

Acknowledgments

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INTRODUCTION

In 1981 a survey of the Washington and Lee student body revealed that a slight majority of undergraduates supported coeducation. These findings did not surprise me in the least as I was aware of the sentiments which my fellow classmates held. In fact, it is uncommon if not unfashionable for a W&L student to admit to another that he prefers eating, studying, and coexisting five days a week with only men. It might sound peculiar if one student told another that he was absolutely happy with his all-male surroundings. What I have found more commonly seems to be a sort of tolerance rather than a celebration for single sex education; that is, students tend to respond to inquiries about the sex composition of Washington and Lee with what one could call a "but" clause. They readily admit to Washington and Lee's single-sex student body and usually follow with a, "but there are five women's colleges nearby," or "even though it's single-sex, I see women all the time." Although Washington and Lee's single-sex student body is an attractive option for some students, many others seem stigmatized. Many students feel awkward about the single sex nature of their school.

One W&L is unique today, but twenty years ago, not only were most of the best private schools all-male, but even some public universities denied admission to women. Then, during the 1960's and 70's something happened, and the exclusive male schools opened their doors to females. It is not the

aim of this paper to delve into the particular conditions which prompted those other schools into coeducation, rather, we need to explore and explain Washington and Lee's situation. Where does it fit into the trend away from single sex education? For all practical purposes, W&L stands as an island in a sea of coeducation. The question of why W&L has isolated itself is answerable, perhaps, if one discovers what information exists in the Special Coeducation Committee reports and self studies. In addition, one should consider, in depth, the sentiments of the students, faculty, and alumni on the coeducation issue. He should try to examine the pressures both environmental and internal which influence W&L. Finally, through the use of various surveys, self studies, and personal interviews, one might speculate on the future of single-sex and what that future holds for W&L. Hopefully, the work contained in this thesis will prove to be valuable in the future as Washington and Lee struggles with the issue of whether or not to educate women.

- I. Historical Background -

In the late 1960's and 70's, some of the more prestigious all-male colleges and universities began admitting women. One could speculate on the reasons for this phenomenon, or one could find out first hand why those schools implemented coeducation. I endeavored to gain access to the following schools' coeducation study results: Davidson, Princeton, Harvard, Yale, Sewanee, Williams, Bowdoin, Hampden Sydney,

and the University of Virginia. Unfortunately, the only schools which have responded thus far have been Davidson College, The University of Virginia, and Sewanee. Davidson is the only institution which has sent a "self-study", while The University of Virginia succinctly cited "Title IX."* Sewanee (University of the South) has referred my request to another department. In essence, there exist insufficient data for a causal analysis of why the schools adopted coeducation. Therefore, one can only draw that kind of information from limited sources. Nonetheless I believe that the self studies that I do have can afford some key insights.

What happened in the late 60's and early 70's which propelled once male colleges into coeducation? Perhaps an amalgamation of fears. Although the word "fear" may sound a bit strong, I think it fits. The Committee on Coeducation at Princeton stressed the need for its college to remain "in the front rank of American educational institutions." The same committee also recognized what might happen if Princeton did not keep up with "Today's evolving social system." Princeton's concerns were with maintaining its competitive edge. There was fear that Princeton might lose students, faculty, and financial support if they remained single-sex.

* "Title IX" is Federal sanction which forced many public, all-male schools to admit women.

This fear of losing the edge was not peculiar to Princeton, and as Davidson College's self study showed, the importance of a school's attractiveness to students was lessened because of an all male student body. Accordingly, Davidson advanced, as their primary reason for choosing coeducation, the fact that single sex schools simply did not lure the best students. From what the reports indicate, this need to be competitive held top priority for these two schools a decade ago.

It could be reasoned that for a school to remain competitive, it must have a contented faculty, administration, student body, and alumni. Davidson and Princeton believed that because their faculty, administration, and student bodies favored coeducation, it would be in their best interest to make the move. Princeton observed that it would be difficult to keep the present faculty not to mention recruit new members if the single sex policy was not changed. In addition to repelling prospective students and losing the already disenchanted ones, Princeton realized that they stood to lose their unhappy faculty members as well. In essence, Princeton was confronted with pressure from environmental and internal sources. Environmentally, the school was subjected to the "changing times" and the "evolving society," and if they did not keep pace they would suffer in the admissions department. Internally, a dissatisfied student body and a faculty of a national reputation pushed for the

move.

Davidson was confronted with the same basic pressures, and like Princeton, they made the move to coeducation around 1972. With regard to the "pressures", I now need to illustrate in more depth what is significant about external and internal pressures, and how these two pressures can perhaps explain the "something" that happened in the late 60's and early 70's. The self studies I have analyzed have both shown that environmental and internal pressures were key determinants in whether a school remained all-male. However, just as I qualified my goal at the outset of this section, I will do so here as well: my aim is not to make a definitive causal statement, but to speculate simply on why the coeducation trend began. It is with this in mind that I will advance, as my sociological framework, the notion that environmental and internal pressures may have set the coeducational process into motion.

It seems logical that if one prestigious school went coeducational others would follow suit. Why? Because the competition for top students would have increased. Princeton, because of its coeducational status, was able to attract more top students of both sexes. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that competing institutions would then have had increased difficulties in recruiting. Thus, Princeton created a kind of external pressure which acted upon other schools. Furthermore, as American women became more and more a part

of such fields as business and law, they naturally aspired to the top-ranked schools. As well, the number of female college students was steadily increasing (presently, 37% of all female high school graduates go to college as opposed to 32-33% of males). In short, the male schools were some of the best in the country, and the women wanted to attend them. What we see, then, is a social trend which was environmental and which affected the male schools. It is plausible that Princeton's pioneer policy may have aroused a fear in other male schools that they were behind the times. A fear such as this, if it were based on reality, may have pressured Princeton's competition into following suit.

Now, we need to consider Washington and Lee's background as an all-male institution, and I want to bring to light the fact that Washington and Lee faced and faces the same external and internal pressures the other single sex schools faced.

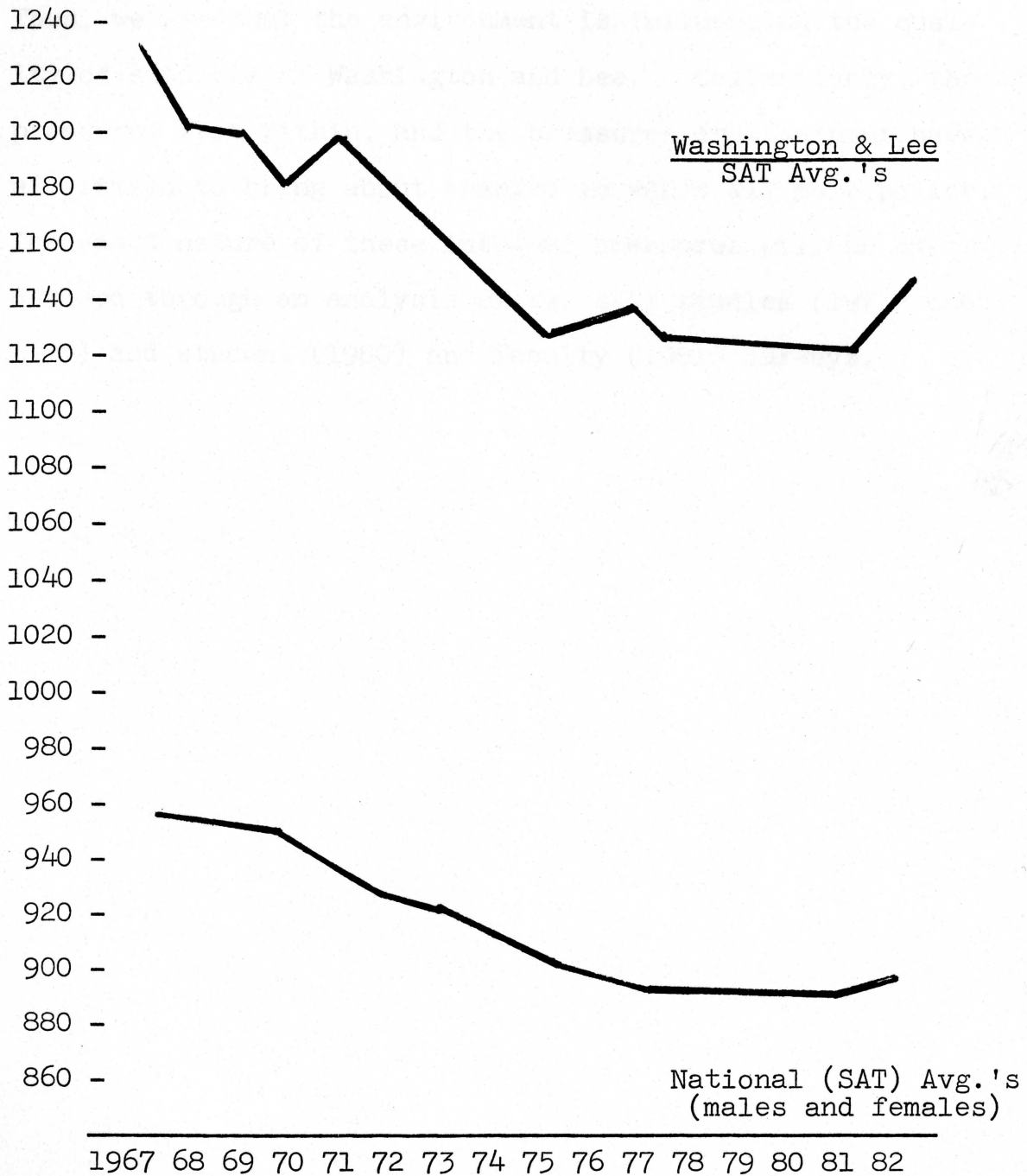
Taken together, one can view the decision of schools such as Davidson and Princeton as external pressures on W&L. After all, they were W&L's competitors in the 60's and 70's and now that they are coeducational, they pose even more of a threat in the Admissions Department.* For two-hundred years, Washington and Lee has educated only males. For the

* 40% of those who declined to attend W&L in 1982 stated that the single sex nature of the school was a factor. Further, Davidson gets 3 out of 5 students whom we and they accept while U.V.A. nets 8 out of 10.

first one hundred and fifty years of the school's existence, American women were not even considered worthy of education; most American males believed a woman's place was in the home while a male's place was in the public spheres. Although the times have changed, and although more females now attend college than males, W&L and a few other schools still refuse to admit women. A school founded by Scotch-Irish clergymen, endowed by the Father of our Country, and reinvigroated by the South's leading general cannot bring itself to make the coeducation conversion. In spite of internal pressures which are evidenced by the feelings of both the student and faculty surveys of 1981 and 1982, and in spite of internal self-studies made in 1971 and 1975, which revealed no negative effects of coeducation, the Trustees remain undecided.

