A therapist develops referent power by bringing to the client's attention similarities in values, opinions, and experiences. This requires that the therapist reveal himself to the client. Experimental studies of interview processes show that interviewers' similarity self-disclosures as well as apparent liking for interviewees enhance interviewees' perception of the interviewers' transparency, empathetic understanding, and warmth (Murphy & Strong, 1970; Schmidt & Strong, 1971; Strong & Dixon, 1972). However, attractiveness may be a fragile basis for influence. Interpersonal attraction may increase influence only in those areas where the similarity bases of the attraction are relevant (Berscheid, 1966; Corrozi & Rosnow, 1968; Haiman, 1949). Simons, Berkowitz, and Moyer (1970, p. 12) propose that "attitude change toward the position advocated by the source depends on the extent to which interpersonal similarities are perceived as having instrumental value to the receiver." In Strong and Dixon's (1972) experimental interviews, interviewers revealed opinions 1, 2, and 4 stanine units discrepant from opinions held by the interviewees. Following 20 minutes of discussing similarity and portraying apparent liking, this single dissimilarity led interviewees to endorse as increasingly false with larger discrepancies the statement, "I feel I have a great deal in common with the interviewer." Treating clients who need help in changing self-concepts and actions requires therapists to communicate discrepancies to clients and this may eliminate previously developed perceived similarity.

Legitimate Base. Because of cultural norms and personal values, most people believe they should accept certain other persons' directives. Counselors and psychotherapists have legitimate cultural and institutional roles as help-givers in personal, vocational, and interpersonal relations spheres (Frank, 1963; Schofield, 1964; Strong, 1968). By seeking a therapist to help attain certain goals, clients accept the therapist's legitimacy to suggest changes in their attitudes, relation-

ships, and plans. Accepting a relationship with the therapist entails accepting a deferent role with him. A therapist can increase his legitimacy by explicitly obtaining the client's personal commitment to therapy and change. By heightening the client's perception of his voluntary status in therapy and his commitment to achieving change, resistance to therapist suggestions becomes inconsistent with his own commitment. Some therapists establish contracts with clients which specify the client's goals and objectives and the therapist's range of freedom in helping the client achieve these goals (Sulzer, 1962). On the basis of such formal or informal agreements, the therapist can use the client's desire to be consistent and keep his word as leverage to facilitate client conformity to changes required by the treatment plan. Personal agreements can also extend the domain over which the client will accept influence from the therapist.

The strength of legitimate power derived from personal agreement can be seen in the experimenter-subject relationship (with volunteer subjects) where subjects will perform mind-numbing, boring, and seemingly endless tasks (Frank, 1944 a, 1944 b, 1944 c) and will carry out instructions basically counter to socially acceptable beliefs as Milgram (1963) demonstrated when he was able to induce subjects to "administer" possibly fatal electric shocks to other students.

Informational Base. Clients need information on how to attain their goals at reduced cost and of other people's views of consistent behaviors and values. Such information can come from the content of the therapist's remarks, or from books, articles, movies or other communicators. Because the effect of information on opinion change does not necessarily entail an interpersonal relationship between influencer and influencee, informational power can be said to exert a secondary effect (Raven, 1965). The client considers the information because the expert or referent therapist attests to its credibility and usefulness. Once exposed, the persuasiveness of the information defines its effect. This secondary informational

influence may underlie increasing and decreasing effects of communications over time. When an ineffective communicator presents information, the immediate impact of the information reflects the recipient's perception of the communicator. However, as the communicator is forgotten, the value and persuasiveness of the content of the information may lead to conformity to the intended behavior (Kelman & Hovland, 1953; Strong & Schmidt, 1970). Fading of influence originating from a strong communicator suggests weak informational value of his communications (Strong & Gray, 1971). Therapists can enhance their influence on clients by exposing clients to information such as books, articles, and alternative communicators which emphasize the interpretations and relationships they desire their clients to adopt. Psychological tests with their presumed objectivity and certainty are a particularly important source of informational power.

Ecological Base. Ecological power refers to the potential ability of one person to take "...some action which modifies..(another person's)..social or physical environment, on the assumption that the new environment will subsequently bring about the desired changes in..(the other person)..(Cartwright, 1965, pp. 19-20)." Considerable evidence attests to the environmental control of behavior from experimental psychology where reinforcement is emphasized (Bandura, 1969) and from social psychology where group membership, reference groups, and group norms are emphasized (Jones & Gerard, 1967). Barker and Wright (1955) have shown the strong control behavior settings exert over behavior. School counselors now emphasize counselor interaction with teachers and administration in order to modify pupil behavior through their school environments (McAllister, et al., 1969). Clinical psychologists often use ward management as a means of modifying the behavior of psychiatric patients. Effective use of ecological control requires knowledge of the critical aspects of the environment, and behavior theory and social psychology are increasingly providing such knowledge.

Therapists in settings where they do not have the ability to directly manipulate clients' environments can make use of the environmental forces in different behavior settings by inducing their clients to enter the setting. As such, ecological power exerts a secondary influence, while expert, referent, and legitimate power provide the impetus to place the client in contact with the behavior setting. Inducing a client to date more frequently, go to dances, study more, look for a job, move out of his parents' home, or get divorced are attempts to place the client in contact with ecological forces which the therapist believes will lead to and strengthen desired behavior changes.

Restraining Forces: Resistance and Opposition

Resistance forces are anti-compliance forces in the client which are generated by the therapist's characteristics and the way in which the therapist requests change. Because resistance impedes the client's acceptance of the therapist's requests regardless of their rational utility, it often has an irrational flavor (Cartwright, 1965, p. 34). Resistance arises when the client perceives the therapist's influence attempts as stemming from illicit motives. Frank (1944 a, 1944 b, 1944 c) summarized his remarkable research on resistance by concluding that "...resistance to an activity is readily aroused if it involves submitting to an arbitrary personal demand and is thereby equivalent to a personal defeat."

An influence attempt will seem illegitimate when it is not congruent with the implied power base. A client should resist a therapist's request when it assumes power not previously established in the relationship, as when a vocational counselor attempts to get a client to discuss an interpersonal problem when the client does not see him as having skill in interpersonal matters. A behavior modification study by Dell (1971) lends support to the power-congruence hypothesis for the expert and referent power bases. Communicators with a strong expert power base (and a minimal referent base) produced less behavior change with a personalized influence attempt

(As I look at it...) than with an impersonal influence attempt (The data indicate...)
Conversely, influencers with a strong referent power base and a minimal expert base produced more behavior change with a personalized request than with an impersonal request. A chi-square test of the frequency of conformity in the two power-congruent conditions vs. the power - incongruent conditions approached statistical significance ($.05 < .10$). Results of an experimental interview study by Strong, Meland and Keierleber (1972) suggest that the power-incongruence hypothesis holds for the ecological power base also. Communicators lacking an ecological power base (but having strong referent base) obtained less opinion change ($p=.08$) When using impersonal imperative influence statements (Obviously..you definitely have...and you will adopt this finding...) than when using personal suggestive influence statements (The way I see it, it would seem...). The imperative mood implies that the therapist has the ecological power to force the client to comply whether he likes it or not. To the extent ecological power is nonexistent or inadequate, the client should resist the therapists requests as compliance suggests a personal defeat.

While the legitimate power base may add little to total power (Strong & Schmidt, 1971), it should protect other power bases from resistance (Raven & French, 1953). For instance, obtaining an explicit personal agreement to explore an area should short-circuit resistance raised by the client's doubts of the therapist's expertise in that area. If resistance does occur in therapy, the legitimacy of the therapist's attempting to influence the client should be dealt with, possibly using Haley's (1963) meta-complimentary rationale.

Opposition forces are anti-compliance forces aroused by the content of an influence attempt. They differ from resistance forces in that they are directed at the change advocated by the influence attempt rather than at the attempt to influence. Behavioral change can be conceptualized as a shift from one state (a) to another state (b). Assuming that all behavior is a necessary consequence of the psychological

forces operating on the person at that time, the behavior represented by state a is a consequence of the interaction of psychological forces at that time. If state a is stable (the behavior is static or consistently changing) these forces can be said to be in equilibrium around the balance point, state a. State a thus is maintained by an equilibrium of forces and these forces can be termed anchorages of state a. When a change (to b) is proposed, some of the a anchorage forces are in opposition to the changes, some are neutral, and some are in the direction of the change. Opposition is thus a label for those forces which maintain a and oppose b, as well as forces irrelevant to a but still opposed to state b.

Anchorage forces are not well understood. Cartwright (1965), Katz (1960) and McGuire (1969) propose that anchorages of attitudes be categorized by their functional value to the person. They propose five functions: utility, value, social support, internal consistency and defense maintenance. Utility anchorage represents the degree to which state a helps an individual cut costs in adapting to his environment. Knowledge functions in this way by providing efficient means of adapting to situations and measuring returns. Value anchorage is the degree to which a represents values about the goodness and rightness of persons or events. Vaughn and Mangan (1963) found that an attitude was harder to change with group pressure when the attitude was relevant to strong values of the individual than when it was not. Anchorage for a may stem from social support and norms of other influence agents and reference groups. Strong, Meland and Keierleber (1972) demonstrated the effects of social support anchorage in an experimental interview study where they found that Need-for-Achievement ratings were much more difficult to change when a previous influence agent had agreed with the student's initial self-rating. Internal consistency anchorage occurs when state a is in a "net" of interlocking attitudes and actions such that changing a would require changing associated actions and cognitions. Festinger and Carlsmith (1959) and McGuire (1961) have demonstrated

this in finding that under certain conditions active participation in defending a belief tends to make the belief more resistant to change. State a may perform a psychological defense function in which it helps the individual avoid psychological distress and loss of self-esteem. Such defensiveness is demonstrated when individuals oppose influence by distorting the meaning of the influence attempt (Cantril, 1958; Kelley et al, 1955).

The motivational forces anchoring a become opposition forces against b to the extent that b is discrepant with them. That is, the anchorage of a opposes change to b to the extent that b does not fulfill the same needs, express the same values, maintain the same influence agent and group norms, produce the same associations, or defend against the same anxieties as does a. For example, if draft resistance is an expression of a man's moral values, pointing out the utilities of accepting the draft (avoiding imprisonment) should be ineffective. Influence attempts which show that accepting induction is a better expression of the man's values should be more effective because they are less motivationally discrepant from his original position. Opposition to changing a to b is thus a joint function of the anchorage of a and the motivational discrepancy between a and b. At a given strength of anchorage, the greater the motivational discrepancy, the greater the opposition. At a given level of motivational discrepancy, the greater the anchorage, the greater the opposition. Frank (1944 a, 1944 b, 1944 c) pioneered the study of the effects of discrepancy by showing that persons are more likely to perform a change from a to b via a series of small changes than if the total action change is required in one step. Systematic desensitization (Wolpe & Lazarus, 1966), successive approximations (Skinner, 1953), and stages of interpretation (Levy, 1963) are ways to reduce opposition by reducing the motivational discrepancy between the pre-existing and requested state. Opposition may also be reduced by reducing the magnitude of the anchorage. Ellis' (1962) psychotherapeutic attacks on "irrational ideas" are

attempts to reduce the anchorage of target behaviors by freeing them from a network of related ideas. Likewise, drug treatment programs which isolate patients from the "drug culture" are attempts to undermine the peer group anchorage for drug taking.

Opposition reduction is a sufficient, but not necessary condition for producing change. When anchorage or discrepancy is low (e.g. when a counselor suggests that a client seek occupational information), power can be applied without any attempt to reduce opposition. However, where anchorages and discrepancies are great, opposition reduction strategies should greatly increase therapist effectiveness.

Influence Attempts and Influence Strategies

Influence Attempts

Influence attempts are therapist remarks which the client perceives to imply that he change his actions, feelings or thoughts. Such statements generate internal impelling and restraining forces, and circularly, can be defined as any therapist behaviors which generate such internal change processes. This intuitive and circular definition allows entering the arena of behavior change process at the level of impact on the client where "What is real is what has effects" (Lewin, 1936, p. 19)." When we say that an influence attempt is perceived by the client to imply change, we mean perceived in the sense of having impact on the client"... by way of a perceptual process, usually leading to a change of cognition structure (Lewin, 1936, p. 27)." The client may or may not be able to identify for a third party (or himself) this perceptual process. That is, he may not be aware of the relationship between therapist remarks, his changing behavior, and his internal processes (Strong, 1970). Modeling, verbal conditioning and other covert influence techniques fall within

the definition of influence attempts.

Influence attempts operate on the client by activating the impelling forces of social power and the restraining forces of opposition and resistance. Therapist's social power is a characteristic of the relationship between therapist and client and, as such, is present at some level at all times of their interaction. The generalized level (and type) of power-dependence is a function of the implicit and explicit negotiations about need-resource correspondence in force at that time. All therapist remarks are weighted by that prevailing general power relationship. In addition, the wording of the influence attempt can explicitly identify an extra power thrust for the influence attempt. For example, a therapist can begin his statement with "I have dealt with this problem many times and, in my therapy experience, it means....." Such reference to specific and special expertise creates an expert power "spike" for the statement. A power "spike" is an increase in the general level of power. When a therapist gives an explicit rationale for an influence attempt he is essentially renegotiating the power relationship. If the client accepts the rationale for the influence attempt, he is accepting the notion that the therapist has especially great resources in the area specified by the rationale. The power engaged in an influence attempt is also a function of the degree of "belongingness" or relevance of the content of the statement to the content areas defining the power-dependence relationship. Therapist remarks the client sees as falling outside the realm of their agreements do not engage the power relationship. This is a necessary consequence of the specificity of each power base as described above.

Resistance is closely tied to power and, in some respects, is its reciprocal. Therapist remarks intended to "spike" power will raise resistance if they identify dependence bases the client does not perceive. For example, resistance

usually results from statements which imply client lack of choice in complying with therapist suggestions because of the client's voluntary status in the relationship and the therapist's lack of ecological resources to force client compliance. Likewise, presenting influence statements whose content is not relevant to the content of the dependence results in resistance.

Influence attempts create opposition in proportion to the psychological discrepancy between their content and the content of the client's present state. Discrepancy can be viewed as a function of the degree of difficulty in making the change, the shift in values entailed by the change, the lost utilities entailed, or the change in the definition and meaning of experience. In the section on opposition we discussed discrepancy and cognitive "mass" anchoring the present state which jointly define opposition.

Influence Strategies

Therapy, from inception to leave taking, is a master program or strategy designed to achieve a desired end-state from a given beginning state and process inputs. This overall program can be broken into sub-routines or sub-strategies designed to contribute in certain ways to the master strategy. These sub-routines can be described as influence strategies which can be categorized by the nature of their contribution to the therapy program. Referring back to our formulation of behavior change, basic elements of the process are given in the formula:

$$\overrightarrow{\Delta B} = f(\overrightarrow{P}, \overrightarrow{O}, \overrightarrow{R}).$$

Influence strategies which alter the nature and levels of P, O, and R are process strategies, while influence strategies which directly implement ΔB are outcome strategies. A process strategy is designed to achieve an objective which is an intermediate step in achieving the final outcome. For instance, a therapist may use a process strategy to convince an unassertive client that his opinions are worthwhile, in order to reduce the client's opposition to performing

assertive acts. The importance of process strategies is given by our assumption of the client's psychological circumstances at the point of seeking therapy: the client is in conflict between a present state and a desired state (perhaps just not-the-present-state), and cannot make the transition without outside help. If he could, he would do so and dispense with the therapist. If the client is to be changed, the equilibrium among the forces in conflict must be altered.

At the point of contact with the therapist, the forces restraining client change are stronger than those impelling change, otherwise the change would be made. This has strong implications for selecting influence strategies via another variable we have not previously introduced: psychological tension (Lewin, 1938). Psychological tension is conceived of as an activation state which arises from conflicts among psychological forces. Tension is implied by assuming a conservation of energy principle in that the magnitude of the resultant of restraining and impelling forces is seldom equal to their additive magnitudes, but rather is equal to their difference in magnitudes. The "lost" magnitude is hypothesized to be transformed into psychological tension. Conflict therefore generates psychological tension. Increases in the magnitude of impelling or restraining forces which are not manifest in a $\Delta \vec{B}$ resultant contribute to heightened tension. Thus a therapist's attempts to directly impel desired changes increase the client's tension because the restraining forces are initially stronger than the impelling forces. Increased tension is psychologically uncomfortable and may lead the client to seek other solutions to his problem.

A strategy more likely to succeed would reduce the level of conflict and tension rather than raise it (Cartwright, 1965, p. 35). By using influence power to reduce opposition to desired changes, a therapist can facilitate client change without directly advocating the change and without increasing problem-

related tension. For this reason, process influence strategies designed to reduce opposition are very important in therapy. Process strategies designed to reduce or prevent resistance perform a similar facilitative function.

The first application of therapist social power is in process strategies designed to increase the strength of the therapist's power bases and to reduce the possibility of resistance, processes described in the sections on therapist power bases and resistance. Therapist power is then turned to diagnosis of the client's "life space" and, by interpretative re-definition of the client's life-space, to reducing opposition. Desired behavior change then is facilitated by outcome strategies which most often only gradually approximate the desired final outcome. A thorough treatment of influence strategies awaits the development of a diagnostic system which will guide the therapist to identify sources and magnitudes of forces in conflict. This is our next objective.

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¹Footnote

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Double Entry Expectancy Tables For Predicting College Grades
of Minnesota High School Students

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Double Entry Expectancy Tables For Predicting College Grades of Minnesota High School Students¹

The purpose of this bulletin is to present double entry expectancy tables for the joint examination of the Minnesota Scholastic Aptitude Test (MSAT) and high school percentile rank (HSR) in relation to academic success in Minnesota colleges. Single entry expectancy tables for MSAT and HSR based on these data have been published elsewhere (Perry, Joselyn and Swanson, 1971, Joselyn, 1971).

Population

Students included in the study were all freshmen from Minnesota high schools who entered Minnesota colleges in the Fall of 1968. To provide larger groups and more stable results for colleges with freshman classes of less than 100, 1967 freshmen from such colleges also were included.

Variables

The criterion variable was first-term college grade average (GPA). The basic predictors were high school percentile rank (HSR) and MSAT college percentile (MSAT) based on entering freshmen in Minnesota colleges. MSAT scores were for Form C. Form A scores were adjusted to be equivalent to Form C scores.

¹ The expert assistance of Gregory J. Lindahl and Judith Oberaigner in supervising the data processing and analysis for this study is gratefully acknowledged.

Analysis

Expectancy tables based on HSR and MSAT scores were produced separately for each college. A five by five table was produced by dividing each of the variables (HSR and MSAT) into five percentile groups; 0-16, 17-33, 34-66, 67-82, and 83-99. The criterion distribution, first-term GPA, was divided at C (2.00) and at B (3.00). The proportion of the total number of students in each predictor group who had criterion scores at or above each of the cutting points was computed for each cell. Thus the tables were constructed to show the percentages of students in each of the 25 predictor groups who obtained an average first-term GPA of C or better and of B or better. Each cell also contains the proportion of the student body falling in that cell. Predictors were grouped into just five categories on both variables rather than a larger number that would permit more discriminating probability estimates because the stability of the estimates is determined not by the total number of cases but by the number in each predictor group (i.e., each cell of the tables). The same predictor ranges were used for all colleges to facilitate comparisons and avoid confusion. If the cells had few students, they were combined to yield more stable predictions. An asterisk indicates each cell in which there were less than 20 but more than 12 students. Even some combined cells have too few cases for the computation of reliable proportions. This tends to occur when the schools are small or have skewed predictor distributions. The tables contain no expectancies for cells with fewer than 12 cases, but even with an N of 12 the standard error of the percentage may be as large as 16. With an

N of 50 the standard error is not larger than 7. Because the classes on which the percentages are based are obviously not random samples from the school's population of entering students, interpretation of the standard error in terms of expected variation for future classes is not possible; but it is clear that the expectancies based on small N's should be used with extra caution.

Expectancy tables, showing the percentages of freshmen in each fifth of the HSR and MSAT distributions who obtained grades of C or above and of B or above, are given for each Minnesota college in Tables 1 through 5.

Applying Expectancy Tables²

Application of the expectancy tables can be illustrated with the scores of Janice, who has always done above average but not outstanding work in school (HSR=63) and has been developing a serious interest in art, in which she seems to have some talent. She wants a "good, general education" and plans to obtain it at the University of Minnesota, which she can attend while living at home. Her MSAT college percentile of 58 is consistent with her high school record. To see how students with backgrounds similar to Janice's have done at the University of Minnesota, CLA (College of Liberal Arts), turn to Table 2.2. Janice's HSR of 63 is in the 34-66 range and her MSAT of 58 is in the 34-66 range on MSAT. It can be seen that 48% of the students with backgrounds similar to Janice's earned a C average or higher and that only 3% earned a B or higher. It is also noted that

2 The author is grateful to Dallis K. Perry for his contribution to this section.

12% of the freshman class have scores rather similar to hers, but that over 80% of the entering students had higher scores than hers (those cells either above or to the right of the cell she is in).

Janice has been considering, besides CLA, the General College at the University. According to the GC expectancy tables Janice's scores are such that 79% of the students similar to her had averages of C or above and 25% averaged B or above. It can also be seen that about 80% of the students had scores less than Janice's (lower or to the left of her cell). Her counselor, of course, could point out other alternatives such as junior colleges or the Minneapolis School of Art and Design. Properly interpreted, these data can help Janice understand some differences between schools, consider the kind of program and level of intellectual challenge most appropriate for her, and stimulate her to seek further information to help her resolve the choice.

Expectancy tables do not require a normal bivariate distribution underlying their interpretation, and they avoid an unwarranted appearance of precision, as they avoid the uncertainties associated with measurement error. Also, the degree of relationship between the variables is reflected by the probability figures themselves. However, there are important cautions to be observed in using expectancy tables, cautions which reflect the fact that the tabled figures are actually proportions of previous classes rather than probabilities of future performance. (It has been suggested that they be called experience tables rather than expectancy tables.) First, in interpreting the figures as expectancies for new students we must assume that the

composition of the new classes will be similar in academic ability as the classes on which the tables are based and that grading practices will remain the same. (Theoretically, it is unnecessary to assume that class composition remains the same if absolute marking standards do not change; but, because most grading is at least partly relative, it is more realistic to expect that a marked change in class composition will change the expectancies.) Entering classes will differ somewhat from year to year; but, unless there is a definite change in policy, such as a change in admission standards, the differences are likely to be slight enough to maintain the validity of the expectancy tables from year to year. Over a period of years, however, such changes can cumulate, so the tables must either be reasonably current or be accompanied by evidence of consistency such as predictor and criterion distributions that remain the same from year to year, if they are to be relied on. Second, as noted above, it is important that each table be based on a group large enough to provide stable proportions. Like the standard error of estimate, the expectancies reflect uncertainty due to measurement and prediction error, but not that due to sampling variation. Finally, expectancy tables are necessarily based on the experiences of enrolled students, and these students form populations that differ from high school seniors in ways varying from one college to another, as a result of both college admissions policies and practices and students' college selection decisions. To refer a student's score to a given expectancy table, it must be reasonable to consider him a potential member of the population on which the table is based. If the table shows no scores

in the range containing the student's score, it is clear that the table is not applicable to him. Even if a small percentage of the class had similar predictor scores, these students were atypical of their classmates with respect to these scores, and inasmuch as they were enrolled despite this atypicality, they are likely to be atypical in unknown ways of students with similar scores. Thus, not only expectancies based on small N's, but also those based on small proportions of the class should be viewed with caution.

Consider, for example, Michael's HSR of 36 and MSAT college percentile of 64. The expectancy table for the U of M College of Liberal Arts (Table 2.2) indicates that Michael's chances of obtaining at least a C to be 48% and above a B average to be 3%. It is also noticed that students with similar HSR but higher MSAT scores do about the same. The first explanation to be considered for an anomaly of this kind in the tables is a small number of cases, but in this case the N of about 468 (12% of 1781) should be sufficient to avoid fluctuations of this size merely because of sampling error. As noted above, students who enroll in a college despite very low predictor scores are likely to have special strengths in other areas or high scores on other predictors. Unless Michael has such strengths he would be unwise to rely too heavily on the tabled expectancies.

As the considerations above suggest, the expectancy tables alone should not be used to decide whether or not a student should attend a given college. The same probability of success that leads one student to choose a college may lead another to look elsewhere. A 30% chance of success may encourage one student, whereas a 70% chance

may discourage another. The tables should not be used to "shop" for a college by seeking to identify the college in which the student has the best chance of obtaining good grades. But they do provide information, suggest additional questions, and supply some answers to help clarify tentative choices or narrow the field of possibilities.