In addition to the internal pressures, external pressures have been endured but not succumbed to yet. Admissions' statistics show that steadily decreasing male college bound students is a reality. Furthermore, the (SAT) scores of W&L's entering classes have dropped since 1968 (See table below).

SAT Statistics
1967-1982
W&L & National



Since 1968 we see a steady decline, a leveling off, then a rise of about twenty points. W&L's declining (SAT) scores

are basically congruent with the national averages (figures from W&L Fact Book and National College bound seniors, 1982). Thus, we see that the environment is influencing the quality of students at Washington and Lee. Collectively, the pressures from within, and the pressures from without have all failed to bring about changes in W&L's all male policy. The exact nature of these internal pressures will be addressed through an analysis of two self studies (1971 and 1975) and student (1980) and faculty (1981) surveys.

CHAPTER 2

The Homans Theoretical Perspective

This chapter, which deals with the theoretical base, is of prime importance since it provides a framework within which the data on coeducation will be rendered more meaningful. I have chosen to utilize the group systems model of George C. Homans for several reasons: first, it deals with a system which Homans defines as a set of interdependent, identifiable parts; second, Homans' scheme illustrates the relationship between the group, its environment, and the survival of that group; third, Homans' notion of the importance of sentiments within the group appealed to me because my thesis is mostly concerned with attitudes toward the issue of coeducation at W&L. How a group feels about a topic can and does affect how that group acts, interacts, and how it perceives and adheres to norms. For this reason, I will apply Homans' scheme which will include an analysis of activity, interactions, norms and above all sentiments which surround the various University constituencies. I will also examine how coeducation, as an environmental pressure, threatens the survival of the school. Finally, I will demonstrate that the school's survival depends on the smooth functioning of its subgroups as an interdependent team.

- Definition of Terms -

To define my terms, I must start with what Homans has labeled the "four elements of group behavior." The first of these four elements is "activity" which includes such things as eating, drinking, working, singing etc. "Activity" refers

to things that people do with their minds and muscles; things which can be measured in terms of input, efficiency, and similarity (Homans 1950:35).

The second "element" Homans identifies is that of "interaction." To understand the meaning of this "interaction" one must separate analytically the interaction from the accompanying activity. For instance, when two men meet and then begin to talk, we can call the sheer contact--not the talk--interaction (Homans:1950:35). Talking is more of an activity such as socializing or arguing. One can measure the frequency, order, and duration of interaction much the same way he measures the input, efficiency, etc. of "activities."

The third element Homans calls "sentiment." "Sentiments" include such elements as affection, sympathy, apathy, pride, respect, nostalgia, hunger, and thirst. Homans points out that all these words refer to internal states of the human body (Homans 1950:38). Here a problem can arise with regard to things which are not directly observable--can we see or measure sentiments? Homans believes so and points to easily recognized behavior such as voice tone, facial expression, and movements, as manifestations of sentiments. In addition, as with the faculty and student surveys, sentiments can be measured with opinion polls which can reveal conviction and intensity.

Finally, Homans includes the term "norms." While norms

were not one of Homans' original elements, they are so crucial as to necessitate inclusion. "Norms" refer to the behavior which is expected from a person or group. Society expects us to abide by the norms, and maintains those norms with rules, and guidelines. Naturally, a norm is a reflection of sentiment (and vice versa) and is easily measured because of the kinds of activities and interactions which it allows or prohibits. A group may abstain from performing certain activities if that activity is considered illegal or immoral (e.g. cheating at W&L). Certain interactions are prohibited in certain groups. To take it a bit further, the environment can impose a norm on the group and that norm can be stated in writing; however, the group can impose its own norms on itself which need not be written--some kinds of norms are simply adhered to and are "understood" as correct behavior.

Turning now from the particulars of group behavior, I will show how these four elements combine to form the "internal" and "external systems."

Homans refers to the "external system" as the state of the four elements and of their interrelations which provide a solution to the problem of survival (Homans 1950:90). He goes on to say that he calls it "external" because it is conditioned by the environment; and it is called a system because its elements of behavior are mutually dependent. Although I cannot hope to be as successful as Homans, I will attempt to make an analogy which will illustrate what an ex-

ternal system is. I turn to a basketball team. This team of five players represents the group and through activities, interactions, sentiments, and norms will try to win the game and stay in the tournament. To win the game, each player must do his part--each must perform his specified activity. The guard must bring the ball down, while the center must rebound. If these "activities" are not carried out, the team will lose. Likewise, if the players do not "interact," or work together, they will lose. If, for some reason, the team has an attitudinal problem, such as a lack of pride, apathy, or if they are all undernourished, they will likely drop the game as the "sentiments" are poor or non-existent. Finally, if the rules (norms) and referees (those who maintain norms) are not observed, negative results will ensue. In essence, the four elements of behavior, if they are not maintained, will lessen the group's chances for survival. With regard to interdependency of the four elements, a team with great spirit and pride will perish if it cannot master the skills of the game. As long as the four elements combine effectively, the group can survive.

Defining the "internal system" is not so clear. As Homans points out, although the external and internal systems both depend on the four elements, the elements take on a different form in the internal system. Instead of considering the survival of the group, or the winning of the basketball game, we must look deeper. To the players and their external

system, the sentiments had to be directed towards victory. Internally, we must consider the sentiments which are not so wholly utilitarian, such as personal gratification, emotional pain, and determination. These internal sentiments do not directly decide the outcome of the game although they influence it. Instead of considering only those activities which promote survival, we must look at those activities which express one player's attitude towards another. Furthermore, instead of considering only those interactions which provide for victory, we must analyze the interaction which arises out of a desire for fun or personal fulfillment. The essence here is that while the external system is utilitarian in nature, the internal system is more the result of personal likes, dislikes, or a vehicle for enjoyment and is less oriented toward utility. This is not to say, by any means, that the internal system does not act on the external system and its goals--it does; or that the external system does not influence the group's internal behavior. Again, the four elements in the internal system are identifiable and mutually dependent. To understand the internal and external systems is to be able to separate the two analytically. But, one must realize that the two mesh together and that the internal system arises out of the external and eventually reacts upon it in a cyclical fashion. Empirically, as one would observe the two systems in operation, they are inseparable; metaphysically, they are

distinct.*

In a more concrete manner, I would like to discuss what Homans means by the concept "environment." In basic terms, the environment is everything which is not part of the external or internal systems. Homans says that the environment can be divided into three general categories: (1) physical; (2) social; and (3) technological. For this paper, I will concentrate my analysis and application on the "social environmental" category. Before I go into more depth, I need to make another crucial statement about Homans' use of the environment concept. That statement is most easily summarized as follows: The environment exerts pressures and imposes constraints upon the internal and external sentiments, activities, interactions and norms. Furthermore, the norms I described earlier may be the product of the environment if they are imposed upon the members of the group from without.

The social, physical, and technological aspects of the environment are all able to exert pressures and impose constraints in their own way. Since the physical environment

*In essence, the environment puts pressure on the external system. The external system then adjusts itself to the environment. The internal system (less concerned with survival), arises out of the external system and then reacts back upon that system. Ultimately, the internal system influences the external, the external produces the internal, and both systems, as a whole, influence and adapt to the environment. This complicated process occurs in a dynamic way.

includes such things as the weather, the landscape, the cities, towns and buildings in which groups exist, any one of these physical environmental factors can influence the group. Disasterous storms can exterminate groups. Changes in the earth's surface can influence groups as well--such was the case with the dustbowls of the 20's and 30's. Further, cities and towns can have marked effects on their inhabitants, and since most people today live in cities and towns, they have to deal directly with their urban surroundings. The same holds true for the buildings and houses in which groups operate. The important idea here is that the group must either modify or adapt to its physical environment if it is to survive.

The same necessity for modification or adaptation holds true for the group and its technological environment. If a group does not change the technological environment, or if it fails to adapt to new technologies, its chances for survival may be lessened. Take for example, the automobile: since the early 1900's when the car or truck became a necessity, it has become impossible to travel or run a business without a vehicle. Shipping, business luncheons, farm work, all these activities depend upon modern vehicles and other technologies.

Even more important than the physical and technological environments to a sociologist is the "social environment." The social environment includes all groups other than the group under scrutiny. It may include social trends, customs of the society at large, etc. In essence, the sentiments, activities,

interactions, and in some cases the norms of the greater society (or universe for that matter) constitute the social environment. Once again, it is the group's task, to modify or adapt to its social environment. If the group fails to do so, it may be labeled "deviant" and could be exterminated, or like the "hippies" of the 60's and 70's, the greater social system could swallow or absorb the maladaptive group. Of course, a group could withdraw and attempt to barricade itself from the social environment. I doubt, however, that any group can totally isolate itself from the social environment in which it exists. Alas, discounting a few rare exceptions, groups are influenced by their total environments and have the power to exert their own influences upon these same environments. As Homans so emphatically states, "The group is never quite passive" (Homans 1950:87).

The notion that "the group is never quite passive" leads us nicely into the next term which I need to discuss; that term being "survival." Furthermore, it is with this term that I will make the transition from the definition of Homans' concepts to the application of Homans' scheme to Washington and Lee University. What is survival? Homans states that survival is the external and internal systems working together so as to allow the group to "keep going in its environment." This is a rather simple explanation of survival, and in recognizing this, Homans adds, ". . . in the favorable instance, the group spontaneously evolves the behavior necessary to

improve its standard of living in the environment." With these two aspects of survival in mind (to keep going, and improving), I will state that for Washington and Lee, survival means improving the University. If W&L merely keeps its head above water, it does not survive, for such survival would mean that the school could no longer be prestigious nor selective. Thus, survival must mean the existence of the school as a quality institution; that is, the school must maintain itself a cut above the average college.* To do this W&L must have good administration, an effective Admissions Department, strong leadership, dedicated faculty, and quality students. A starving person survives as long as he remains alive; it is not W&L's goal merely to stay alive; rather, the institution must maintain its competitive position and strengthen that position if possible. What does the school do to ensure its own survival? How does the University's external system operate? And what social environmental pressures threaten the school?

In answer to these questions, I must first determine just what the environmental pressures are. What threatens W&L? Certainly, the physical environment could influence the University via natural disasters, etc. Likewise, the University must adapt to and change with the new technologies. Far more

*This definition of survival is specialized and it incorporates a value judgement; that being improvement is more valuable than mere maintenance of a status quo if that status quo does not provide for improvement itself.

important, though, for Washington and Lee, are those constraints and pressures which result from changes in social trends, customs, values, etc.