TABLE 1.1

Augsburg College

N= 395

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%3 C 83* B 42*	%6 C 100 B 27	%46 C 96 B 49
	67-82	%0	%0	%4 C 71 B 12	%16 C 86 B 13	%3
	34-66	%0	%1	%15 C 66 B 3	%4 C 72* B 0*	%-
	17-33	%-	%-	%1	%0	%0
	0-16	%-	%-	%0	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.2

Bethel College

N= 243

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
83-99		%-	%2	%9	%12	%21
				C 82 B 36	C 87 B 20	C 100 B 59
67-82		%-	%2	%10	%8	%7
				C 76 B 4	C 90 B 15	C 78 B 17
34-66		%2	%2	%5	%3	%1
				C 50 B 0		
17-33		%-	%1	%2	%-	%-
0-16		%0	%0	%0	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.3

Carleton College

N= 97

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	% 0	% 0	%3	%4	%77 C 94 B 45
	67-82	% 0	% 0	%0	%2	%12 C 92* B 25*
	34-66	% 0	% 0	% 0	%0	% 0
	17-33	% 0	% 0	% 0	%0	% 0
	0-16	% 0	% 0	% 0	%0	% 0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.4

College of St. Benedict

N= 270

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
83-99		%-	%-	%8 C 95 B 32	%11 C 100 B 55	%24 C 98 B 69
	67-82	%0	%-	%13 C 100 B 14	%7 C 100 B 37	%7 C 95 B 40
34-66		%-	%2	%11 C 97 B 14	%5 C 100* B 8*	%4 C 82* B 0*
	H S R	C 50* B 0*				
17-33		%0	%-	%1	%1	%0
0-16		%0	%1	%0	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.5

College of St. Catherine

N= 219

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%6 C 89 B 33	%11	%44 C 98 B 50
	67-82	%0	%-	%7 C 57* B 0*	%4	%12 C 81 B 19
	34-66	%0	%1	%5	%3 C 60* B 4*	%3
	17-33	%-	%0	%-	%-	%-
	0-16	%-	%0	%0	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

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TABLE 1.6

College of St. Scholastica

N= 172

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%3 C 92* B 31*	%16 C 100 B 56	%8 C 100 B 79	%19 C 97 B 82
	67-82	%2	%2	%13 C 73 B 18	%5 C 89* B 16*	%6
	34-66	%2	%2 C 64* B 9*	%9	%4 C 71* B 7*	%2
	17-33	%0	%0	%3	%0	%1
	0-16	%-	%-	%1	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

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TABLE 1.7

Concordia College - St. Paul

N= 216

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%-	% 8 C 94 B 44	% 8 C 100* B 52*	%15 C 100 B 66
	67-82	%-	%3	% 9 C 95 B 15	% 2 C 93* B 21*	% 5
	34-66	% 4 C 25* B 0*	% 8 C 44 B 0	% 20 C 74 B 5	% 3 C 63* B 9*	% 2
	17-33	% 2 C 24* B 0*	% 2	% 1	% 0	%-
	0-16	% 3 C 27* B 0*	%-	% 1	% 0	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.8

Concordia College - Moorhead

N= 419

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%1	%10 C 85 B 37	%10 C 95 B 50	%25 C 96 B 66
	67-82	%-	%1	%13 C 87 B 19	%6 C 79 B 13	%6 C 88 B 33
	34-66	%2	%6	%12 C 58 B 2	%3 C 55* B 18*	%4 C 72 B 11
	17-33	%-	%0	%-	%0	%0
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.9

College of St. Thomas

N= 315

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
83-99		%0	%0	%2 C 100* B 33*	%6 C 94 B 33	%15 C 98 B 58
		%-	%-	%8 C 76 B 20	%7 C 86 B 29	%7 C 78 B 52
67-82		%1	%3	%20 C 48 B 2	%9 C 50 B 11	%10 C 53 B 7
34-66		%-	%-	%6 C 41* B 0*	%1	%-
17-33		%-	%-	%2	%1	%-
0-16						

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.10

Dr. Martin Luther College

N= 57

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%0	%7	%11	%18
	67-82	%0	%0	%5	%12	%5
	34-66	%2	%5	%13	%7	%4
	17-33	%2	%0	%7	%0	%2
	0-16	%0	%0	%2	%0	%0

C 92
B 58

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.11

Gustavus Adolphus College

N= 477

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%-	%7 C 91 B 19	%10 C 96 B 41	%29 C 94 B 53
	67-82	%0	%2	%12 C 80 B 7	%9 C 86 B 7	%8 C 79 B 26
	34-66	%-	%1	%6 C 68 B 4	%3 C 80* B 7*	%3 C 69* B 8*
	17-33	%0	%0	%-	%-	%0
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%0	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.12

Hamline University

N= 225

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%2 C 69* B 8*	%12 C 82 B 43	%9 C 90 B 24	%30 C 99 B 55
	67-82	%-	%3	%10 C 73 B 5	%8 C 88 B 18	%9 C 90 B 40
	34-66	%-	%-	%8 C 58 B 0	%4 C 63* B 0*	%3
	17-33	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.13

Macalester College

N= 272

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%8 C 96* B 43*	%10 C 93 B 33	%60 C 93 B 51
	67-82	%0	%-	%2	%4 C 70 B 11	
	34-66	%0	%0	%1	%1	%4 C 67* B 8*
	17-33	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0

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TABLE 1.14

St. John's University

N= 245

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%2	%7 C 100 B 39	%11 C 93 B 30	%23 C 93 B 47
	67-82	%0	%0	%9 C 82 B 14	%8 C 90 B 5	%9 C 86 B 14
	34-66	%0	%-	%15 C 42 B 3	%6 C 60* B 0*	%6 C 71* B 0*
	17-33	%0	%-	%1	%0	%2
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%-	%-

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TABLE 1.15

St. Mary's College - Winona

N= 124

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%1	%2 C 100* B 67*	%6 C 100* B 31*	%17 C 95 B 43
	67-82	%4 C 79* B 11*	%2	%8 C 90* B 20*	%6 C 100* B 31*	%5
	34-66	%5	%5	%17 C 90 B 14	%8 C 67* B 14*	%9
	17-33	%2 C 56* B 0*	%2	%1	%0	%0
	0-16	%3	%-	%0	%0	%0

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TABLE 1.16

St. Olaf College

N= 302

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%8 C 96 B 43	%15 C 96 B 35	%62 C 97 B 49
	67-82	%0	%-	%4 C 55* B 18*	%2	%8 C 92 B 25
	34-66	%0	%-	%-	%0	%0
	17-33	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0

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* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 1.17

St. Paul Bible College

N= 85

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%2	%2 C 75* B 0*	%12	%5 C 85* B 25*
	67-82	%0	%4	%11	%1	%6
	34-66	%9 C 29* B 0*	%13	%15 C 46* B 0*	%2	%1
	17-33	%7	%0	%1	%0	%0
	0-16	%0	%1	%1	%1	%0

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TABLE 2.1

University of Minnesota - College of
Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics

N= 425

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%1	%11 C 87 B 35	%7 C 93 B 31	%14 C 95 B 53
	67-82	%1 C 74* B 5*	%3	%17 C 73 B 12	%5 C 82 B 9	%5 C 78 B 26
	34-66	%3 C 46 B 0	%8	%15 C 48 B 5	%6 C 57 B 8	%3
	17-33	%0	%0	%0	%0	%-
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0

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TABLE 2.2

University of Minnesota
College of Liberal Arts

N= 3904

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%1 C 47 B 5	%8 C 71 B 16	%9 C 81 B 28	%25 C 92 B 48
	67-82	%-	%2 C 48 B 3	%12 C 57 B 6	%8 C 67 B 11	%9 C 76 B 20
	34-66	%-	%-	%12 C 48 B 3	%7 C 54 B 7	%6 C 54 B 12
	17-33	%0	%0	%-	%- B 32 B 5	%1 C 50 B 14
	0-16	%0	%-	%-	%-	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

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TABLE 2.3

University of Minnesota - Crookston

N= 139

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%1 C 82 B 45	%-	%3 C 80* B 45*
	67-82	%3	%-	%6	%4	%-
	34-66	%14 C 74 B 16	%11 C 73 B 13	%14 C 90 B 25	%6	%2 C 91* B 45*
	17-33	%9 C 60* B 7*	%6	%5	%0	%-
	0-16	%5	%2	%1	%-	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 2.4

University of Minnesota - Duluth

N= 1332

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%- C 71* B 0*	%1	%9 C 77 B 14	%8 C 81 B 19	%12 C 94 B 49
	67-82	%1 C 35* B 6*	%3 C 41 B 4	%11 C 52 B 3	%5 C 76 B 10	%4 C 77 B 18
	34-66	%4 C 15 B 2	%7 C 32 B 0	%16 C 36 B 0	%5 C 22 B 0	%2 C 59 B 9
	17-33	%2 C 17 B 0	%2 C 29 B 0	%3 C 28 B 0	%-	%-
	0-16	%2 C 15 B 0	%1 C 8* B 0*	%-	%-	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 2.5

University of Minnesota - Education

N= 71

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%1	%3	%13 C 54 B 6	%11 C 83 B 17	%10
	67-82	%0	%6	%18	%3	%8
	34-66	%1	%1	%11	%10	%3
	17-33	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 2.6

University of Minnesota - General CollegeN= 835

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%-	%-	%0	%0
		C 68 B 23				
	67-82	%2	%1	%1	%0	%0
	34-66	%13 C 71 B 17	%14 C 77 B 17	%16 C 79 B 25	%1 C 67* B 67*	%-
	17-33	%9 C 49 B 8	%7 C 63 B 9	%10 C 73 B 11	%1 C 76 B 24	%-
0-16	%9 C 36 B 4	%5 C 47 B 2	%6 C 59 B 15	%1	%-	

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 2.7

University of Minnesota - Institute of Technology N= 631

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%-	%12 C 72 B 17	%16 C 81 B 29	%39 C 88 B 43
	67-82	%-	%1	%9 C 63 B 4	%6 C 67 B 13	%8 C 77 B 17
	34-66	%-	%-	%3 C 43 B 5	%1 C 63* B 16*	%2
	17-33	%0	%0	%-	%-	
	0-16	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 2.8

University of Minnesota - Morris

N= 444

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
83-99		%-	%2	%14 C 85 B 23	%13 C 79 B 30	%23 C 94 B 57
			C 58* B 11*			
67-82		%-	%2	%12 C 65 B 7	%8 C 60 B 6	%7 C 74 B 23
34-66		%-	%-	%11 C 45 B 2	%4 C 47* B 33*	%3
	H S R					
17-33		%-	%0	%0	%0	%-
0-16		%0	%0	%0	%-	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 3.1

Bemidji State College

N= 754

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%- C 77 B 8	%1	%8 C 95 B 37	%6 C 85 B 30	%7 C 98 B 54
	67-82	%1 C 71 B 9	%3	%10 C 69 B 12	%4 C 72 B 25	C 86 B 33
	34-66	%9 C 36 B 1	%9 C 49 B 5	%19 C 60 B 4	%4 C 68 B 10	%2 C 75* B 8*
	17-33	%2 C 13* B 0*	%3 C 27 B 0	%3 C 43 B 4	%1	%0
	0-16	%2	%1 C 7* B 0*	%1	%0	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 3.2

Mankato State College

N= 2060

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%- C 67* B 6*	%- C 67* B 6*	%6 C 89 B 46	%5 C 92 B 51	%6 C 95 B 62
	67-82	%1 C 58 B 4	%3 C 69 B 9	%8 C 75 B 15	%4 C 82 B 30	%3 C 83 B 34
	34-66	%6 C 38 B 5	%11 C 44 B 5	%18 C 59 B 8	%4 C 66 B 10	%2 C 67 B 26
	17-33	%3 C 19 B 1	%4 C 27 B 1	%3 C 39 B 6	%1 C 55 B 0	%- C 55 B 0
	0-16	%2 C 22 B 4	%2 C 16 B 0	%2 C 30 B 0	%- C 27* B 0*	%- C 27* B 0*

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 3.3

Moorhead State College

N= 893

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting > C

B = percent getting > B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%- C 89* B 28*	%2	%7 C 86 B 27	%6 C 98 B 54	%9 C 95 B 70
	67-82	%1 C 64 B 7	%4	%12 C 73 B 19	%5 C 85 B 23	%4 C 94 B 25
	34-66	%5 C 42 B 2	%10 C 47 B 1	%17 C 55 B 5	%6 C 68 B 14	%2
	17-33	%1 C 30 B 3	%2	%2 C 37 B 5	%-	%-
	0-16	%-	%-	%-	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 3.4

Southwest (grades unreported)

N= 544

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%5	%4	%7
	67-82	%-	%3	%13	%4	%4
	34-66	%8	%8	%21	%3	%3
	17-33	%4	%3	%3	%1	%-
	0-16	%1	%1	%-	%-	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 3.5

St. Cloud State College

N= 1972

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%- C 59 B 24	%1 C 62 B 8	%8 C 87 B 35	%6 C 94 B 43	%10 C 95 B 65
	67-82	%2 C 60 B 6	%4 C 62 B 8	%18 C 82 B 17	%5 C 87 B 26	%5 C 85 B 24
	34-66	%4 C 39 B 1	%8 C 44 B 3	%18 C 52 B 5	%5 C 52 B 7	%3 C 68 B 16
	17-33	%- C 35* B 0*	%2 C 33 B 0	%3 C 32 B 7	%- C 48* B 9*	%-
	0-16	%- C 10* B 3*	%- C 10* B 3*	%1	%- C 48* B 9*	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 3.6

Winona State College

N= 647

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%- C 85* B 23*	%1	%5 C 93 B 30	%3 C 100 B 68	%6 C 100 B 68
	67-82	%1 C 65 B 5	%4	%13 C 81 B 24	%5 C 87 B 32	%3 C 100 B 45
	34-66	%9 C 53 B 2	%11 C 53 B 4	%17 C 59 B 5	%5 C 70 B 13	%2 C 92* B 31*
	17-33	%3 C 18* B 0*	%4 C 50 B 4	%4 C 39 B 4	%-	%-
	0-16	%-	%-	%-	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.1

Anoka - Ramsey State Junior College

N= 719

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%-	%3 C 84 B 32	%3 C 85 B 48	%2
	67-82	%2 C 67 B 5	%4	%7 C 67 B 14	%3 C 73 B 25	%2
	34-66	%12 C 58 B 6	%13 C 66 B 7	%15 C 50 B 5	%5 C 56 B 8	%2
	17-33	%7 C 42 B 8	%5 C 51 B 6	%4 C 41 B 7	%-	%-
	0-16	%6 C 38 B 0	%2	%3 C 33 B 6	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.2

Austin State Junior College

N= 404

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
83-99		%-	%1	%5	%4	%9
		C 77 B 23		C 95 B 32	C 94 B 61	C 100 B 58
67-82		%2	%2	%8	%5	%3
				C 75 B 9	C 89 B 16	C 100* B 33*
34-66		%9	%9	%14	%5	%2
		C 34 B 3	C 51 B 3	C 60 B 5	C 43 B 0	
17-33		%6	%3	%2	%-	%0
		C 32 B 0	C 36* B 0*			
0-16		%5	%1	%2	%0	%-
		C 10 B 0				