Take the greater United States. Within its territorial boundaries exist customs, trends, and norms that are always changing. For instance, more women are now, and are expected to be attending college in the future. What does this illustrate? A simple social trend such as a kind of dance, or a hair style? Or is it indicative of a change in American customs? Perhaps it is simply the result of there being more college-aged women than men--a sociodemographic factor. Perhaps it is a combination of all three. Most likely, what is going on represents a deep seated changing social trend. Women are demanding a better education than they received half a century ago. Likewise, women are stepping out into the business world. One could say that they are integrating into the previously male dominated society. This aspect of the United States social environment has profound effects on W&L's survival.

What happens to an all male school in the wake of a shrinking male applicant pool? It is simple, the school cannot expect to have as much choice because it cannot admit women. Because of W&L's declining applicant pool, it has recently begun using more heavily the ETS's Student Search Program. This little piece of technology searches out those students who have the SAT scores, grades, and back-

grounds for which the school is looking. The point here is that W&L is more at the mercy of its social environment than one may realize.

What we see is that W&L will have to scramble more, work harder, and find more new ways to provide for its survival. As discussed earlier, survival means improvement, and social trends indicate that such improvement will be harder to achieve in the future. I will deal more with this issue of "trends" later in the thesis. So now, let us examine the four elements of group behavior, the external and internal systems, and how the admissions group, the faculty group, and the students might deal with and be influenced by the trend away from single sex.

To begin with, I should isolate the primary activities which are crucial to the Admissions Department. Such activities may include recruiting, traveling, making presentations, answering questions, gathering at admissions meetings, and so on. To use Homans' model here, I must show that these activities are a critical part of the external system. I can show this more easily after I have discussed the other elements. The second element, or interaction, may include the sheer contact which takes place at meetings, over lunch etc. Third, we must identify the kinds of sentiments which characterize the Admissions Department. One can identify motivation as the desire to make a living. In addition, feelings of pride, nostalgia, exclusiveness, and reputability

guide the department through its working days. Finally, linked very closely with the sentiments come the norms that the department must observe. Some norms come from without, such as those which the Trustees impose. Evidence of such a norm may be how large the Trustees want the school's student body to be. This certainly affects Admissions. In reference to those norms which the department itself creates, it is a known fact that a few trained administrators select the entering classes based on their own perceptions. The staff members set the kind of goals they want. Do they want more Easterners? Westerners? Do they want higher board scores or class ranks? Depending on the applicant pool, the Admissions staff has a free hand in deciding who shall and who shall not receive acceptance.

These four elements, when combined, make up the Admission Department's external system; or system for ensuring its survival as a department and for ensuring the survival of the school. When the department carries out the recruiting and selection efficiently and economically, the return will be many good, qualified students. With regards to the activities, then, a strong input, will result in a good student body. This is how the "activities" help provide for the survival of the Admissions group.

Likewise, the Admissions staff must meet in order to make decisions. They must interact, first, so that "activity" can take place. Next, the staff must be aware of, and

follow their "sentiments" of pride and exclusiveness in order to live up to the norms. Those norms, as discussed earlier, call for an ever improving entering class and the upholding of the school's quality which ultimately will lead to survival in a prestigious manner.

What I have tried to do above is show in a fairly simple fashion how the Admissions staff, through its four elements of group behavior, helps ensure the survival of the University. Now, however, I need to show what happens to the internal system with regards to Admissions.

The internal system is composed of the same four elements of group behavior, but unlike the external system, the elements in the internal system are less utilitarian in nature. In the internal system of the Admissions Department, instead of talking about activities as survival oriented, we should view them more as a way of reaching personal goals. For instance, traveling may serve as a method of recruiting, but for a staff member, this travel may also serve as a chance to see the country or as an opportunity to rekindle old friendships in distant cities. It may also be viewed as a tiresome demand on one's time. The important point here is that internal activities most likely will be less utilitarian in nature.

I turn now to the internal "sentiments" of the staff, and must demonstrate that not all feeling or motivation is based on utilitarian rationale. Externally, the staff feels

pride, exclusiveness etc. Internally, we may see petty biases, dislikes, and dogmatism replacing the rational survival oriented sentiments present in the external system. In terms of motivation, the rational need for a living may be overshadowed by a staff member's joy in making critical decisions. He may like to feel powerful and have the sense that things depend on him.

With regard to interaction, if anything at all is to be done in the Admissions department, contact between the members must take place. Without the sheer contact, the staff members could not carry out any sort of activity. Without interaction, the staff members would not have the occasion to share sentiments, set norms, or follow guidelines. Interaction in the internal system could fulfill the staff member's need for friendship, order, and the feeling that he is useful. What we see here is that on one hand, interaction is necessary for the existence of an Admissions group (external system), but we also see that the interaction fulfills other functions as part of the internal system.

Norms also exist in the internal system. Although these (internal) norms are most likely a product of the external system, they may manifest themselves in such ways as informal codes, covert feelings of repulsion and so on. The point is that although a certain kind of applicant may not be denied admission for survival's sake, the staff members may have a personal dislike for his kind.

Now that I have discussed the four elements of group behavior within the Admission Department's internal and external systems, I will inject a "what if". By using this "what if," I will demonstrate how each element is dependent on the others. What if W&L could no longer fill its classes because there were simply not enough qualified males from which to choose. In this event, a shift in sentiments, activities, interactions, and above all, norms, would become necessary. Either the school would admit women or it would slip in prestige and quality. Either way, norms would change. When the norms change, the sentiments change, and when we look at the recruiting, and the selection process, we will see them altered accordingly. Change in one part of the social system will have an influence upon the other elements.

Finally, for the Admissions Department to operate successfully, they must have the freedom and initiative to adapt to environmental pressures. How can they do this? First, we must inspect that feedback process which characterizes the relationship between the internal and external systems. In adapting to an environmental pressure (e.g. decline of male applicatns), the admission group's external system reorganizes, regroupes, or refreshes itself in order to maintain survival. New norms may result. New sentiments may appear. What is crucial here is that a new internal system arises out of the new external system and then acts

back upon it in the form of sentiments, activities etc. So, the internal system, even though it is a product of the external system can have great impact upon that external system by creating internal norms, sentiments etc. These new internal behavioral elements can then become part of the external system which fights the new environmental threat.

Although this whole discussion of the Admissions department may seem confusing it is actually quite simple when viewed in more general terms. Therefore, what happens is that the Admissions Department acts and reacts on the environment with its internal/external weapons. Again, we cannot separate perfectly the internal and external systems; rather, we should understand what both are and how both mesh and ensure the survival of the group. Hopefully, I have shown this. If not, perhaps my illustration of the faculty group will make the point more clear.

One might wonder about the ways in which the faculty helps provide for the survival of W&L. In addition, one may be confused as to what environmental elements exist that threaten the faculty. As far as the environment is concerned, let me say that the teaching market poses serious threats to the existence of some of the faculty at W&L. Out in the social environment there are other schools, other professions, etc. which may lure a W&L professor away from the school, therefore, it is imperative that W&L remain able to attract and keep good faculty. In addition, and most

important, W&L's faculty must have quality students in their classes if they are to be contented and committed.

Before I go into how the environment acts upon the faculty group, I need to discuss the four behavioral elements and how they relate to the group's internal and external systems and how survival is thus ensured.

Survival for the faculty group must depend upon their ability as teachers. Because W&L is a "teaching school," somewhat less emphasis is placed on research and more is placed on classroom activities, and it follows that for a faculty member to remain part of the group he must be an able teacher and administrator. This means lecture preparation, lecture or seminar participation, the administering of tests, and the evaluations of the students when the term ends. A teacher who does not make it to class, does not come prepared, refuses to meet with students, and has no basis for final evaluations, will not keep his job long. These basic activities are essential to the survival of the teaching group. Other activities include socializing and research which no doubt occupy a great deal of some professors' time.

Interaction is equally important. A faculty member is more highly praised if he acknowledges the presence of his colleagues. Likewise, he can be helpful to his group if he attends faculty meetings, Trustee inquiries, and if he interacts with professors at other schools. This inter-

action is necessary as it stimulates new activities which can make the group more dynamic and interesting. Naturally, the faculty group must interact with students as well. Classes, office hours, seminars, etc. all serve as kinds of interaction which facilitate meaningful activities.

One must also consider the faculty's sentiments and how those sentiments contribute to the survival of the group and the maintenance of the school as a quality institution. To faculty members, motivation may come in a variety of forms: it may be that they want a job or crave fulfillment. Other sentiments to consider are professional pride, commitment to ideals and traditions, and a desire for liberal, progressive change. As well, faculty members may be frustrated with their jobs, or they may be content with their occupation and their surroundings. Whatever the sentiments (and there are no doubt dozens more), they must promote strength and unity within the group in order to ensure group survival. Thus, these sentiments are part of the faculty group's external system.

Finally, with regards to survival and the external system, the faculty have various norms and guidelines to which they adhere. W&L's teachers must participate in the activities that I mentioned earlier, they must hold classes, give grades, and so on. They must interact with each other and must maintain some sort of contact with the students. In addition, the faculty must be committed enough to their jobs

and their profession to uphold professional standards. In essence, the faculty norms are simply the activities, interactions, and sentiments that either the environment imposes or that the group itself institutes. For instance, if a professor fails to give grades, the environment (President, Deans etc.) may sanction him negatively. Likewise, if a professor never interacts with his teaching colleagues, he may be ostracized. Whether the faculty member disobeys environmental or group norms, the group's solidarity could be undermined and its survival threatened.

Equally important to the survival of the group is the internal system. As noted before, the internal system consists of those same elements of activity, sentiment, interactions and norms that one finds in the external system, but which are less utilitarian. Thus, instead of a faculty member going to class or attending meetings for reasons of group solidarity or survival, he may carry out those activities for the sheer fun of it. It is doubtful that many faculty lecture, grade, and conduct office hours simply because they have to; rather, these same activities are a source of fulfillment and happiness. If all activities were performed purely for utility's sake, the group would soon become disenchanted and unmotivated as the activities would have little meaning. Internally, then, the activities may serve personal needs and ends.

The difference between personal reward and group survival

also exists in the realm of the group's internal interactions and sentiments. For example, two or more professors may hunt together on weekends, they may participate in athletic games with each other, or they may attend parties at one another's homes. All these are examples of kinds of interaction which do not directly provide for group survival but which may increase activities and thus sentiments. As Homans points out, the more group members interact and participate in activities, the stronger the sentiments become. What may appear to be job commitment may be underlain by sentiments of friendship or pride which are part of the internal system. Likewise, a disenchanted faculty may eventually develop problems with interaction and activity.

The same holds true for norms. Externally, each respective department has its own requirements; each has its guidelines and rules that are enforced from within and from without. But so too do the faculty have their own internal norms--ways of teaching, ways of grading, styles of dress (some professors never walk into class without a tie--others never with one on). Take grades for example. Externally, the environment (e.g. registrars office) requires grades at the end of the term; however, the office does not specify how the faculty must grade. If one wishes, he can give one paper and one exam, or he can give one exam and scratch the paper. Personal styles and preferences abound

in the internal system, which, when combined with the demands of the external system, provide a solution to the problem of survival.

Alas, what does survival mean with regards to the faculty group? I can perhaps answer this crucial question by showing how the group might respond to the swing away from single sex education as an environmental pressure. Once again, I will use a "what if." What if the quality of the male students dropped so low as to pose a threat not only to the survival of the school as a quality institution, but to the survival of a quality faculty as well? In the event that the incoming students were so poor as to threaten the school and the faculty, some changes would have to be made. Surely, a professor could not use the same criteria in evaluating lesser qualified students as he did in evaluating the good students. If he did, he might become frustrated because of the poor grades at the end of the term. Equally as frustrating would be the manner in which he would have to teach. It is possible that he might have to convert his seminars to straight lectures. He may have to change his essay tests to multiple choice instead. Perhaps he would have to increase his office hours. Although the above is hypothetical, it illustrates what changes might occur in the group's external system if the quality of the students dropped drastically.

Internally, this frustration might take the form of job

dissatisfaction. Those distraught faculty may be less inclined to give as much time and energy to their classes. Eventually, those group members who before enjoyed good students, grade competition, and creativity among their students, might decide to go elsewhere in pursuit of their goals. This could result in a breakup of the faculty group. Interaction could decrease, activities might decline, and sentiments might turn from commitment and professional pride to an almost mercenary-like, utilitarian form of motivation. In other words, the disenchanted professor may be teaching simply because it provides a living. As noted before, a group cannot survive indefinitely on utilitarian motivation alone.

What this whole example boils down to is that a pressure exerted by the environment (e.g. poor male students) can have drastic results for the group. That group which can adapt to and change its environment will survive. The question, then, is what could the faculty do to adapt to or change its environment? I have illustrated in the preceding paragraph what adaptation might entail, but now lets look at change. The ways in which the faculty might seek to change its environment might include a display of dissatisfaction. Such a display might mean conferences with the Admissions Department in hopes of improving the student body. The faculty might push for higher entrance requirements, or the admission of women. Whether the faculty adapt or

change, one or the other or a combination of both must take place if the group is to survive and remain well qualified and committed to teaching.

As with the Admissions Department, we see a "feedback" process going on between the external and internal systems. If the faculty is to survive (and the school for that matter) the external system will have to provide that means for survival. The newly adaptive norms, sentiments, activities, and interactions of the external system will give rise to a new internal system of goal attainment, methods of grading, ways of socializing, and kinds of norms. This internal system, in turn, will directly influence the external, utilitarian system which provides for survival. For example, if a poor male applicant pool forced W&L's standards to be lowered, the faculty would have to reconcile their personal goals and methods to the new standards, or they could change it or leave. If they stayed, their new methods and goals could strengthen the new external system in a feedback fashion. If they stayed but refused to compromise their goals and methods, they could react upon the new external system in hopes of changing it.

- Student Group -

Perhaps I have gone into unneeded detail with my discussion of the admissions and faculty groups. In the event that I have, I will describe the student group briefly.

The student body at W&L encompasses some 1200 individuals. For my purposes, I will not distinguish between classes or majors but will simply lump them all together. What I will do is describe the group's four elements of behavior and how the external and internal systems combine to enable the individual members of the group, the group itself, and the school to survive.

For Washington and Lee students to survive as a group, and for them to help provide for the school's survival, they must perform certain activities, have certain sentiments, and must participate in various kinds of interaction. In addition, the students, as a group, must abide by and help enforce their own norms and the norms of their environment or university. The activities, interactions, sentiments, and norms that characterize the students are similar to those that I discussed in the faculty section. As to activities, the students must attend classes, write papers, complete tests and do research. In short, they must do what is necessary for the professor to make an evaluation of their efforts. The student who fails to perform these activities risks expulsion thus ending his chances and weakening his group's chances for survival.

Similarly, students must interact. Not only must they interact with their professors, but they must communicate and associate with their fellow students. Such interaction among students contributes to a healthy student group in

that the group develops sentiments which then lead to further interaction and ultimately to increased activity. The school would be a miserable place if no one went to parties, if no one spoke between classes, and if there was an air of isolation between individuals. Furthermore, if students did not interact, the student government could not function because there would be no basis for voting and thus no representatives could gather to form a governing body.

Not only must students interact and perform activities, but they must hold certain crucial motivational sentiments. Take for example the apathetic student. He rarely goes to class, he seldom does his reading, he never goes to his instructors for help. His sentiments are obviously not those of strong motivation. He has no goals (or so it seems). Imagine if the whole student body held these kind of apathetic sentiments. The student group and the school itself (not necessarily in that order) would perish. In essence, for W&L to survive, and for the student group to achieve some kind of solidarity, that group must have a sense of goal orientation, a sense of achievement, and a desire to learn and mature. Certainly, there will always be a number of students who are not motivated, who show little interest, and who do nothing to promote the survival of their group. Nonetheless there seem to be enough committed students to overshadow the others, and thus the group and the school keep going.

Now let us consider the norms with which the student group must deal. First and foremost comes the Honor Code. This code, is a good example of an environmentally imposed norm and of a group imposed norm. Not only does the University at large demand compliance with the Honor Code, but the students themselves abide by and participate in the code's enforcement. Although the Honor Code is mandatory at W&L, the student group has some power to revise it. As well, the students decide when and whom to investigate and what the punishment will be. A student-run code of honor, serves to maintain an atmosphere of trust and security at the school. If the system were scrapped, the students might be plagued with thefts, cheating, and deception to such a degree as to undermine the quality and survivability of the institution.

Finally, with regards to norms, the school demands that all students carry a minimum course load, maintain a minimum cumulative grade point average, and abide by Federal, State, and local laws. In addition, student control sees to it that the W&L student conducts himself properly while on campus and while visiting surrounding schools.

The activities, interactions, sentiments, and norms I have just described belong to the student group's external system. If these four elements of group behavior are practiced and adhered to, the school will survive nicely. But now, lets look more carefully at internal system, and

possibly we can isolate the internal elements which help strengthen the group. As I have noted several times before, the external system is more utilitarian in nature compared to the internal system which is more oriented towards personal needs, preferences and goals.

Why do students attend class? One reason could be that they do so in order to advance their own position. After all, going to class provides a valuable source of information which comes in handy on exams. A student may rationalize that it is a waste of money not to attend what one has already paid for. In essence, student "A" does not go to class, take tests, or write papers simply because those activities help the group survive. No, he performs the activities for his own personal gain. But look at the cumulative effect of hundreds of students striving towards personal goals; that effect is a kind of competition and commitment which does in fact strengthen and solidify the group. What we see are activities which are internal (according to Homans) strengthening the external system in a feedback fashion.

In the external system, sentiments are utilitarian in nature. However, when we look at the internal system, we uncover a web of likes, dislikes, biases, attitudes, and opinions. The motives of the internal system change from commitment, pride, and exclusiveness, which are valuable in terms of survival, to states of mind that are more personally

oriented, such as calculation, risk, greed etc. Sentiments of commitment must thrive in the external system so as to make survival possible; yet, internally, that commitment may be due to a variety of motives such as the desire for a high salaried job, hopes of being admitted to a law school, or the rewards which come if a student pleases his parents. In essence, not all sentiments within the group are aimed at preserving the group or the school. In fact, sentiments of disaffection can and do abound at W&L. Some students do not like the overwhelming tradition, some find the single sex composition repulsive.

The same holds true for the norms. Although externally the norms provide for survival, internally, we may see a different set of norms which actually determine what the external norms shall be. For instance, in a class where the professor stresses oral participation, a student who knows all the answers may refrain from blurting out constantly. Why? Because there is an understanding between most students that prohibits such behavior. Thus, oral participation does not become a one man show and those who do not know all the answers can rest more easily. However, a class full of super competitors can influence the norms as well. If all the students in the class are very well prepared each day, the professor may come to expect more and more from the class. The result of such a phenomenon is that the students must continue to come prepared since

they have set the pace. This is a good example of how the external norms give rise to the internal norms and how those internal norms react back upon the external norms.

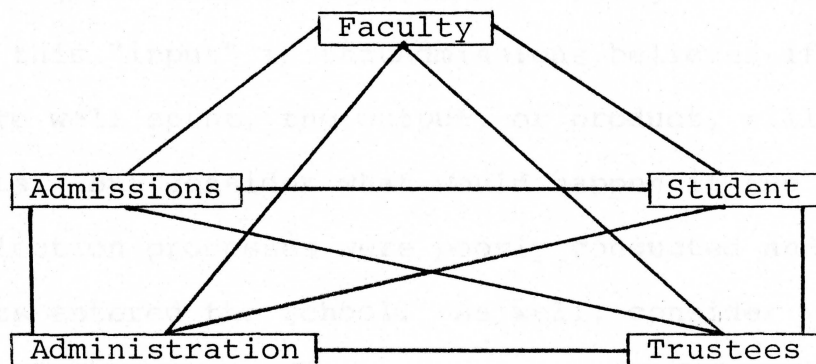
- Interdependency of Elements -

This notion of interdependency saturates Homans' work. The activities, interactions, sentiments, and norms of a group are absolutely dependent upon one another. For instance, the Admissions Department may work hard and interact on a daily basis, but if they do not observe the norms, and if they have sentiments that are not compatible with those norms, their work will be ineffective or detrimental to the school's survival. Likewise, if the faculty are committed to teaching (sentiment) but do not teach well (activity) they too will harm the school's chances for survival. In the same vein, if the students are committed to the Honor Code and to academics, but just can not do good enough work to get by, the academic atmosphere at the school will decay. My point is that a group must fulfill all of the elements which are necessary for survival. A group must perform its activities and interactions, and must have the right sentiments and a respect for the norms if it is to survive. How or why they go about this depends on the internal elements of behavior.

- Interdependency of Groups -

Earlier, we decided that W&L did constitute a group. Then we divided this macro group into five subgroups: trustees, admissions, administration, faculty, and students. Of these five subgroups, I selected only three for closer examination. Now, however, let me integrate the trustees and administrative groups into a scheme which will show that each subgroup is mutually dependent, and that the University depends upon each group for its own survival.