H
S
R

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.3

Brainerd State Junior College

N= 186

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0 C 70* B 10*	%1	%4 C 77 B 42	%6 C 88 B 53	%6
	67-82	%2	%3	%10	%3	%2
	34-66	%11 C 39 B 3	%8	%14 C 54 B 8	%5 C 85 B 15	%2
	17-33	%6 C 19 B 0	%4	%3	%1	%0
	0-16	%4	%2	%1	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.4

Fergus Falls State Junior College

N= 200

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%1	%1	%3 C 83 B 50	%4 C 91 B 53	%5
	67-82	%1	%2	%6	%3	%4
	34-66	%8 C 50 B 0	%9	%15 C 60 B 3	%4 C 71 B 21	%3
	17-33	%9 C 23 B 8	%4	%6 C 42 B 8	%1	%0
	0-16	%7 C 17 B 4	%3	%3	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.5

Hibbing State Junior College

N= 340

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%1	%4 C 86* B 14*	%5 C 94* B 38*	%10 C 100 B 68
	67-82	%1 C 67 B 13	%4	%6 C 64 B 18	%5 C 82* B 24*	%5 C 89 B 44
	34-66	%6 C 48 B 9	%11	%17 C 77 B 7	%4	%3 C 48 B 0
	17-33	%5 C 35 B 0	%4	%3 C 73* B 13*	%0	%0
	0-16	%4	%1	%1	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.6

Itasca State Junior College

N= 235

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%3 C 73 B 23	%3 C 94 B 48	%4
	67-82	%1	%2	%6	%4	%3
	34-66	%10 C 54 B 25	%9 C 68 B 14	%15 C 69 B 11	%5 C 75* B 6*	%2
	17-33	%11 C 48 B 0	%3	%5 C 41* B 12*	%-	%0
	0-16	%7 C 19 B 0	%2	%2	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.7

Lakewood State Junior College

N= 598

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%4 C 88 B 35	%2 C 90 B 45	%1
	67-82	%2 C 56 B 9	%3	%7 C 82 B 7	%3 C 81 B 37	%2
	34-66	%11 C 52 B 3	%10 C 43 B 3	%18 C 53 B 6	%3 C 50 B 12	%1
	17-33	%8 C 38 B 0	%5 C 48 B 0	%6 C 42 B 6	%1	%1
	0-16	%6 C 24 B 4	%2	%2 C 30 B 10	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.8

Mesabi State Junior College

N= 343

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%-	%4 C 79 B 21	%5 C 84 B 32	%7
	67-82	%1 C 73 B 9	%2	%8	%3	%8
	34-66	%7 C 22 B 4	%10 C 53 B 3	%18 C 48 B 0	%6 C 59 B 3	%3
	17-33	%3 C 29 B 0	%4	%4 C 17* B 0*	%2 C 38 B 0	%1
	0-16	%4 C 14* B 0*	%1	%1	%-	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

51
TABLE 4.9

Metropolitan State Junior College

N= 299

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	% 1 C 63 B 5	% 1	% 2 C 83 B 22	% 1	% 1 C 75* B 40*
	67-82	% 3	% 1	% 4	% 1	% 1
	34-66	%13 C 47 B 5	%10 C 61 B 3	%15 C 66 B 14	% 3	% 1 C 75* B 33*
	17-33	%11 C 31 B 3	% 4 C 58* B 17*	% 6 C 35* B 6*	% 2	% 1 C 45* B 0*
	0-16	% 9 C 22 B 4	% 3 C 33* B 0*	% 5 C 50* B 7*	% 1	% -

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.10

Normandale State Junior College

N= 717

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%- C 80 B 20	%2 C 75 B 28	%2 C 84 B 38	%3
	67-82	%-	%2	%6	%2	%1
	34-66	%8 C 43 B 5	%9 C 49 B 6	%20 C 45 B 4	%5 C 58 B 12	%3 C 52 B 14
	17-33	%6 C 24 B 0	%5 C 23 B 3	%7 C 30 B 6	%1 C 44 B 19	%-
0-16	%8 C 17 B 2	%3 C 14 B 0	%3 C 23 B 5	%-		

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.11

North Hennepin State Junior College

N= 548

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%-	%1	%3 C 75 B 23 %7	%1 C 73 B 20	%2
	67-82	%2 C 65 B 12	%3		%4	%2
	34-66	%10 C 33 B 5	%15 C 40 B 1	%17 C 33 B 3	%4 C 26	%2 B 3
	17-33	%7 C 34 B 0	%4	%5 C 16 B 0	%1	%1
	0-16	%5 C 22 B 5	%2	%1	%-	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.12

Northland State Junior College

N= 133

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%0	%5 C 81 B 6	%2 C 100 B 58	%10
	67-82	%2	%2	%7	%6	%1
	34-66	%14 C 67 B 0	%11 C 60 B 7	%17 C 74 B 0	%3	%1
	17-33	%7	%3	%2	%0	%0
	0-16	%5 C 29* B 0*	%2	%2	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.13

Rainy River Junior College

N= 93

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%3	%9 C 90 B 45	%4 C 81* B 56*	%6
	67-82	%3	%1	%9	%4	%2
	34-66	%5 C 69* B 0*	%12	%17 C 62 B 18	%3	%0
	17-33	%6 C 29* B 7*	%4	%0	%0	%0
	0-16	%3	%1	%2	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.14

Rochester State Junior College

N= 723

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%- C 74 B 9	%1	%3 C 81 B 43	%3 C 90 B 38	%6
	67-82	%1	%3	%7 C 81 B 19	%5 C 76 B 17	%3
	34-66	%7 C 51 B 1	%8	%18 C 51 B 4	%5 C 58 B 12	%3
	17-33	%6 C 34 B 2	%3	%6 C 34 B 2	%1	%-
	0-16	%4	%2	%2	%-	%-

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.15

Vermillion State Junior College

N= 82

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%0	%0	%0	%0
	67-82	%1	%1	%5	%1	%0
	34-66	%6	%12	%24	%7	%6
		C 53*		C 50		C 82*
		B 7*		B 0		B 0*
17-33	%7	%2	%6	%0	%1	
	C 6*		C 20*			
	B 0*		B 0*			
0-16	%7	%2	%6	%0	%1	

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.16

Willmar State Junior College

N= 304

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq C

B = percent getting \geq B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%1	%4	%2	%4
	67-82	%0	%1	C 86 B 35 %10	C 89 B 69 %4	%3
	34-66	%10	%11	%8	%4	%2
	17-33	%4	%5	%5	%-	%0
	0-16	%5	%2	%2	%-	%0
		C 67 B 5	C 72 B 4	C 88* B 6*		
		C 54 B 4	C 55* B 0*			
		C 45* B 0*				

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 4.17

Worthington State Junior College

N= 230

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%3 C 90 B 38	%3	%4 C 92* B 50*
	67-82	%2 C 85* B 8*	%3	%9	%3	%1
	34-66	%9 C 63 B 7	%10	%15 C 53 B 6	%3	%2 C 73 B 18
	17-33	%5 C 25 B 0	%6	%6 C 30* B 10*	%1	%-
	0-16	%6	%3	%3	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 5.1

Bethany Lutheran College

N= 71

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
83-99		%0	%1	%3	%7	%17
				C 90* B 20*	C 100* B 83*	
67-82		%1	%	%11	%3	%6
34-66		%3	%8	%15	%6	%1
			C 64* B 0*	C 55* B 18*		
17-33		%4	%4	%0	%1	%0
0-16		%3	%0	%0	%0	%0

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 5.2

Crosier Seminary Junior College

N= 46

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting > C

(Numbers in cells too small to give results.)

B = percent getting > B

MSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%0	%7	%0	%9
	67-82	%0	%0	%7	%4	%11
	34-66	%7	%4	%4	%11	%15
	17-33	%0	%0	%2	%7	%0
	0-16	%0	%0	%4	%7	%2

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

TABLE 5.3

Golden Valley Lutheran College

N= 280

% = percent of total in cell

C = percent getting \geq CB = percent getting \geq BMSAT College Percentile

		0-16	17-33	34-66	67-82	83-99
H S R	83-99	%0	%-	%4 C 91 B 44	%3 C 83 B 45	%4
	67-82	%2	%3 C 75* B 25*	%9	%1	%3
	34-66	%12	%9 C 44 B 3	%18 C 69 B 10	%5 C 67* B 11*	%1
	17-33	%5	%4 C 36 B 2	%4 C 40 B 0	%1	%-
	0-16	%9	%1	%3	%0	%

- = less than 1% of total number

* = relatively small number, interpret with caution

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Office for student affairs RESEARCH BULLETIN

SYSTEMATIC CAUSALITY IN COUNSELING:

APPLICATIONS TO THEORY, PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

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Abstract

The lack of impact of much counseling research on counseling practice is attributable to an underlying assumption that unique, individual events are unlawful. This assumption arises from Aristotelian thought which defines lawfulness by the frequency of occurrence of events in the every day world. In contrast, Galileian thought assumes all events are lawful and separates the historical chain of events from the dynamic causes of events. The causes of an event are given by the interaction among variables acting contemporaneously with the event, described as systematic causality. In Galileian thinking, individual events are accounted for by general laws and the specific facts of the concrete situation contemporaneous with the event. Thus there is no discrepancy between general law and the individual: concrete detailed analysis of the individual case is necessary to construct and use the law. Using the assumptions of systematic causality, the beginnings of a theory of behavior are presented and some implications of the theory and systematic causality to counseling practice and research are discussed.

Systematic Causality in Counseling:

Applications to Theory, Practice, and Research*

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Student Life Studies
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A client is a unique person who has come for help with problems which are in many respects, unique. How is the counselor to proceed? Somehow, the counselor must talk with this unique person to clarify the dynamics of the person's functioning which are genetic to his distress. Somehow, the counselor must intervene in these dynamics to alleviate the unique problems or at least to render them functionally tolerable. To do his job, the counselor must have a deep understanding of human functioning. He needs to have answers to questions like: What are the dynamics of human functioning? What are the genetic bases of distress? How are these dynamics manifest in the unique experiences and problems of clients? How can these factors be evaluated through verbal interaction? How is a person's functioning changed? How can this change be implemented through verbal interaction?

Considering the scope and complexity of these questions, questions to which counselors must know answers in order to function in a planful way, there is little wonder that much time, energy and money has been expended in studying counseling processes and construing counseling theories. Yet, I am impressed at how little impact all of this effort, particularly research effort, seems to have had on what counselors do. On several occasions I have asked doctoral candidates in oral examinations how counseling research has affected what they do in counseling. Following prolonged contemplation, the candidates often confess that this research has had little effect on what they do. They complain that much of it seems not to relate to their activities with their unique clients. They quickly defend themselves by pointing to the usefulness of research on psychological tests which

provides them with technical material and helps them provide information to clients. They find correlational relationships between clients' statuses and experiences at one time or at different times interesting and suggestive. Yet, these data do not seem very useful when they face the unique person who is their client. I have become convinced that the reason for this is not the lack of mental abilities of our students but rather a consequence of how events and their causes are construed in much of counseling research. Thirty-five years ago, Kurt Lewin (1935) contrasted two modes of thought about the problem of scientific explanation in psychology which he called "Aristotelian" and "Galileian" and I believe his observations are relevant to counseling research today.

The basic differences between Aristotelian and Galileian modes of thought are in their conceptions of lawfulness and cause. For the Aristotelian mode (referred to hereafter as mode A) lawfulness is given by the regularity or frequency of occurrence manifest in every day events. In other words, if two events are found to occur together with some frequency, as when a counselor remark is found to lead frequently to a particular client response, their relationship is seen as lawful. However, where such statistical regularity does not hold, the relationship is not lawful. In contrast, the Galileian mode (mode G) assumes all events are lawful; lawfulness does not need to be proven or discovered. All counselor remarks and client responses are lawful occurrences, whether they co-occur only once or invariably. Obviously, these two modes construe the causes of events very differently. In mode A, cause is construed as given in the historical ordering of events, and the essences of the cause are the core manifest characteristics common to events. Thus, for example, the common manifest characteristics among various counselor remarks which relate frequently to a "type" of client response define the essential cause of that response. The cause of the events is attributed to their essential characteristics, and lawfulness is to be found by

reducing events to their essence (i.e. reductionism). Understanding or explanation of an event of particular interest consists of cataloging and distilling preceding events until a set of events containing certain essential elements is found to frequently precede the event of interest. This point of view encourages researchers to search for regularities as they occur in the "historical course of events in the every day world" (Lewin, 1935, p. 7). Attention focuses on the characteristics of clients before therapy which are frequently associated with particular outcomes of therapy. The cause of the outcome is implicitly or explicitly assigned to these client characteristics. The fields of individual differences and personality, often described as "basic" to counseling, are collections of the essences of classes of persons which show regular relationships to other essences. These fields have produced elaborate collections of the defining "commonalities" among groups of people. They have developed elaborate methodologies to measure the essences of an individual which will allow the individual to be classified in "appropriate" or defining groups.