I can better illustrate this mutual dependence with a model of the Washington and Lee system and its groups:*



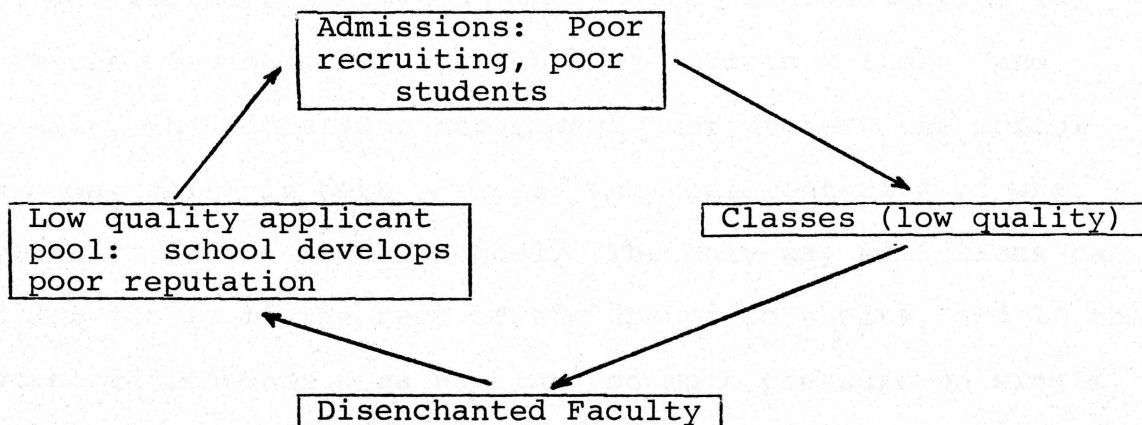
*Model adopted from Matilda Riley, Sociological Research. This is not a formal power structure model. I have placed the groups at random.

As this model indicates, each subgroup is related to all the others.* The crucial point here is that because the parts are linked, and because they all function together, any change in one group will cause a change in the others,

*This interrelation does not assume that each group relates directly to the others: "Influence" is perhaps a better word. That is, the interrelationships are due more to each group's impact on the others than to face-to-face contact.

as well as in the overall W&L system. If one group ceases to function correctly and efficiently, the entire University would suffer. Of course the opposite is true as well. If one group is extra efficient or if it functions beyond its expectations, the other groups will benefit.

I would now like to make some specific illustrations of what could happen if a group were to function improperly or inefficiently, and if the environment were to exert some threatening pressure. For instance, let us consider a model which depicts the input, and measureable output of the Admissions Department. It is the goal of Admissions to devote a great deal of time to recruiting. The rationale behind this "input" is that Admissions believes if money and time are well spent, the output, or product, will be good students. But consider what would happen if the recruiting and selection processes were poorly conducted and poor students entered the school. As well, consider what might happen if qualified males refused to attend our all-male institution. What we would see might look like this:



Here we see the classroom environment decaying as a result of its poor students. Consequently, the faculty becomes frustrated and disenchanted. A combination of disgruntled faculty and poor students then gives W&L a bad reputation in the environment or applicant pool. Because of the poor reputation, admissions finds it even more difficult to recruit good male students, and the cycle snowballs until the school collapses. Certainly, for this collapse to take place, it would take years of snowballing. Nevertheless, one can see how dependent the school is on its admissions department, and on its environment. To be sure, this same kind of thing could happen if any of the other groups went sour. I simply chose admissions as an illustration.

Before I end this section on "dependence" let me say that the way W&L appears to the college-bound males is of prime importance. Those searching for colleges depend a great deal on a school's reputation, and for this reason, W&L must maximize the performance of each group. The faculty must teach well, the students have to remain committed, the administrators must run their affairs efficiently, the Trustees must make key decisions at opportune times, and finally, the admissions department must present the school in a way which is both enticing and representative of what actually goes on at the school. The only way admissions can do its job is if the rest of the groups do theirs, and if the social environment does not put too much pressure on single

sex schools.

- Conclusion -

The purpose of this chapter is to apply Homans' "group scheme" to Washington and Lee as a theoretical framework for this honors thesis. The research I have already conducted draws heavily on faculty and student sentiments. The goal of this chapter is to develop a sociological framework which will give credence and meaning to a set of attitudinal surveys. Taken without any theoretical framework, the surveys indicate certain perceptions. However, once a theoretical guide is utilized, the surveys come to mean even more. No longer are they simply processed perceptions or attitudes. Now with a theory to back them up, they become more useful analytical tools. It is for coherence that I applied Homans' scheme. His definition of the group, its interdependency, its external and internal systems, and how the system provides for survival shed new light on my existing data. It is because of Homans' scheme that I can now go on and describe in detail the surveys and self studies and what they indicate about the sentiments which prevail at the university. As I noted in the introduction, how people feel about an issue can have profound effects on how they perform their activities, interact with each other, and adhere to norms. If the sentiments I analyze next show some measure of discontent with the W&L status quo, then we must be prepared to deal with those "profound effects."

CHAPTER III
SELF STUDIES VOL. #1

- II. Self Studies -

In 1971, a University committee began to study the issue of coeducation in earnest. At the beginning of this section, it is important to note that the W&L committee borrowed heavily from the study conducted at Princeton. This fact is important because it indicates that the main concerns surrounding coeducation were essentially the same for the two schools, and so this fact affords me the opportunity to make some cogent comparisons.

The W&L committee was composed of a religion professor, an athletic director, a commerce professor, a student, an admissions representative, a chemistry professor, a law professor, and a dean of the college. The aim of this representative committee was to consider all relevant issues and then make an assessment regarding coeducation's possible effects. Four basic issues were considered: (1) Admissions; (2) The academic program; (3) effects on student life; and finally (4) finances. What follows will be a brief description of the committee's conclusions in each of these areas except for the financial aspect which is too complicated to present in this paper.*

The W&L committee's review of admissions revealed that all was not well with the recruitment of students. The

*No doubt finances were crucial to the trustee group's decision, however, the financial data in self study vol. #1 are now 14 years old and less relevant today. The study did view W&L as financially able to convert.

study indicated that not only were those applicants fewer each year from 1965-1968, but that their high school class rank and SAT scores were declining each year. Clearly, W&L was experiencing the same problems which had confronted Princeton, and other institutions, such as Davidson--the quality of students was dropping.* The committee, as one method for curing this ailment, stated that coeducation could expand the applicant pool to include qualified females.

The committee also considered what would happen to the academic program if women were admitted. Again, the results were positive for coeducation. The committee reasoned that although population shifts within the existing curriculum were to be expected, these shifts would be healthy for the "reinforcement of the fundamental liberal arts character of the program." What the committee meant was that the women students could be expected to concentrate in the languages, fine arts, and social sciences, whereas the then current male population tended to concentrate in the business and pure science departments. As it appears the study revealed that women would likely strengthen the liberal arts program.

One would expect that a shift in students from one department to another might bring about necessary changes

*Around this time the schools I have referred to began to coeducate: Princeton 1969-70, Davidson 1972-73, etc.

in the faculty--the committee considered this and determined that new faculty would be needed in these areas; biology, the humanities, and physical education. In general, the study showed that if women were admitted, the quality of the students and the quality of the teaching might be enhanced, the quality of the applicant pool would increase, and that the overall liberal arts character of the institution would be strengthened.

But the W&L committee realized that the academic considerations were not the only important issues, the effects on student life were crucial too. In response to such questions as coeducation's probable effects on housing, counseling, and staffing, cultural and social activities, and on the Honor System and fraternities, the committee concluded that in spite of a few minor complications, the students at W&L would enjoy a more healthy, diverse social and cultural life. With the addition of some new dormitory space, the housing of women would not be a problem, and with regard to counseling, the new female faculty and administration could handle the increased need for female advisors. Cultural and social activities presently enjoyed by males only could be made more diverse with the addition of women; the parties, kinds of speakers, the drama and musical functions, the committee found, would be enhanced if women were admitted.

The athletic program could suffer but only if women were

admitted in place of men. The only real problem the committee envisioned was with the enforcement of the Honor System where it was feared that a male or female might be less likely to report his or her friend if that person was involved in a dating relationship.* Finally, the committee looked at the effects coeducation might have on the fraternity system. It was concluded that if the system were kept alive simply because of the school's single sex character, then it was kept alive artificially. Further, if the admission of women stood to destroy the system, then it should fail. The committee did not see the demise of fraternities if women were admitted, rather, they concluded that the weak houses would collapse while the strong ones would continue to provide a social life for men and women.

What I have tried to do here is simply summarize the findings of the committee on coeducation. I have highlighted the main points, and those findings point toward the adoption of coeducation. In the next section I will disclose the results of a content analysis applied to the 1975 self-study which is formed largely of letters from faculty, students, parents, and alumni concerning coeducation. This next section will elucidate, in a more precise manner, those sentiments which evolve out of some of the key issues surrounding coeducation at W&L.

*It is also possible that two males who are very close friends may be less likely to turn each other in. This problem with the honor system cannot be ignored in the absence of female students, nor can we assume women only would create unusual problems.

CHAPTER 4

Self Study Vol. #2

In 1975, President Huntley set up a select committee for the purpose of collecting and analyzing letters from the various constituencies associated with Washington and Lee. Twenty faculty members, fifty alumni, and twenty-one parents mailed letters to the president. These letters set forth individual thoughts on coeducation. What follows are the results of a content analysis which I developed from these letters.

- Sample -

First, I must note that the respondents were not randomly selected. With regard to the faculty letters, a notice was circulated which encouraged all the faculty to submit their views on coeducation. Therefore, those who responded may have been the most concerned about the issue. Nonetheless, only twenty out of 130 faculty members responded. Not only is this a small sample, but it is a sample on which no reliable predictions can be based. In other words, what these faculty relate in their letters cannot be generalized to the entire faculty. For this reason, when I refer to the "faculty letters," one must keep in mind that I am referring to a small, non-representative sample. However, in spite of the sample, one can discover some of the most crucial sentiments which surround the coeducation issue.

With regard to the "alumni letters," it is not clear what prompted them to write to President Huntley. All of the letters were addressed to Huntley himself; therefore, it

seems that he might have solicited letters from specially targeted alumni. In addition, several of the alumni letters made reference to some meeting they had attended prior to their writing at which Huntley had asked for letters. The alumni letters were all written by either lawyers, doctors, stockbrokers, bankers or teachers, so one must realize that those alumni who responded were all professionals or businessmen. From this fact, one can infer a possible conservative tone to be expected from the letters. Again, the alumni letters are not a representative sample and one should be careful about generalizations (if any) which can be drawn from them.

The letters from the parents of current Washington and Lee students (current in 1975) did not constitute a good sample either. I say this because several of the parents were personally acquainted with Huntley. Furthermore, a note in the Volume II Self Study pointed out that the sample was non-random.

- Content Analysis and Justification -

Because of the non-random nature of all the letters, I conducted a content analysis. In doing so, I was not interested in generalizing to a larger population, and I was not trying to predict anything. For instance, I did not gather from the faculty letters that 75% of all the faculty favored coeducation. Nor did I infer from the alumni letters that 74% of all alumni opposed coeducation. Instead, I

attempted to put the letters into perspective by isolating some of the most commonly cited reasons for opposing or favoring coeducation at W&L as expressed by these groups.

Earl R. Babbie in The Practice of Social Research stresses the need for coding a content analysis, and as I discovered, this was rather easy to do. The letters were either (1) in favor of; (2) opposed to; or (3) undecided on the coeducation issue, and thus, I did not have to be concerned with what Babbie terms "latent content" (Babbie, 1979:241). Instead, I concentrated on the manifest content or what the letters said. In doing this, I naturally had to assume that the writer had been frank and thoughtful.

After I had read all 91 letters, I had to devise a list of sentiments. Fortunately, the writers seemed to hold rather clearly defined opinions on the subject of coeducation, and the result was that the letters were almost dogmatic in content, and hence easy to code. Below is a list of the issues I was able to isolate.

(Reasons for Favoring Coeducation)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1) Diverse opinion | 6) New courses--fine arts |
| 2) More socially healthy | 7) New, better facilities |
| 3) Better academics | 8) Allow W&L to survive |
| 4) More realistic environment | 9) Better preparation for later life |
| 5) Wanted daughter to attend W&L | 10) Better applicant pool |

All those respondents who favored coeducation listed at least one of these reasons for doing so and most of them listed more than one reason for favoring coeducation. I also de-

vised a list of reasons for opposing coeducation.

(Reasons for Opposing Coeducation)

- 1) Too costly
- 2) Lose tradition and uniqueness
- 3) Would need new facilities
- 4) Change curriculum
- 5) Women are distractions
- 6) Lose alumni support
- 7) Increase size
- 8) Too "trendy"
- 9) Hurt academics
- 10) Require more staff
- 11) Hurt fraternities
- 12) No "good reasons to go coeducational"

Some letters revealed that the writer was either non-committal or not informed enough to make a decision on the issue. The issues here are as follows:

(Reasons Not Committed)

- 1) Not informed
- 2) Whatever is best for school
- 3) Simply no opinion
- 4) Let the subject lie in another's arms
- 5) Ambivalent--would support school if coed or single sex

For the purpose of constructing tables, I assigned each reason for favoring or opposing coeducation a number. For those who favored coeducation, I recorded and numbered the reasons 1-10 as listed above. I did the same for those who opposed coeducation and for those who were not committed either way. What follows are several tables which show why each constituency favored, opposed, or was not committed to coeducation.

Table 1
Reasons for Favoring Coeducation
By University Constituency

Reasons for Favoring Coeducation		Faculty	<u>Frequency</u> Alumni	Parent
1	Diverse opinion	7	3	1
2	More socially healthy	8	4	1
3	Better academics	10	5	1
4	More realistic environment	1	0	0
5	Would like daughter to attend W&L	0	0	1
6	New course i.e. Fine Arts	3	0	0
7	New, better facilities	2	1	0
8	Allow W&L to survive	2	0	2
9	Better preparation for later life	3	1	0
10	Better applicant pool	5	1	0

Table # 1 shows that among those faculty who favored co-education, reasons 1, 2, and 3 were cited most frequently with reason #3 cited the most. From this table, one can see that these faculty were more concerned with the positive effects coeducation might have on the class room and social environments.

Table # 2

Reasons for Opposing Coeducation
By University Constitutency

Reasons for Opposing Coeducation	Faculty	Frequency Alumni	Parent
1 Too costly	3	11	0
2 Lose traditional uniqueness	4	21	13
3 Would need new facilities	2	1	0
4 Change curriculum	1	2	1
5 Women are distractions	1	20	2
6 Lose Alumni support	1	1	1
7 Increase size	1	1	4
8 Too "trendy"	1	0	2
9 Hurt academics	1	0	0
10 Require more staff	1	0	0
11 Hurt fraternities	1	0	0
12 No "good reasons to go coed"	1	0	0

Those faculty who opposed coeducation in 1975 appeared to be concerned with the cost, the loss of tradition, and the danger imposed by the need for more facilities. Table 2 also indicates that the alumni were most afraid that coeducation would strip W&L of its tradition and uniqueness. They also seem worried about the cost and the possibility that females might distract the male students. Among the parent group, we see that most of them feared that coeducation would damage W&L's uniqueness and tradition.

There were also faculty, alumni, and parents who were not committed either way on the issue. Table 3 quantifies these sentiments.

Table # 3

Reasons for Non-Commitment
By University Constituency

Reasons for Non-Commitment	Faculty	Frequency	
		Alumni	Parent
1 Not informed	0	2	0
2 Whatever is best for W&L	0	10	1
3 Simply no opinion	0	1	0
4 Let decision be up to others	1	3	0
5 Ambivalent--wouldn't withdraw support either way	2	7	0

The importance of this table is that it reveals among the alumni letters that those who are uncommitted would be willing to support W&L if they felt it necessary. The "faculty" and "parent" cells show that not enough of those respondents were uncommitted to show any real trend.

In concluding my analysis of the 1975 self study, I wish to provide, in summary form, the results with the various constitutencies combined.

Table # 4

Reasons for Favoring Coeducation
(All Groups)

Reasons for Favoring Coeducation	<u>Frequency</u> (Faculty, Parents and Alumni)
1 Diverse opinion	11
2 More socially healthy	13
3 Better academics	16
4 More real environment	1
5 Would like daughter to attend W&L	1
6 New courses--Fine arts	3
7 New, better facilities	3
8 Allow W&L to survive	4
9 Better preparation for later life	4
10 Better applicant pool	6

Table # 5

Reasons for Opposing Coeducation
(All Groups)

Reasons for Opposing Coeducation	Frequency Faculty, Alumni and Parents
1 Too costly	14
2 Lose tradition and uniqueness	38*
3 Would need new faculty	3
4 Change curriculum	3
5 Women--distraction	23*
6 Lose alumni support	3
7 Increase size	6
8 Too trendy	3
9 Hurt academics	1
10 Require more staff	1
11 Hurt fraternities	1
12 No good reasons	1

Tables 4 and 5 indicate the main themes or sentiments which surround the coeducation issue. As we can see, overall, those in favor of coeducation tend to focus on better social and academic environments. Those against coeducation emphasize the loss of tradition and uniqueness, and the belief that women might distract the male students as the main reasons for opposing coeducation.

Table number 6 reveals that those who were non-committal would support W&L whether it stayed all-male or went coeducational.

This table also shows that most uncommitted respondents would do what ever was best for W&L's survival (see Table 6).

Table # 6
Reasons for Non-Commitment
(All Groups)

Reasons for Non-Commitment	Frequency
1 Not informed	2
2 Whatever is best for W&L	11
3 Simply no opinion	1
4 Let decision be up to others	4
5 Ambivalent--would support WUL either way	11

In summation of this content analysis, the proponents of coeducation emphasize diverse opinions in class, a more socially healthy atmosphere, and better academics. Hence, they are concerned mostly with the social and academic quality of campus life. Among those faculty, alumni, and parents who opposed coeducation, cited most frequently were the costs of conversion, the fact that women might distract the men, and finally the loss of tradition coeducation would bring about. The "tradition" issue was the primary reason for opposing coeducation.

This content analysis hints at some of the sentiments which exist in the Washington and Lee University group. As one will remember, we were unsure as to how representative these self studies were. They could be biased. Our next

chapters will use better sampling techniques and will reveal what sentiments exist among the faculty and students on the coeducation issue.

CHAPTER 5

Student Survey Results

The preceding chapter on the "Self Studies" elucidated what sentiments may exist within the faculty, student, and alumni constituencies, and as I noted then, the study results may not have been representative because the sampling was not very extensive. Now, however, we can look at two sets of survey data: one from the faculty and one from the student body. The student survey, conducted in 1980, was a course requirement for Sociology 375. The Faculty Survey of 1981 was a 375 course project as well. Both surveys have fairly representative samples and thus, we can make more accurate inferences and generalizations from the data.

The goal of these crucial chapters will be to summarize those sentiments which the faculty and student body expressed. After this is done, I will synthesize the two sets of data and show similarities and differences between them.

With regard to the structure and purpose of the surveys, let me say that they were constructed for the purpose of discovering the attitudes and perceptions in the two populations on coeducation. As well, we asked questions which could give us some idea of whether there were any geographical relationships to feelings and beliefs on coeducation. We also considered such sociodemographic variables as age, department, and undergraduate school for the faculty. In the Student Survey, basically the same variables were used (e.g.) class, home state, major . . .). Also common to both surveys were what we have termed "impact variables."

By this, we simply mean those variables which elicit a response to a question dealing with the probable effects of coeducation at W&L. For instance, we asked the faculty what effect coeducation might have on Washington and Lee's social environment? Thus a response to such a question tells us what impact one variable might have on another as seen through the respondent's eyes. Finally, both surveys utilized open-ended questions. These questions asked what the respondents perceived to be the advantages and disadvantages of coeducation at W&L. Thus they were able to discuss their perceptions without preconceived guidelines.

- Student Survey -

Before I go into the specifics of the student body sentiments, I need to give some account of the sample and background of the survey.

In the winter of 1980, the Sociology 375 class (research methods) under the direction of Dr. David Novack, set out to construct and administer a coeducational attitudinal survey to W&L's student body. The purpose of this survey was to determine where the students stood on the issue and whether any important trends or relationships existed between attitudes, backgrounds, etc.