The difficulty in using material generated in mode A in counseling processes is twofold: First, the data speak to the individual person (the client) only to the extent to which he resembles frequently occurring types of people, and has experiences similar to other groups of people. The very uniqueness with which the counselor must work is unlawful by its definition as unique. Second, mode A data provide predictions of future states of the client only if he remains unchanged. The client can be classified by his "essential" characteristics, the characteristics he holds in common with others. These characteristics are static abstractions, and allow prediction only in those cases where these static characteristics regularly or frequently relate to other static characteristics. As Gendlin (1964, p. 103) has observed, personality theory provides the counselor with "...explanatory concepts of content and structure which tell us what prevents an individual

from being changed by experience, what factors will force him forever (by definition) to miss or distort everything that might change him unless (as we commonly say) his personality (somehow) changes first." The methods and research philosophies of the field of individual differences are incapable of providing useful concepts and data for guiding counseling processes with individuals because of the underlying assumption of the unlawfulness of infrequent and irregular individual variations, the unlawfulness of the individually unique facts of experience which are the very heart of counseling processes.

In mode G lawfulness of events is assumed. In order to make such an assumption meaningful, events and their causes must be construed differently than in mode A. Mode G begins by separating the historical course of events from the laws of events. The historical course of events is simply a cataloging of events as they occurred over time while the laws of events describe the interaction among variables as they exist contemporaneously with the events. If we wish to know why a particular constellation of variables exists at any point in time, the answer is provided by recounting the events which preceded that situation. However, these historical events are not the cause of the current events, but rather are themselves outcomes of the interaction among factors or forces which existed contemporaneously with them. Historical events have no necessary (causal) relationship to present events. Present events are due to (caused by) interactions among the factors in the current situation. The laws of events describe observed occurrences in terms of functional relationships among variables acting contemporaneously with the occurrence in conjunction with the specific values of these variables existent in the current concrete situation.

Accounting for behavior using mode G requires two different kinds of knowledge or concepts. First, general laws are required which relate the organism's input or stimulus to the organism's output or response. Behavior is the dependence

of response on stimulus, and the relationships between the two are the laws of behavior (Klir & Valach, 1967). These laws are constructed from the observation of behavior. They are not abstracted as is implied in the distillation of the essences of events but rather are constructed, construed, or induced from the relationships among events. They are logical statements which represent relationships among variables and are not empirical in the sense of being immediately applicable to or deducible from concrete events. They describe relationships among variables whose exact values remain to be determined by analyses of the concrete contemporaneous circumstances of the events in question. In other words, the laws of behavior describe how the variables controlling the relationship of stimulus to response interact. The application of the laws requires a second set of data derived from the assessment of the values of the variables in the concrete situation of interest. Mode G, which Lewin called conditional-genetic causality (Lewin, 1935) or systematic causality (Lewin, 1936, p. 31), accounts for the occurrence of a specific event for a unique person in terms of general laws of behavior which hold for all persons and the concrete particularities of the particular person and situation. With systematic causality, there is no discrepancy between general law and the individual: concrete, detailed analyses of the individual case is necessary to construct and use the law.

Behavior Theory

How shall we conceptualize behavior within the systematic causality or mode G framework? Let us begin by describing the person as a system of interrelated elements. The person is distinguishable from his environment and has input from and output to the environment. The person or system transforms (T) his input or stimulus (\vec{S}) into output or response (\vec{R}), which can be denoted as

$$(1) \quad \vec{R} = T(\vec{S})$$

The person's stimulus and response are composed of component or partial stimuli

and responses, each definable with respect to a distinguishable aspect of the system or of the environment. For now, let us not make these discriminations and deal with \vec{S} and \vec{R} as total input and output. Stimulus and response are conceptualized as vectors as shown by the arrow (\rightarrow) appearing over the \vec{S} and \vec{R} , as they represent complexes of components each of which has magnitude and direction.

While it appears quite reasonable to see the person as a system which transforms input into output, we must account for the fact that different people transform the same input into different outputs and, in fact, the same person transforms the same input into different outputs on different occasions. This fact is what makes people behave unlawfully using mode A's methods and concepts. To account for this phenomenon, let us introduce a variable O which stands for the state of the person at the time t of the transformation so that we now have

$$(2) \quad \vec{R}_t = f(O_t, \vec{S}_t).$$

To account for the variability in output over time to similar input, O must itself be a function of input. That is, O 's value at any time t must be a function of the inputs preceding time t . To make the symbolization somewhat more manageable, let us consider the state or current values of O at a time $t+\Delta t$ to be a function of the value of O at time t and the change produced in O in the time Δt by the input \vec{S}_t .

So we have

$$(3) \quad O_{t+\Delta t} = f(O_t, \vec{S}_t).$$

The input \vec{S}_t interacts with the initial state of the person (O_t) such that in the time Δt (reaction time) the state of the person is transformed into $O_{t+\Delta t}$. When $O_t \neq O_{t+\Delta t}$, the state of the person is unstable, for his response to $\vec{S}_{t+\Delta t}$ will be different from his response to \vec{S}_t . In other words, we will find that the person's output to a reoccurring input \vec{S}_1 will be $\vec{R}_1, \vec{R}_2, \dots, \vec{R}_n$ reflecting the

instability of O , expressed as $O_t \neq O_{t+\Delta t} \dots \neq O_{t+n\Delta t}$. This has particular significance for counseling and therapy in that, while the counselor usually has little control of the input condition \vec{S}_1 which is transformed into the undesired output, he can independently operate on O in the interview and thus change the output to the \vec{S}_1 which occurs outside the interview.

The instability of O variables underscores the difficulties of behavior prediction based on historical repetition (mode A). Historical prediction assumes that $\vec{R}_t = f(\vec{R}_{t-n})$ where \vec{R} is the person's output at time t and at a previous time $t-n$ (where $t-n < t-\Delta t$). Unless the person is a stable, closed system this relationship cannot be more than statistical. If the person's O variables are unaffected by the input in the time n ($t-n \rightarrow t$), then good prediction can be made on the bases of $\vec{R}_t = f(O_{t-n}, \vec{S}_t) = f(\vec{R}_{t-n})$. For that matter, if the system is not affected by input, it is also true that $\vec{R}_t = f(O_{t+n}, \vec{S}_t) = f(\vec{R}_{t+n})$. That is, the current response is a function of future states and future responses, i.e. teleological prediction or causation. In both cases, prediction of \vec{R}_t in other than a statistical sense requires (1) a valid test or description of \vec{R}_{t-n} (\vec{R}_{t+n}) or O_{t-n} (O_{t+n}), (2) no impact on the O variables in the time n ($t-n \rightarrow t$ or $t \rightarrow t+n$) and (3) a knowledge of the changes which occur within the system itself over time, i.e. how internal changes occur in the closed system over time (Lewin, 1943, p. 296). However, one of the most established facts in psychology is that a person's O variables change with experience (learning), conditions (motivation), and growth (morphogenesis).

We have not yet accounted for another basic characteristic of behavior, one which has been variously described as goal seeking, purposiveness, vitalism, or teleology. Essentially, these descriptions arise from the fact that persons (organisms) do not respond to conditions in a totally reactive way as do the particles of Newtonian physics but rather they pro-act on conditions such that, if observed over time, a person will arrive at a certain set of circumstances from a

wide variety of initial and intermediate conditions. We will call this characteristic equifinality. Essentially, the only historic regularity in behavioral sequences demonstrating equifinality is their end result, which gives the initial and intermediate responses the appearance of being determined by the future circumstances or goals. Bertalanffy (1968) has discussed equifinality in detail, and points out that equifinality is a necessary characteristic of open systems which maintain themselves in conditions of steady states. A steady state is a biological or chemical condition of disequilibrium in which processes such as metabolism are maintained at a constant level of interaction such that a constant flow of energy is released for the organism's maintenance. In order to attain and maintain the necessary balance of its steady states, an organism must act on its environment to produce or to make possible input related to its steady states. Bertalanffy denotes this phenomenon "dynamic teleology". The organism directs events towards the maintenance and achievement of dynamic final states (i.e. steady states) and its present behavior can be expressed as dependent on the discrepancy of the present state from the final steady state. Every system which attains a time independent condition behaves in this way and the phenomenon is responsible for the primary regulability of the organic system. In another paper (Strong, 1972) I have developed the concept of chaining which is the tendency of organisms, particularly symbolizing organisms, to develop associations between steady state conditions and certain environmental input patterns such that the organism's behavior becomes directed to producing environmental conditions or input patterns within which it is possible for the organism to achieve and maintain required steady states. Through chaining, the organism's behavior becomes directed to producing future goals or input patterns which are already present in "thought" (memory elements in the organism's system).

Bertalanffy (1968, p. 79) has labeled this phenomena "true purposiveness". Due to the socialization of humans, the symbolic patterns or goals directing a

particular person's behavior are largely a function of his cultural environment or, more specifically, the experiential environment of which he is a part. For both dynamic teleology and true purposiveness, the person's behavior is directed by the states or values of his steady states and the contents of his memory elements, not the conditions to be achieved in the future. The person's current behavior would not be altered if he were unable to achieve the target future condition as would be the case if, for example, he died in the meantime.

The directedness of behavior can be conceptualized as being due to psychological forces acting on the person, denoted by \vec{F} . A psychological force has two components, a source of activation derived ultimately from the person's steady state system, and a source of direction, provided by the associated input image or goal. Psychological forces are 0 variables and are altered as described in equation (3). Relevant stimulus input can act on the activation component of a particular psychological force or on its directional component. In addition, psychological forces are interrelated so as to demonstrate the phenomenon of centrality (Bertalanffy, 1968, Strong, 1972). Essentially, centrality denotes the tendency of an organism to function as a unit, with its activity integrated by leading parts or forces rather than disorganized by multiple simultaneous contradicting objectives. The significance of centrality is that a change in the value of one psychological force can potentially change the values of other forces, much along the lines of Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of prepotency of human needs.

An additional 0 variable is the person's memory of the relationships among response characteristics and input stimuli denoted by RS or response-stimulus memory. By simple temporal contiguity the organism stores relationships between its responses and (produced) variation in its input. Thus, the person (potentially) has a memory of how to produce images associated with steady state maintenance. While the psychological forces acting on the person provide activation and

direction, RS controls the topography of the person's response. In other words, the form and quality of the responses emitted by the person are controlled by his memory of the relationships among responses and stimuli. RS is independently altered by stimulus input in the fashion shown in equation (3).

We are now able to specify that an individual's response to particular concrete situations at a time t is given by the equation

$$(4) \quad \vec{R}_t = f(\vec{F}_{1t}, \vec{F}_{2t}, \dots, \vec{F}_{nt}, RS_t, \vec{S}_t).$$

The person's response (\vec{R}_t) is a function of several psychological forces acting on him at that time ($\vec{F}_{1t}, \vec{F}_{2t}, \dots, \vec{F}_{nt}$), his response-stimulus memory (RS_t) of how to produce the required images, and his stimulus input (\vec{S}_t). As is obvious, a great deal of work remains to be done to specify the exact relationships among the several variables.

Another concern which needs to be examined is the duration of time basic to equation (4) which is essentially the problem of response unit size. In counseling we are seldom interested in the instantaneous responses of the client but rather we are interested in larger more molar units such as his stress reaction to a particular situation or his lack of adequate performance in particular social situations. Lewin (1943) concluded that the appropriate span of time denoted by t is a function of the temporal duration necessary to assess the values of the variables operating to control the response in which we are interested. In order to assess the current values of the controlling variables, the time span must be sufficient to determine the direction of behavior and its rate of change. "To each 'size of a unit of behavior' a different 'size of situation' can be coordinated." "Without altering the principle of contemporaneity as one of the basic propositions of field theory, we have to realize that to determine the psychological direction and velocity of behavior (i.e. what is usually called the 'meaning' of the psychological event), we have to take into account in psychology as in physics

a certain time-period. The length of this period depends in psychology upon the scope of the situation. As a rule, the more macroscopic the situation is which has to be described the longer is the period which has to be observed to determine the direction and velocity of behavior at a given time (Lewin, 1943, p. 301)".

Counseling Practice

How does this theory apply to the concrete situation of an individual counseling case? A detailed description of application is beyond the scope of this paper, but I would like to sketch some of the major concerns in application. Application falls into two distinguishable phases, diagnosis of the dynamics of the client's problem and intervention into these dynamics. Diagnosis begins with a thorough description or elaboration of the molar response pattern the client seeks to change or control. Is he suffering from anxiety responses from which he seeks relief? Is he frustrated in his inability to achieve certain goals or objectives? Is he unable to determine what goals or objectives he could obtain which would bring him satisfaction which he now feels is lacking? Does he find his responses in certain situations to be inadequate for what he wishes to achieve? All of the response patterns clients desire to alter are imbedded in specific stimulus patterns and these stimulus patterns need to be elaborated as completely and objectively as possible. Our target variables are those responsible for his transformation of the specific stimulus patterns into the undesired response pattern and, in order to deduce their values, we must know what input is being transformed into what output. The elaboration should proceed through the full range of incidences of the transformation so as to deduce what partial stimuli imbedded in the input patterns are being transformed into the undesired responses, with the analysis proceeding along the lines of the method of difference described elsewhere (Strong, 1970). Having thoroughly described the input and output stimuli and responses, the next problem is to deduce the variables responsible for the transformation. Transformation variables are largely chained symbolic patterns in

adult humans, particularly those relating to the psychological forces directing the client's behavior. The nature of the transformation is revealed by the relationship between input and output. Are the input stimuli activating in the person a psychological force which directs him to retreat from or avoid the stimuli? Does his behavior have a restless, rather random searching quality with accompanying emotional responses suggesting frustration, and an inability to create input patterns which would de-activate the psychological force? In both cases, application of the method of differences to deduce the environmental effects generated by the responses will reveal or suggest the goal or directing image of the psychological force. A third immediately apparent possibility is that the client "knows" his objectives or goals, but is unable to implement them with his existing RS or response-stimulus memory repertoire.