The desired sample was of course 100% of the student body. As it turned out, over 1000 of W&L's 1200 students responded to the survey. Among those responding, 282 were freshmen, 278 were sophomores, 226 were juniors, and 257 were seniors.* The sample was sufficient for any kind of analysis whether bivariate or multivariate. The fact that over 1000 students responded points to coeducation as a very important issue. It is my opinion that rather than the students being unconcerned or ambivalent, they were very interested and seemed to hold rigid convictions with regards to the issue. As Table 7 indicates, the percentage of those

*All students registering for spring term 1981 were asked to fill out the questionnaire in the registrar's office when they picked up their registration material.

uncommitted was a low 6 percent of the 1043 who answered this question:

Table # 7

Should W&L Become Coeducational

V15 - Should W&L become coeducational	Absolute Frequency	%
1 Strongly should	313	29.8
2 Somewhat should	214	20.4
3 No opinion	63	6.0
4 Somewhat not	144	13.7
5 Strongly not	309	29.4

n = (1043)

Missing cases 8

As we see, most students strongly believed W&L should go coed or strongly believed that W&L should not make the move. These two categories comprise nearly 60% of the sample. The others, slightly less committed, numbered 34%, with those uncommitted numbering a meager 6 percent. Overall, a slight majority favored coeducation and we see a very real trend towards commitment on the issue. A dichotomy such as this deserves a closer look. Such an examination will enable us to understand the dichotomy in more depth and perhaps we will be able to uncover some other trends existing in the student body's sentiments. We will look at year, background, and other variables which will determine whether or not any sociodemographic trends exist. We will also examine perceptions,

attitudes, and what impact the students think coeducation will have on W&L.

The first question we must ask is whether any sociodemographic variables influence a student's stance on the coeducation issue. In other words, does a student's geographic background, religious affiliation, or fraternity membership affect his opinion on the issue? After examining all eleven sociodemographic variables, we determined that the only ones which showed any association with the students' opinions on coeducation or which deserved a closer look were: (1) Class, (2) Major, (3) Fraternity Member, (4) geographic background, and finally (5) having a relative as an alumnus. These five variables did not necessarily have to show statistical significance. Although some bivariate tables did reveal strong associations (gamma), others simply showed a slight association between a student's opinion on coeducation and a sociodemographic variable. In short, the five contingency tables I have chosen to present show some correlation whereas the other eleven showed nothing.

To begin with, the question arose as to whether a student's class year had any impact on his opinion toward coeducation. One possibility would be that seniors and juniors would favor coeducation more than freshmen and sophomores. After all, the upperclassmen, one could reason, have grown sick of the all-male atmosphere while the underclassmen have not had time to make an opinion, or they like the status

quo because it is new to them and they know no better. As Table 8 will show, this is a false assumption:

Table # 8
Should W&L Go Coed By Class

V15 - Should W&L Go Coed	Class			
	Freshmen	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
Strongly should	26.5%*	33.6%	35.3%	24.2%*
Somewhat should	24.0	17.3	16.1	24.6
No opinion	6.5	6.5	4.5	6.6
Somewhat not	13.6	21.3	13.8	15.2
Strongly not	29.4	30.3	30.4	29.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(279)	(277)	(224)	(256)
G = (.00945)				

What we see instead is that there is a very slight tendency for freshmen and seniors to actually oppose coeducation more than juniors. The over-all table, however shows almost no correlation. Thus, rather than showing an association, Table II shows that a student's year in school has no effect on his opinion--this in itself is important.

Equally important is whether or not a student's major, or for those undeclared, likely major, is associated with his opinion on coeducation. Once agin, although no strong

*Gamma serves as a test of association. We use Gamma on the + 1. or - 1. level with a 1. value denoting a perfect association. .00945 is a very weak association.

Table # 9

Should W&L Go Coeducational By Major

Major

Should W&L Go Coed	English/ Foreign Language	Art Hist.	Social Science	Math & Science	Commerce* School	Journ- alism	Inde- pendent	Unde- cided
Strongly should	36.5%	32.1%	20.6%	29.9%	20.8%	41.0%	28.6%	33.3%
Somewhat should	23.5	14.8	18.4	21.5	25.6	21.8	14.3	14.3
No opinion	5.9	6.1	6.3	4.0	6.8	10.3	0	4.8
Somewhat not	4.7	13.8	13.3	14.1	18.4	12.8	0	19.0
Strong not	29.4	33.2	31.4	30.5	28.5	14.1	57.1	28.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(85)	(196)	(255)	(177)	(207)	(78)	(7)	(21)

*Commerce school includes the Business Administration, Business Administration and Accounting, Business and Public Administration majors. Economics and Politics majors were coded as Social Science majors.

association is evident, there seems to be a slight tendency for Commerce School and Social Science majors to be less committed to coeducation.

Table 9, above, indicates that the "English/Foreign Language" and "Journalism" majors tend to be more strongly committed to coeducation. In general, however, the table does not show any sweeping trends; just tendencies which are not consistent enough to be very meaningful. What we really see here is that the dichotomy of those in favor of and those opposed to coeducation persists in spite of the respondent's major. In essence, we could not say that any one department harbors students who are either more or less opposed to coeducation than another.

One frequently hears that if W&L were to go coeducational the fraternity system would be greatly harmed. With this in mind, let us turn to "Should W&L become coeducational?" and "Are you a fraternity member?" If it were believed that coeducation would harm the fraternities one would expect those students who are in houses to be more opposed to having women at W&L.

Table 10

Should W&L Go Coed by Fraternity Member

Should W&L Become Coed	Fraternity Member		
	Yes	No	Used to Be
1. Strongly should	22.7%	42.4%*	43.8%
2. Somewhat should	20.2	20.7	21.9
3. No opinion	6.2	5.7	6.3
4. Somewhat not	14.1	13.4	12.5
5. Strongly not	36.8*	17.8	15.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(660)	(314)	(64)

As table 4 indicates, there is a definite association. Not only are fraternity members more opposed to coeducation, but those former fraternity members and those who never were in a house were much more in favor of coeducation. One reason for this is that fraternity members may view coeducation as a threat to their social monopoly on women. In addition, those students in fraternities may get enough exposure to women, whereas those disaffected fraternity members and independents may have more trouble finding women with whom to associate. Those who dropped out, and those who never were in a house may perceive the social life at the fraternities as unrealistic* and lacking in worth and

*I ran "Fraternity Member" by advantages of going Coed?" and found that those who "used to be" or "were never in a house" thought coeducation would make the social atmosphere better and more realistic.

may therefore favor coeducation as a remedy.

Turning now to student legacies, we can determine how the sons of W&L alumni feel about the coeducation issue. One might assume that the relative of an alumnus might be committed to maintaining W&L's single sex status. After all, his father or uncle, for instance, went through college without women in his classes and no doubt his relative heartily endorsed the school. Therefore we would expect to find those with alumni relations more opposed to coeducation. Table 11 supports this assumption, and although the association is weak, it does exist.

Table 11

Should W&L Go Coed by Relative or Alumnus

Should W&L Become Coed	W&L Relatives	
	Yes	No
Strongly should	28.2%	30.6%
Somewhat should	16.9	21.9
No opinion	6.8	5.8
Somewhat not	13.2	14.1
Strongly not	35.0	27.6
	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(266)	(773)
G = (-0.10187)		

Those students who had relatives at W&L were less strongly committed to coeducation and more strongly opposed to it, while those students who had no relatives at W&L were more

in favor of bringing women to the school.* Table 11 seems to indicate an adherence to the past among legacies, and since non-legacies have had no tie to the school in terms of relatives, they probably feel less committed to maintaining the single sex status of W&L. However, the association is not strong enough to label alumni sons as "pro single sex." One should avoid such a generalization.

Another interesting association is found when one considers the relation between a student's geographical origin and his views on coeducation. Initially, I hypothesized that students from the south would be less in favor of coeducation than those students from other geographical regions. The region where the respondent spent most of his life was crosstabulated with: "Should W&L become coeducational?" My hypothesis was supported, and those from the Northeast, Mid-Atlantic, and Virginia, Maryland, and District of Columbia were more in favor of coeducation than those from the South.

*These two variables are linked to how committed a student was to W&L's Traditions and Ideals. A multivariate cross-tabulation which controlled for Transactions and Ideals revealed that those who were related to alumni and who opposed coeducation were more likely to be committed to W&L's traditions.

Table 12
Should W&L Go Coed By Region

Should W&L Go Coed	Region					
	North- east	Mid- Atlantic	Va. Md, D.C.	South	Mid- west	West
Strongly Should	50.8%*	36.6%	30.6%	17.7%*	29.8%	25.0%
Somewhat Should	22.0	24.6	22.5	16.7	14.0	21.4
No Opinion	3.7	4.4	7.1	6.4	8.8	3.6
Somewhat Not	8.5	15.3	13.6	13.8	14.0	17.9
Strongly Not	15.9	19.1	26.3	45.4	33.3	32.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(82)	(183)	(396)	(282)	(57)	(28)

One must ask why this geographical association exists. It could be that those students from the South are, as a result of their more traditional upbringing, less likely to favor a radical change (coeducation). One could also reason that those students who are from the more thoroughly integrated Northeast may be less traditional and more comfortable with change. After all, the Northeast is a more progressive area in terms of sexual integration and politics. The first all-male schools in the United States to admit women were located in the Northeast (e.g. Princeton, Harvard, Yale . . .).

*50.8% in the Northeast is highest while 17.7% in the South was lowest.

Thus, Northern students could be less committed to the traditions and ideals of the University. With this in mind, I ran a multivariate analysis with "geographic origin, opinion on coeducation," and a new variable, "Commitment to Traditions and Ideals of Washington and Lee." The result was that by injecting the third "tradition" variable, I discovered that less than half of those students from the Northeast were committed at all to W&L's traditions and ideals. Of this number who were at least somewhat committed, most of them favored coeducation. Of those Northerners who were not committed to W&L's traditions and ideals 34 out of 40 were in favor of coeducation with most of them strongly in favor.

The opposite held true for the Southerners. Only 31 out of 282 students from the south were not committed to W&L's traditions and ideals. The remaining 241 Southern students were committed to the traditions and 65% of them opposed coeducation. What it boils down to is that there does exist a tendency for Southern students to be less in favor of coeducation and for Northeastern students to be more in favor of admitting women. This difference, I believe, can be interpreted in part by the students' commitment to W&L's traditions and ideals which appears to differ as well by geographic location.

- Other Sociodemographic Variables -

I chose these six tables for inclusion because they were

the only ones which really illustrated anything close to a tendency. This is not to say, however, that the other five sociodemographic variables indicate nothing of relevance. They simply did not contain anything I could explain, and as I have noted previously, this is important. The sheer fact that the kind of high school a student attended had no effect on his thoughts about coeducation is valuable information. Likewise, income, grade point average, the number of sisters one has, and religious affiliation, had no apparent effect on how a student felt about coeducation. These variables do tell us what does and does not influence student sentiments on the issue. The tables I have presented, and the ones I have left out, are illustrative in their respective ways.