This all too brief description of possibilities in diagnosis illustrates the objective of isolating the target pattern of input and output and, from analysis of this pattern, deducing the dynamics creating the unwanted transformation in terms of sources of activation and direction (i.e. the psychological forces operating) and the adequacy of emitted response patterns in generating desired input.

Treatment or intervention to alter these dynamics can take many forms, but the most direct involve symbolically operating on the symbolic transformations the client is found to be using. If the client's interpretation of a partial stimuli pattern is activating a psychological force leading to avoidance behavior and emotional responses, this interpretation can be directly altered using the procedures describe by Ellis (1962) and Beck (1970). If the client's goals or objectives related to an activity are vague or are incorrect (i.e. the symbolic goals do not satisfy the conditions of activation), they can be clarified by verbal description and elaboration, using procedure like those Gendlin (1964, 1970) describes as well as more problem-centered cognitive discussion. As

appropriate goals are derived, the client can be facilitated to emit new responses in the problematic situation using the power generated in the counselor-client relationship (Strong & Matross, 1972). Facilitating the client to overcome response repertoire deficits (response-stimulus memory deficits) can be accomplished by modeling, vicarious practice, and instruction (Lazarus, 1966). Other procedures such as desensitization obviously have their place in intervening in the client's dynamics.

Counseling Research

What are the implications of this way of viewing behavior for counseling research? The singly most important implication is that, to be useful in constructing the laws of behavior, data must be generated in situations allowing the most exact and detailed description of the concrete situation as possible. Only in such situations is it possible to observe and ~~construe~~ the dynamic interaction of the variables controlling behavior with minimal error in observation stemming from fortuitous differences in the values of the controlling variables. Essentially, this requires that the basic datum be an individual's response to a concretely described and known situation. Abstraction from as many historically given cases as possible simply obscures the operation of the dynamics of behavior. Lewin (1933, p. 328) has cautioned that "... the only situations which should be grouped for statistical treatment are those which have for the individual rats or for the individual children the same psychobiological structure and only for such period of time as this structure exists". Essentially, researchers must take particular pains to study the responses of individual persons in concretely described situations. Such research conditions can be obtained in intensive case study as described by Thoresen (1972).

Another viable research method is investigation of an individual's responses in laboratory conditions where the psychological situation for the person is

experimentally controlled. Aronson and Carlsmith (1968) have argued that, for the results of an experimental manipulation with a group of persons to be useful, the psychological situation for each person must be the same and must be known. A standard research methodology in experimental social psychology attempts to attain this goal by introducing two phases in experiments. In the first phase, the subject is introduced to manipulations intended to produce a known (standard) psychological state. Manipulation of the experimental variable is then introduced and its operation is observed within the subject's previously induced psychological condition. Elaborate "method" checks are used to insure that the subject perceives the situation as intended. On the basis of achievement of the standardized psychological condition, the data are grouped for statistical treatment. If the required standardization of psychological state is not achieved in the first phase of the experiment as determined by the measures intended to provide the method check, the experiment is aborted. Some social psychologists have eliminated subjects on the basis of not achieving the required standard state, but have been roundly criticized for this procedure (Chapanis & Chapanis, 1964).

Overall, intensive case study and controlled laboratory study are essentially similar. They are both based on detailed analysis of the situation. Both require in the longer or shorter run replication over individuals for construing the laws of behavior. They differ in the extensiveness of the behavior observed, the laboratory concentrating on relatively short, discrete sequences of events and the intensive case study ranging over a longer period and larger units of behavior. They differ in the control or rigor exerted over the situation of observation, the laboratory situation is more rigorously controlled while intensive case study relies on detailed description. Laboratory research explicitly builds in replication of observation over individuals while the intensive case study allows less replication. In both methods, the effects of historical variation

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FOOTNOTE

*This paper was presented at the 1972 Convention of the American Educational Research Association in Chicago, in a symposium titled "The Intensive Approach in Counseling Research".

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office for student affairs RESEARCH BULLETIN

THE JESUS MOVEMENT IN CAMPUS DRESS

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Abstract

This study of Jesus Movement activities centered around a large metropolitan university campus is a sociological descriptive definition of the Movement and an examination of the motivations for membership. This manifestation of heightened interest in the religious experience is seen as but one possible social expression of a coalescence of values imputed to be of primary concern within the youth culture. The ideology is centered around a highly personalized relationship with the historical figure of Jesus; oriented toward collective participatory activities; has a personal but literal interpretation of the Bible; is youth oriented and anti-establishmentarian. Neo-pentecostal activities (i.e. speaking in tongues) are frequent but not essential elements among collegiate Movement groups. The appeal for participation stems from numerous motivations including the search for a reduction of personal psycho-social tensions through sources of external authority; a search for the transcendental encounter; drug users seeking alternative and substitute experiences; motivations growing out of an ideology that values separatism for youth; and finally those who are following yet another fad.

THE JESUS MOVEMENT IN CAMPUS DRESS

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The kids love Jesus,
This we know
For the media tell us so

This cynical observation of the Christian Century (1971) is only partially correct as a description of the phenomenon of the Jesus Movement, a youth oriented revival of fundamentalist Christian theology and practice. Illuminated by the searing limelight of publicity, a social movement of considerable size has been magnified in that peculiar out-of-focus fashion that is often the fate of events too publicly exposed. Some of the commentators have axes to grind and other commodities to sell, be it newspapers, TV time slots, or denominational points of view. Thus there is an emphasis on the sensational, the defense of the status quo or the me-tooism of the bandwagon opportunists. The coverage of the Jesus Movement has included an 11 page cover story in Time, network in-depth TV news stories and considerable newspaper and magazine space devoted to both news and feature items. Its explanators include Billy Graham (1971) as well as Fulton Sheen (1971). One Establishment church press released a "Jesus People Kit", complete with posters, samples of the underground Jesus People newspapers, and a tape recorded guided interpretation of the Movement. Music, the lingua franca of the young, follows the current of youth's interest with rock Jesus Operas, Jesus recording stars and a Jesus song hit parade.

This paper, drawing upon data from a study undertaken on the campus of a large mid-western university, will attempt to examine but two dimensions of the Movement: 1) a discussion of the component elements which are hallmarks of this particular social phenomena; and, 2) an examination of types of situations in which students are recruited into its ranks. It does not purport to be a global

description but rather an analysis of local segment of the Movement. It will be obvious to the reader that the population described is somewhat less bizarre in its behavior than that reported in the national press. This may be the result of either the social segment (largely college age and/or enrolled youth) on which the study centered. It may be due to mid-west conservatism which tends to mute extreme behavioral expressions. It is the author's impression that while the outward manifestations may be slightly different, the basic social elements and processes remain the same.

The author, an anthropologist, collected the data primarily as a participant observer and by eliciting extended life histories from among three different Movement groups: a large campus "church" oriented towards a student membership which has emerged within the past year, a small neo-pentecostal group of self-described "Freaks," and the participants in a drop-in center Jesus coffee house. The data generated reflects the professional interests and biases of the researcher. Although the Jesus Church laid claims to an organization based primarily upon student membership, probably less than 50% of its members are currently enrolled as students. This reflects a general trend in groups supposedly campus based which in reality seldom any longer are exclusively composed of students. For this reason it must be remembered that although the study's focus was upon student Jesus People the participants themselves do not perceive the often assumed town-gown dichotomy and therefore the behavior described here cannot be categorized as exclusively that of "students."

Youth Searches for the Transcendental

It is apparent to anyone dealing with youth today that there is a heightened interest in the transcendental experience, whatever form that it may take, from that which is induced by the ingestion of drugs to the varieties found in tarot cards and Eastern mysticism and Western "religion." "Heightened interest"

is used deliberately because while our focus is upon the manifestation of religious expressions within the so-called youth culture, this sub-culture remains a part of the totality of American culture. The distinctiveness of today's youth-culture is seen as a different emphasis both temporally and situationally on specific elements of an ideology which is part and parcel of the larger American culture. In other words, like most inventions and discoveries, the youth culture is from this point of view a reconstitution of previously existing elements, a rather major alteration rather than the creation of a new garment out of whole cloth. Religious revivals have been a recurring phenomena cross-culturally as well as in American cultural history. This current one has many elements in common with previous ones. But it also has distinct differences, and is distinctly American.

But we must interject here a caveat about terminology. The idiom of today's youth is heavily laden with language which originally came from the drug scene. So common is the current usage in other contexts that many of its users are barely cognizant of its original meaning. A linguistic study done six years ago based upon random samples of hundreds of segments of college student speech reported not a single reference to drugs or drug related terminology. It is inconceivable that were such a study to be replicated today that at least some of the drug terminology would not turn up. One such term is "freak". Only a short time ago the term connotated either an aberration or something unusual and thus was of negative value as a descriptor. The term freak within the drug culture has meant alternatively to have the drug experience, "to freak out" or "to be freaked out," or to refer to a person who indulged frequently in the drug experience. From this meaning it came to be used of someone who was excessive in his use and ultimately to mean the individual who has an overcommitment to anything, including Jesus. Hence the term Jesus Freak is used quite literally

to describe the individual who has a more than usual interest in Jesus. The term in this context is normally neutral unless the individual described is overzealous in his attempts to proselytize. Some use it as a self descriptor with positive connotations. In much the same way "to be spaced out on Jesus" should not convey the idea that the interest is borne out of the taking of drugs. Those individuals I've come to know are no more currently a part of the drug scene because of their use of this hip language than they are of the age of King James because of their use of a psuedo-Elizabethan language in their prayers. Indeed thee and thou may appear in the same sentence as spaced out or hang-up. Thus one finds such prayers as "Thanking Thee o Lord, that Thou has delivered us from our hang-ups."

Defining the Jesus Movement

What constitutes a Jesus Freak or the Jesus Movement? In order to examine a phenomena some sort of boundaries must be recognized, even if they be arbitrarily drawn. A social movement, Gerlach (1970:xvi) suggests, is "a group of people who are organized for, ideologically motivated by, and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change; who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originated."

What then are the hallmarks of membership in the Jesus Movement? An examination of the concept's usage by the members of such groups indicate the following constituent elements:

First, it is as its name suggests, an ideology centered about the personality, life and teachings of Jesus Christ, especially as found in selected and literal interpretations of the writing of his subsequent followers. But this ideology demands more than a mere intellectual acceptance of these words of the Bible. One enters into a highly personalistic relationship with at minimum the spirit

of Jesus, but what is more often the physical presence of the man-god. It is in more theological terms a relationship with a transcendental personal God who comes to earth in the person of Jesus, as opposed to the impersonal despiritualized immanent God of nature and social movement. Their perennial question, "Are you a Christian?" can only be answered in the affirmative if one has experienced the "second baptism" of a "visitation of the spirit", or one comes to know this intimate relationship with Christ. Many literally carry a Jesus about inside them with whom they are in constant dialogue. Others become an automaton carrying out His explicit directions.

This relationship is not a burden, but is said to be characterized by an atmosphere of joy, hope and love. The spontaneity of this display of exhilaration is open to question. Most often in large group settings, i.e. church services and Jesus Festivals, it is the result of carefully contrived situations in which leadership encourages uninhibited expression characterized as "being joyful". At the individual level the basis for this joy is most often attributable to a norm that places strong value in repetitive oral protestation of personal joy. The atmosphere of a Christian house would seldom be characterized as exhibiting exhilaration but more often sterile, muted expectancy. One field-worker summed up her reaction as "everybody seems to sit about waiting for someone else to start something. It's depressing." "Praise the Lord" becomes an exclamation constantly interspersed in a variety of contexts normally reserved for neutral expressions of greeting, agreement, surprise, acknowledgement or departure. There is a constant reaffirmation in their discussions of a personal peace obtained through coming to know Jesus. The reality of the overt expression of inner contentment or even the subjective experience of having achieved joy cannot be questioned, although the psychological and social mechanisms operating to obtain it are rather blatant in their manipulation of the individual.

Secondly, it is characterized by its public expression as opposed to remaining a privatistic monastic state. Bible study is conducted collectively whenever possible. For some, Christian houses or communes allow for continuous social interaction with others of like mind. It is for a good many absolutely all encompassing in their lives. Prayer, singing, Bible study and witnessing occupy their complete attention. It provides an area for social action for many with otherwise seemingly vacuous or disoriented lives, as for example, some kinds of drug users. For others it competes for time already occupied in other pursuits. A number of informants reported dropping out or carrying only partial academic loads because of their commitment to Jesus activities. It should be added that there is no reason to believe that these same people might not have found other routes out of the academic world had the Movement not been present. "I prayed and Jesus directed me to leave school" was not an unusual comment among converts who had been former students.

Thirdly, it is Bible centered. Bibles are studied with great care and Scriptures examined minutely. Commentaries are usually discouraged as sources of help in interpretation, but rather translations are compared and Greek dictionaries sometimes employed for alternate possible meanings. But the final authority for the interpretation of the Word is ultimately the individual's. One may discuss at length with others but ultimately the meaning is the individual's personal judgment. One may "hassle" with another over the meaning but still the norm is to respect the other individual for accepting or acting upon a particular Scriptural injunction as Jesus personally guides him. Among the participants of those groups making up this sample, the word sin as either a valuation or judgment on others is seldom used. In another context one might expect the reaction to the non-believer to be summed up in the phrase "that's his bag." In this sense it is a highly positivistic ideology since not knowing

Jesus is regarded as the inability to gain new levels of transcendental joy rather than viewing non-belief as the condemnation to some eternal hell. Preachers and pastors within the Movement are not adverse to speaking of sin or some euphemism for it, but the youthful participants do not dwell on the subject in their rap sessions. In turn, the most radical of the group's leadership spoke in apocalyptic terms, but generally the issue was unexamined among the participants. Most typically those youths who spoke of the imminent return and its concomitant turmoil used it as a reason for dropping out of school or to excuse their failure to assume some task of self responsibility outside the framework of the Movement.

A fourth attribute is that it is youth oriented. While some would deny this, it is always the implicit assumption that the Movement basically belongs to youth, and in this reflects the ideology of the youth culture. The basis of this is provided in Acts 2:17 "...your sons and daughters shall prophecy, and your young men shall see visions..." Their literal interpretations of these lines support the visions of a mandate of separation. Some older individuals are associated with the Movement as both participants and leaders but they either carefully mask identification with the values of their peers or manifest significantly different orientations to life of those of the Establishment. Part of this orientation is elaborated in the expression of a denigration of materialism and the concomitant attempt to downplay the accumulation and display of material objects. "Jesus answered our prayers" is usually an explanation for the possession of material goods, be it a plane ticket, a couch for their Christian house, or food for the table. While perceiving an independence and separatism based upon that ephemeral quality of our culture labeled "youth", they rely heavily upon material assistance from older individuals.

This leads to a fifth attribute which grows out of the previous one, it is anti-establishment. A repeated reason given for participation in their separatist groups is that it is of, by, and for the young, that they have somehow escaped what they consider to be the deadliness of traditional church structures. What they substitute in its place often turns out to be a highly autocratic father figure. The skilled attuned leader carefully masks his authority in terminology which often are mere euphemisms for this role. Thus the organizer and acknowledged decision maker of a coffee house denies the ascription of leader but describes his role as one of "responsibility". The minister of the Jesus Church surrounds himself with handsome youthful lieutenants who are far less autonomous in their actions than their public image would indicate.

Finally, these groups may include neo-pentecostal activities associated with spiritual gifts such as speaking in tongues, faith healing and other phenomena characterized by highly emotional ecstatic states. However, these activities are not essential elements. Many participants, depending upon their motivations for involvement, remain reluctant, if not fearful, of such activities.

It is obvious from these aforementioned constituent elements that the Jesus Movement, like all social movements, is an amorphous social construct of individuals acting in concert to achieve a variety of personal and social aims. After such an enumeration one might well ask what makes it different from previous religious revitalization movements, for example, Pentecostalism of the turn of the century. The answer is in the configuration of the elements composing it and the relative emphasis given them. Certainly the Jesus Movement's emphasis on the young separates it from previous religious expressions.

Membership and Recruitment

Who becomes involved in this movement and how does it recruit new members? The criteria set down as attributes describing the Movement already suggest some

basis for recruitment. Based upon the data available in the sample it is clear that it is a mixed bag, including some former Catholic and Jewish youths. What it indicates is that the Jesus Movement is really the nexus for a number of social forces and events operating at this point in historical time and it provides at least one, although not the only means, of expression of these forces. Based upon preliminary literary research at the beginning of the project it was naively assumed that most within the Movement had little, if any, previous experience with Christian beliefs and practices. Frequent references to "finding Christ" or "becoming a Christian" led to his assumption. What the data overwhelmingly suggest is that the majority (75%) were brought up in homes where at least the forms of Christian practice were taught and deeply ingrained. A rather typical life history of a Jesus person included a childhood during which there was frequent and regular participation in Sunday School and other church activities. A large proportion of our sample had attended fundamental or evangelical oriented churches. This was followed by a period in adolescence of serious questioning, if not an outright break with religious pursuits. Dissatisfaction with themselves or their life styles, sometimes manifested in self-perceived deviant behavior such as drug experimentation or sexual promiscuity, led to a search for a more satisfactory situation, culminating in actively searching for and "finding Jesus". In some cases this identity crises was never overtly expressed and the individual continued customary religious practices even after having "received the spirit." This leads some to assume a dichotomy within their religious concepts and practices: attendance at a "straight" church on Sunday morning and Bible Study with a "Jesus" group during the week. For some their integration of these separate activities is easily made; for others it is much more difficult to reconcile their role behaviors as both "straight" and "freaks".

In reading the personal account of the Jesus Movement by Duane Peterson (1971),

the editor of the Hollywood Free Press, one would not know that prior to his "receiving Christ" he had been reared in a fundamentalist church-oriented home or that he had attended several Bible Colleges. It is not intended to imply that the experience of finding Jesus in this new frame of reference has not been subjectively real, but rather that it has most often been a literal rebirth rather than a new birth into Christian practice and belief. In anthropological terms this amounts to a reordering and resynthesis of established culture traits rather than taking on a new set of them. The analogy to an immigrant arriving in a strange land is seldom applicable, for the territory of Christian attitudes and behavior is already familiar to the individual. The obvious exceptions are the few youths from the Jewish homes.

Motivations

It is possible to delineate some general types of situations that lead individuals into participation in the Movement. But the motivation for participation in the Movement is seldom clear cut for a single individual and varying amounts of all these following factors may be present. The major motivations include the following: (1) Those facing a general anomie and disorientation in their life find here great sources of strength both in the authority of the Bible and the group as well as in a situation where one interacts with others of a like mind. The two ethics of love and submission are deeply intertwined and give to many social and psychological support that previously did not exist. It is for this group that Wallace's analysis of revitalization movements (1956) as the opportunity to create new "mazeways" of perceiving the world and thereby reduce stress is most appropriate. It is for this group that the appeal of what Weber labeled the "charismatic" leader is greatest.

(2) In their search for the transcendental some have journeyed through various forms of mysticism and are either in search of further experience or returning to

forms of religious experience that are more familiar. These individuals most often are the persons who attempt to graft such things as witchcraft or magic into the Movement. It is they who often are the active seekers of the so-called "charismatic" experience, i.e. speaking in tongues.

(3) Some persons utilize the Movement as a means of moving out of the drug scene. Much is made of the former addict finding Christ and curing himself of the addiction. The popular press and the Movement itself leave the impression that most, if not all, Jesus Freaks are former addicts. In the process of witnessing to others many overemphasize their former dallying in drugs. Given the availability of drugs today it is not surprising that a high percentage indicate previous drug experience; but relatively few would have been classified as addicts by any criteria. A survey of drug usage on this campus indicates that by the time of graduation at least 50% of the student population has had experience with drugs. It is necessary to delineate two separate motivations for those who indicate substituting a "Jesus high" for a "drug high". First there are those who after having literally exhausted drug induced orgiastic experiences now turn to the emotionalism that can be found in segments of the Jesus Movement. Others become involved because they, too, have been burned out on drugs but now seek a socially and psychologically approved route out and substitute for drugs. It seems to be far easier for the individual to shift the burden for changing established behavioral patterns (ingesting drugs) to some external requirement (Biblical injunction) than to assume personal responsibility for the decision to change. These are two distinct motivations, however. "What happens when they burn out on Jesus?" is a formidable question for the former group, but meaningless to ask of the latter.

(4) There is a strong desire for separation and self-segregation which is part of the ideology of youth today. Given the emphasis American society places upon its

youth it is little wonder this sub-set of the total society assumes some degree of distinctiveness. While this desire for separation is hardly a new situation, social and economic conditions of today make possible the realization of such a distinction. Recently I watched a group of youths pledge over \$10,000.00 to make the down payment on a church building for their exclusive use, although the Baptist congregation in whose building they were meeting was quite willing to allow them the free use of their facilities. The rationale behind this purchase was to have a place "just for us freaky kids." In addition to this desire for physical separation as a visible marker of their independence there is often the spoken desire for the right to "worship with freedom and liberty" which translated means with a degree of emotional expression that is often frowned upon by established churches. Many older adults and parents who would otherwise be more critical of activities of young people support these groups both morally and financially in the uncritical assumption that since whatever is being done is done within the context of religion, it is inherently worthwhile. Thus the social separatism inherent in this Jesus Movement receives support from segments of society which are imputed to be normally the least tolerant of deviant activities.

(5) Finally there is for some undoubtedly a good deal of fadism involved. A characteristic of American adolescence is the use of peers as models during this period of shifting social roles. In some secondary schools the Bible is as much a part of high teen-age fashion dress as are granny glasses and un-ironed skirts. The promoters of the Jesus Movement whether their motives be religious or commercial, have been singularly effective in synchronizing the idiom of youth with the message of the Bible. McLuhan's injunction that the medium has become the message is most applicable here.

Recruitment to the movement comes in many forms, but one of the overt methods is through witnessing, the public declaration of one's faith in the hope of attempting to convince others to accept the truth of a belief in the personal Jesus. The

more sophisticated participants realize that such activities must be used judiciously. This is especially so among those close to campus activities. In reading life histories collected of acknowledged Jesus People, it is apparent that by far the most common method of recruitment is their observation of individuals who, having been "reborn in Christ," exhibit a kind of spontaneity, joy, and naive expressions of love that can be highly infectious. To observe others who seem to "have their head together" is a powerful motivation to explore for oneself.

There were marked differences in the way parents accepted participation of their children in the Jesus Movement. The majority of those individuals with fundamental sect backgrounds indicated support by their parents. But even here some parents hesitate to wholeheartedly endorse such intense religious activity. As might be expected parents with more traditional religious affiliations were said to be less supportive but this was not clear-cut. These Movement participants reported parent reaction that ranged from forbidding any sort of discussion, attitudes of "this is carrying religion a bit too far," indications of social embarrassment to active support. Undoubtedly other variables involved in parent-child relationships than those of religious affiliation are mediating factors in the reported parental reaction.

The reader knowledgeable of the campus scene may well ask how the Jesus Movement differs from the activities of such long established groups as Campus Crusade and the Navigators. As has been indicated in our earlier description of hallmarks of the movements, boundaries of any social construct are never firmly fixed. In reality the members of these groups normally identify themselves with the Movement especially when it is not manifested as being "hippie". However, from one point of view these established groups are somewhat peripheral because of their Establishment table of organization with national, regional and local

leaders working within a rigid bureaucracy. Participants in these established groups are often simultaneously participants in other less institutionalized groupings and thus the boundaries of their activities are not clear. It is apparent that these established groups have profited by the greater degree of general indulgence if not social acceptance of their evangelizing activities which is a result of the publicity surrounding the Jesus Movement.

In this paper we have attempted to delineate but two aspects of the Jesus Movement on a college campus: (1) a descriptive definition and (2) a typology of recruitment motivation. The perceptive reader will undoubtedly observe the ways in which the ideology of the so-called youth culture with its appeals to anti-intellectualism, personal participation, separatism and impatience with structured organization have been syncretized with Christian religious ideology and practices.

The inevitable question as to its eventual viability, "Will it last?" can only be answered by time. The longevity of any particular sect will depend partly on its ability to incorporate and articulate the values of its participants in the future. At the same time, church bodies with deep historical roots have been unable to ignore either the overt manifestations or the implications expressed by the Movement. They too have been forced to compete by at minimum reexamining their own positions on some of the issues raised and more often incorporating some of the appeals implicit within the Movement into their own activities. This is perhaps best exemplified in the minister who himself wears a pony tail and supports communal living patterns, non-profit commercial establishments and keeps an alert eye to the nuances of youth's latest fad while at the same time denying the viability of the Jesus Church across the street because "it has nothing to do with the true historical church."

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office for student affairs RESEARCH BULLETIN

UNIVERSITY OPINION POLL, WINTER 1972

John Geier, Stanley Strong, and William Barnhart
Student Life Studies
University of Minnesota

The University Opinion Poll is a project of Student Life Studies designed to obtain an accurate estimate of student opinion on issues important to the University community. The week of January 31, 1972, 443 students, 64% of a random sample drawn from all students registered at the University of Minnesota, were contacted for their opinions. Forty-four student leaders, mostly Minnesota Student Association senators, were also contacted. This is a report of the opinions of these two groups of students.

UNIVERSITY OPINION POLL, WINTER 1972

John Geier, Stanley Strong, and William Barnhart
Student Life Studies
University of Minnesota

The University Opinion Poll is a project of Student Life Studies designed to obtain an accurate estimate of student opinion on issues important to the University community. The first poll was conducted the week of January 31st, winter quarter. The steps of the poll were:

(1) Generation of Issues

A pool of possible issues was generated by canvassing student groups and individual student and staff members of the University and by carefully examining all issues of the Daily for fall quarter and the first weeks of winter quarter of the 1971-72 academic year. From this pool, the items judged to be of greatest concern and controversy were selected within the length limitations of a telephone questionnaire.

(2) Conducting the Poll

Ms. Beverly Koser, a professional telephone pollster, called all of the students in the sample who had local telephone numbers during the period of January 31 through February 5. Each number was attempted at least four times. All students with non-local addresses were mailed the survey under the assumption that they were probably in local residence but had provided the University with their parents address.

(3) Student Samples

General Sample

Admissions and Records generated a random sample of 757 students from their listing of all the students with an active file in the University day school (extension students were excluded). Of the original 757 names, 70

were found to be non-students at the end of the second week of the quarter and were eliminated from the sample. Sixty-four students did not have local telephone numbers and had either local addresses (51) or no address (13), and 58 students had out-of-town addresses. Of the 58 students with out-of-town addresses, 17 (28%) returned completed questionnaires. Of the 565 students who had local phones, 426 were contacted, or 75%. Of the total sample of 687 registered students, 443 completed the survey giving an overall completion rate of 64.5%.

An immediate question was - were the 443 who completed the questionnaire different from the 244 who did not complete it? We were able to check this only in terms of sex, college class, and major. Comparing the two samples with chi-square tests of significance, we found that the group we contacted was composed of slightly more females and slightly fewer juniors than the group we failed to contact (both differences statistically significant at the .05 level). The two samples had nearly the same college major compositions. We were not able to determine what other differences existed between those we contacted and those we did not contact. To allow for possible error from this source, we suggest that only differences between opinion groups which are equal to six percentage points or more be taken seriously.

Student Leaders

The pollster made a minimum of five attempts to contact each of the 57 Minnesota Student Association senators, the 32 senate alternates, and the nine Minnesota Student Association executives. Only 44 of this population of 98 were contacted yielding a completion rate of 45%.

(4) Analysis of Results

The University Computer Center punched the questionnaire results on data cards, and the results were analyzed on the University's 6600 computer.

Results

The percentages of students endorsing each alternative for every question are presented for the General Sample and the Student Leaders. The percentages for some questions add to 99% or 101% rather than 100% due to rounding errors. The total number of students in the General Sample is 443, and the total number in the Student Leaders sample is 44. The results are not discussed as our interest is to provide information on student opinions, not to draw conclusions.

1. The Minnesota Student Association has been operating the bookstore in Coffman Union. Should MSA's control of the bookstore in the Union be continued beyond this summer?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	73	93
No	2	5
No opinion	24	2
Other	0	0

2. Students have been invited to participate in the activities of the Board of Regents. To what extent should students become involved with the Boards issues?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
a) Not at all.	1	0
b) Invited to present opinions.	25	11
c) Have some direct control over the issues considered by the Board.	27	7
d) Vote in sub-committee business.	24	32
e) Vote in the Board of Regents decisions.	24	45
f) Other	0	4

3. MSA is also planning to build student housing on University land. Should they be allowed to lease this land to construct MSA controlled student housing?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	72	84
No	13	9
No opinion	14	7
Other	1	0

4. Should MSA seek to gain control of student services at the University, such as bookstores, housing, health services, counseling and student Unions?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Some	69	75
All, or	9	11
None of these services	23	14

5. Which services should MSA seek to control? (Check as many as apply)

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
None	7	0
Housing	38	70
Bookstores	58	75
Food services	32	45
Counseling	25	36
Student Unions	50	48

6. How much choice should students have in determining their own programs?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
a) Little or no student choice.	1	2
b) Students should be allowed to choose courses within content areas (i.e. science, humanities) to satisfy the number of credits required.	56	46
c) Students should be allowed to choose <u>all</u> of their courses, with the only requirement being the minimum credits necessary for a degree.	43	51

7. Are you in favor of the BES degree -- Bachelor of Elected Studies?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	67	77
No	12	7
No opinion	20	16
Other	0	0

8. Is a Black Studies program justified?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	84	89
No	10	7
No opinion	6	4
Other	0	0

9. Is a Chicano Student program justified?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	62	80
No	27	16
No opinion	11	4
Other	0	0

10. Is an American Indian Studies program justified?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	82	91
No	10	7
No opinion	7	2
Other	1	0

11. Is a Womens Studies program justified?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	60	67
No	30	28
No opinion	10	5
Other	0	0

12. In your opinion is the University's recent decision to give priority in hiring to women and minorities justified?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	60	77
No	34	18
No opinion	5	2
Other	1	2

13. For comparable jobs and performances, should the salary of women at the University be raised to the same level as men?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	98	98
No	1	2
No opinion	0	0
Other	0	0

14. Should the University Health Service extend the following services to women students at no special charge?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Sample %</u>
a) Pap Smear		
Yes	89	98
No	8	2
No opinion	3	0
b) Pre- and post natal care		
Yes	58	65
No	38	30
No opinion	4	5
c) Birth control services		
Yes	81	86
No	17	14
No opinion	2	0
d) Abortion counseling, care and referral		
Yes	82	86
No	16	14
No opinion	2	0
e) Pregnancy tests		
Yes	86	88
No	13	12
No opinion	2	0

15. Are you willing to increase your incidental fee to cover the costs of expanded services to women students?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	78	72
No	19	26
No opinion	1	2
Other	3	0

16. Do you know what the Campus Assistance Center is?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
No	81	39
Yes	19	61

18. Do you think the University was justified in firing McConnell because of his open declaration of homosexuality?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Yes	10	5
No	81	93
No opinion	8	2
Other	0	0

19. What college are you registered in?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
College of Liberal Arts	48	41
Graduate School	14	11
General College	7	0
Education	7	9
Institute of Technology	6	9
Forestry, Home Economics, Agriculture	6	4
School of Business	3	9
Other	9	17

20. What year are you in college?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Freshman	18	2
Sophomore	29	20
Junior	11	27
Senior	23	25
Graduate Student	17	18
Other	2	4

21. How old are you?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Less than 18	0	0
18	8	0
19	21	7
20	13	27
21	16	18
22	8	11
23	7	4
24	6	0
25	4	4
26	3	2
O v e r 26	14	27

22. Do you live

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
a) with your parents	43	25
b) rent a private room, apartment, home	41	36
c) rent a University owned room or apartment	8	7
d) own your own home	7	16
e) other	1	16

23.	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Male	60	59
Female	40	41

24. What is your major?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
Undecided	6	9
Psychology	4	4
Business-general	4	4
Education	3	4
History	3	4
English	3	0
Sociology	3	9
Law	3	4
Mathematics	2	2
Nursing	2	2
Art	2	0
Architecture	2	0
Political Science	2	7
American Studies	2	4
Urban Studies	0	4
Others	59	43

17. In which two buildings do you spend most of your time on campus when you are not in class?

	<u>General Sample %</u>	<u>Student Leaders %</u>
<u>First Choice:</u>		
Coffman Memorial Union	22	23
Walter Library	12	2
Wilson Library	11	18
None	5	0
Anderson Hall	5	2
Blegen Hall	4	4
Bio-Medical Library	2	0
Saint Paul Student Center	2	0
Fraser Hall	2	2
Main Engineering	2	4
Bierman Field Buildings	0	7
Off-campus buildings	0	4
Other	33	34
<u>Second Choice:</u>		
None	18	14
Coffman Memorial Union	14	34
Wilson Library	8	4
Walter Library	7	7
Blegen Hall	6	7
Anderson Hall	6	7
Off-campus buildings	3	0
Temporary North Court Engineering	0	4
Other	38	23

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UNIVERSITY OPINION POLL 3, SPRING 1972

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Student Life Studies
University of Minnesota

The University Opinion Poll was asked by the Department of University Relations to obtain an accurate estimate of student opinion on issues relating to the anti-war demonstrations occurring on the University campus from May 8 onward. Four hundred and eighty-two students, 76.2% of a random sample drawn from all students registered at the University of Minnesota were contacted for their opinions.

UNIVERSITY OPINION POLL 3, SPRING 1972

William Barnhart and Stanley Strong
Student Life Studies
University of Minnesota

The Department of University Relations on May 15, 1972, requested that the University Opinion Poll obtain an accurate estimate of student opinion towards the anti-war demonstrations and related incidents which occurred on the campus the week of May 8. The poll was conducted from May 16 to May 23, 1972. The steps of the poll were:

(1) Generation of Issues

A pool of questions was generated during an interview on May 15 with Mr. Russell Tall, Associate Director of the Department of University Relations. From this pool, the items judged to be of greatest concern and controversy were selected within the length limitations of a telephone questionnaire.

(2) Conducting the Poll

Ms. Beverly Koser, a professional telephone pollster, called all of the students in the sample who had local telephone numbers during the period of May 16 through May 21, 1972. Each number was attempted several times (a minimum of four times) at different hours of the day. The survey was mailed to all students who had local addresses but no listed phone number and to all students with non-local addresses.

(3) The Student Sample

Admissions and Records generated a random sample of 750 students from their listing of all students with an active file in the University day school (Extension students were excluded). Of the original 750 names, 117 were found to be non-students at the end of the second week of the quarter and were eliminated from this sample. Of the effective sample of 663 names,

454 had either been contacted or had responded by Monday, May 22, or 71.6%. By Wednesday, May 31, the total number of respondents was 482, or 76.2%. Of the 525 students with local phones, 443 had been contacted, or 84.7%. Of the 108 who were sent letters, 39 responded, or 36.1%.

When interpreting the results of the questionnaire, it is suggested that only differences between opinion groups which are equal to five percentage points or more be taken seriously.

(4) Analysis of Results

The University Computer Center punched the questionnaire results on data cards, and the results were analyzed on the University's 6600 computer under the direction and guidance of Dr. Douglas Anderson.

Results

The percentages of students endorsing each alternative for every question are presented for the sample. The percentages for some questions add to 99% or 101% due to rounding errors. The total number of students in the sample is 482. The results are not discussed as our interest is to provide information on student opinions, not to draw conclusions.

1. How do you feel towards the U.S. military involvement in S.E. Asia?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Strongly agree	5.0
b) Mildly agree	11.3
c) Neither agree nor disagree	5.6
d) Mildly disagree	19.4
e) Strongly disagree	58.6

2. How do you feel towards the new moves announced by President Nixon (including the mining of Haiphong Harbor) on Monday, May 7, 1972?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Strongly agree	11.1
b) Mildly agree	13.8
c) Neither agree nor disagree	4.6
d) Mildly disagree	14.8
e) Strongly disagree	55.7

3. In general, how do you feel towards the current anti-war demonstrations at the University?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Strongly agree	13.4
b) Mildly agree	37.2
c) Neither agree nor disagree	10.7
d) Mildly disagree	21.1
e) Strongly disagree	17.8

4. Do you feel that non-violent anti-war demonstrations at the University are a legitimate means of protesting the war in S.E. Asia?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
Yes	92.1
No	5.2
Undecided	2.7

5. How satisfied are you with the manner in which the police have handled the demonstration?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Very satisfied	3.8
b) Somewhat satisfied	16.5
c) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	7.7
d) Somewhat dissatisfied	29.8
e) Very dissatisfied	42.3

6. Were the police justified in:

	<u>% of Sample</u>
A. Clearing the blockaded streets	
Yes	74.4
No	18.8
Undecided	6.8
B. Using force to clear the streets	
Yes	30.8
No	62.7
Undecided	6.5
C. Attempting to clear the Mall	
Yes	13.8
No	79.1
Undecided	7.1
D. Spraying the Mall with tear gas	
Yes	6.7
No	84.2
Undecided	9.1

7. Which of the following tactics do you consider to be legitimate means for protesting U.S. involvement in the war (check any that apply)?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Peaceful rallies	94.4
b) Marching to the state capitol	91.3
c) Sending representatives to Washington, D.C.	92.2
d) Occupying the streets	29.7
e) Occupying buildings	18.3
f) Minor property destruction	6.9
g) Mass rioting	3.5
h) None are justified	1.5
i) Other	2.1

8. If Johnston Hall were to be occupied non-violently by demonstrators, do you feel the police would be justified in using force to take the building?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
Yes	35.2
No	52.3
Undecided	12.5

9. Was the bringing of the National Guard to the campus justified?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
Yes	35.6
No	54.8
Undecided	9.6

10. How satisfied are you with the way the administration of the University of Minnesota has responded to the demonstrations?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Very satisfied	14.8
b) Somewhat satisfied	33.3
c) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	12.6
d) Somewhat dissatisfied	28.3
e) Very dissatisfied	10.9

11. How involved have you been in the peace demonstration?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
Strongly	4.2
Moderately	25.6
Slightly	28.5
Not at all	41.7

12. Did you:

	<u>% of Sample</u>
A. Attend the campus peace rallies	
Yes	54.5
No	45.5
B. Participate in the attempts to occupy University buildings	
Yes	1.7
No	98.3
C. Participate in occupation of streets and highways	
Yes	14.4
No	85.6
D. Observe the persons who occupied streets or buildings	
Yes	75.2
No	24.8
E. March to the state capitol	
Yes	12.0
No	88.0
F. Contribute money for bail for arrested demonstrators	
Yes	16.1
No	83.1
G. Write letters to senators, congressmen, the President	
Yes	30.8
No	69.3
H. Boycott classes	
Yes	12.1
No	87.9

13. In terms of the ROTC program, which of the following would be the best University action:

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Immediately discontinue the program	10.0
b) Move the program off campus	31.9
c) Establish a committee to study ROTC	30.8
d) Hold firm its commitment to ROTC	26.1
e) Other	1.3

14. In terms of class attendance, which of the following would be the best University action:

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Continue as usual	21.6
b) Allow students to withdraw from classes without penalty	21.8
c) Allow students to receive an incomplete to be made up at their discretion	28.8
d) Let students take their pre-demonstration grades, and allow each student to decide if he will attend his classes or not	20.1
e) Allow pre-demonstration grades, and close the University	1.7
f) Close the University without giving grades	0.0
g) No opinion	6.0

15. Do you feel that the demonstrations will make any difference in changing national policies?

	<u>% of Sample</u>
a) Definitely will	4.0
b) Probably will	23.0
c) Probably will not	58.1
d) Definitely will not	14.8

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