- Perceptual Variables -

I turn now to what we call perceptual variables. These tend to be more subjective in nature. With the "perceptual" variables we will be looking for those sentiments which arise out of the respondent's comprehension of how he will act in the future or how he acted and thought in the past. Out of the seven variables I designated as being "perceptual," I chose three to present because they had an impact on how a person viewed coeducation:

- (1) Was single sex a factor to enroll at W&L?
- (2) Is coeducation in the best interest of W&L as a quality institution?

(3) Do you believe W&L men will have trouble working with women after they graduate?

Whether single sex was a positive, negative, or neutral factor on a student's decision to enroll is illustrated by Table 13.

Table 13
Was Single-Sex A Factor to Enroll

Should W&L Become Coed	Absolute Frequency	%
Major positive	66	6.3%
Minor positive	177	16.8
No effect	447	42.5
Minor negative	279	26.5
Major negative	73	6.9
N =	1051	100.0%

Table 13 reveals that at both the "major positive" and "major negative" extremes, there were few cases. We see most of the students claiming no effect or a "minor negative" or "positive" factor. However, we also see that 799 of our 1051 students were slightly repelled or uninfluenced by W&L's unique single-sex composition.* In turn, 243 students were at least somewhat attracted by the single-sex student body. Now, lets look at what happens when we crosstabulate attitude

*The fact that W&L's single sex nature had a negative or no effect on a students decision to enroll does not lend much support to the argument that W&L should remain single sex as an alternative in education.

towards coeducation by whether single sex at W&L was a factor to enroll.

It makes sense that those who come to W&L because of its single sex student body would strongly object to co-education, while those who found single sex less appealing would support the prospect of W&L's becoming coeducational.

Table 14

Should W&L Go Coed by Single Sex a Factor to Enroll

Should W&L Become Coed	<u>Single Sex Factor to Enroll</u>				
	Major Positive	Minor Positive	No Effect	Minor Negative	Major Negative
Strongly should	1.5%	8.5%	22.0%	49.5%	83.3%
Somewhat should	3.0	11.9	24.0	26.4	13.9
No opinion	1.5	2.3	10.5	3.6	0.0
Somewhat should not	4.5	13.6	20.0	9.4	1.4
Strongly should not	89.4	63.6	23.5	11.2	1.4*
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(66)	(176)	(446)	(277)	(72)

Gamma (-0.65422)

Table 14 shows the strongest Gamma association of any table I have looked at thus far. At -0.65422, we can see that a strong inverse association exists between these two variables. Each column runs from high to low percentages,

either up or down. The row percentages run from left to right in either an increasing or decreasing fashion. This directional trend of the percentages tells us that there is a consistency or association which runs throughout the table. Those who view single-sex as a positive factor are less in favor of coeducation while those who perceive single sex as negative naturally favor coeducation more. There is nothing surprising about this table. It does show, however, that if W&L does go coed, some students will be dissatisfied. On the other hand, if it stays single sex, we can expect some dissatisfaction as well. The point is, there will be a minority of students who will be unhappy no matter which way the school proceeds. The crucial question is how prospective students feel about W&L's status.*

The next perceptual variable we need to examine deals with how a student feels he will be able to work with women once he has graduated from W&L. The respondent was asked if he would have trouble working with women in the future. Again, one expects that those who favor coeducation will be more likely to answer "yes" to the question. As table 15 shows, the pattern which characterized the last table persists.

*From the follow-up interview with the Admissions Director I discovered that single-sex made recruiting the better students more difficult. To remedy this our department thus began to use more extensively the "student search" service. A high percentage of prospective students go elsewhere such as Davidson, Duke, U.V.A. which are coeducational.

Table 15

Should W&L Go Coed by Trouble Working With Women

<u>Should W&L Go Coed</u>	<u>Will You Have Trouble Working With Women</u>		
	Yes	Maybe	No
Strong should	63.2%	49.8%	21.3%
Somewhat should	15.8	26.5	19.4
No opinion	1.8	5.0	6.6
Somewhat not	10.5	8.7	15.5
Strongly not	8.8	10.0	37.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(57)	(219)	(757)
G = (0.54224)			

A strong directional trend shows that those students who favor coeducation feel that they will have trouble working with women. However one must consider the number of cases (57) in this column. Instead, we must consider those who responded with "maybe" or "no". The fact is, most W&L students, no matter how they stand on the coeducation issue, do not think they will have trouble working with women. Although there is a strong association, we must be aware of the number of respondents in each column.*

The last perceptual variable I want to illustrate deals with an objective question, "Is coeducation in the best inter-

* However, students might be inaccurate in their perceptions. It is relevant to ask whether attending an all-male institution prepares a man to deal with the career-oriented women he will meet in the market place.

est of W&L as a quality institution." This question asks the respondent to cast aside his personal preferences and consider the question in an "objective" manner. It asks whether coeducation can provide for W&L's continued survival. As one will remember in the chapter on the theoretical base, Homans defined for us what survival means. I took Homans' definition and applied it to W&L. To recount, survival to W&L means that the school must remain prestigious, selective, and must improve in order to survive. This "best interest" question, then, asks for the respondent's perception as to what effect coeducation would have on W&L's ability to survive. What we are looking for is a difference between the students' sentiments on the question "Should W&L become coed" and whether coeducation is in W&L's best interest." Such a difference will indicate that the question of best interest served its purpose. Table 16 and 17 will show us what the students think (subjective) and what they think is best for the school (objective). To determine whether or not there is a difference, we must look at both variables' frequencies.

Table 16
Frequency Should W&L Go Coed

<u>Should W&L Go Coed</u>	<u>Absolute Frequency</u>	<u>%</u>
Strongly should	313	29.8%
Somewhat should	214	20.4
No Opinion	63	6.0
Somewhat not	144	13.7
Strongly not	309	29.4
N =	1051	100.0%

Table 17

Frequency Best Interest Should W&L Go Coed

Coed in Best Interest	Absolute Frequency	%
Strongly would	302	28.7%
Somewhat would	205	19.5
No change	136	12.9
Somewhat not	199	18.9
Strongly not	191	18.2
N =	1051	100.0%

Tables 16 and 17 do show a shift in sentiment. Although there is no appreciable change in the "strongly should, somewhat should/strongly would, somewhat should" cells, we do find a significant change in the remaining cells. The number and percentage of those opposed to coeducation drops by 10 percentage points when asked if coeducation is in the school's best interest. The number drops from 309 strongly opposed to coeducation to 199 who believe strongly that coeducation would not be in W&L's best interest. We do see a difference between the subjective and objective responses. When couched in terms of W&L's ability to survive, those strongly opposed soften up a great deal and change their sentiments. Cross-tabulation shows that there is a very strong association between how a student feels about coeducation and whether he believes coeducation is in the school's best interest. The important point here is that the association between the two

variables was not perfect--some kind of dissonance is evident and might be representative of a difference between personal preference and objectivity. This difference might reflect a willingness to support coeducation even if one is personally opposed to it.

- Attitudinal/Perceptual Variables -

In this discussion of attitudinal/perceptual variables we will be concerned with the students' views on the advantages and disadvantages that might result from a change to coeducation. The students were granted total freedom with this part of the survey. They were asked to write in their responses and to list the most important disadvantage or advantage first. What they listed first was entered into the computer. However, the total number of advantages and disadvantages was entered as well.

The number of advantages was 1,772 compared to 941 disadvantages. These two numbers indicate that the students perceived more advantages than disadvantages. Perhaps those in favor of coeducation were more willing to put forth their thoughts; perhaps those opposed to coeducation could not support their opposition with reasons.

More important, however, are the kinds of pro's and con's which emerged. In terms of advantages, 54 percent of those surveyed listed a "better social environment" and a "more realistic" atmosphere. In addition, a significant number of students (28 percent) indicated no advantages or

that they were "unsure". A theme has emerged: the W&L students see a more natural and improved social atmosphere as the most important advantage (see Table 18 below).

The disadvantages reveal an interesting pattern as well. Most of the students in this case feared that W&L would lose its tradition or they listed no disadvantages or were unsure. "Loss of tradition," "no disadvantages" or "unsure" combined, constitutes about 57 percent of the sample. As Table 19 below shows, few students thought coeducation would harm the social environment, and few thought that alumni support, in the event of coeducation, would be affected.

Table 18
Should W&L Become Coed Advantage of Coed Most Important

Should W&L Become Coed	<u>Advantages</u>					
	Better Social Atmosphere	More Realistic	Enhance Academics	Sexual Advantage	Rid Tradition	None Uncertain
Strongly should	33.9%	50.2%	38.3%	38.5%	75.0%	6.9%
Somewhat should	24.8	21.7	24.1	7.7	25.0	16.9
No opinion	4.6	3.2	3.8	15.4	0.0	8.9
Somewhat not	11.9	13.3	12.8	7.7	0	15.3
Strongly not	24.8	11.6	21.1	30.8	0	52.0
N =	100.0% (218)	100.0% (249)	100.0% (133)	100.0% (13)	100.0% (4)	100.0% (248)
G =	-0.17258					

Table 19
Should W&L Become Coed Disadvantage of Coed Most Important

Should W&L Become Coed	<u>Disadvantages</u>						
	Facility Change	Lose Tra- dition & Prestige	Hurt Aca- demics	Change Total Atmosphere	Affect Alumni Support	Destroy Social Life	None Uncer- tain
Strongly should	50.5%	15.0%	15.7%	31.1%	48.0%	31.6%	41.4%
Somewhat should	22.5	16	16.4	20.0	0	10.5	27.0
No opinion	4.5	2.9	8.2	4.4	32.0	0.0	7.4
Somewhat not	7.2	19.0	19.5	8.1	18.0	31.6	9.1
Strongly not	15.3	48.1	40.3	35.6	12.0	26.3	15.1
N =	100.0% (111)	100.0% (206)	100.0% (159)	100.0% (45)	100.0% (25)	100.0% (10)	100.0% (285)
G =	-0.17258						

- Impact Variables -

These impact variables are essentially forecasts as to what might happen if W&L goes coed. We asked the students to predict the way coeducation would affect the academic environment, the social environment, and the classroom environment. We also asked how coeducation would affect grade competition, and then I crosstabulated each of these four impact variables by "Do you feel W&L should become coed."

Many W&L men who believed that the school should become coeducational also believed that the school's academic, classroom and social environments would be enhanced by coeducation. With these same tables, we also see a significant number of students who perceive that the environments would be unaffected by coeducation.

The students believed that the social environment would be most enhanced by a move to coeducation. 81 percent of those who answered these two questions believed that the social environment would be enhanced, while 55 percent of that 81 percent felt the social environment would be "greatly enhanced." This table is quite interesting because only 95 out of 963 students believed that coeducation would in any way detract from W&L's social environment (see Table 20 below).

Table 20
Should W&L Become Coeducational by Effect on
Social Environment

Should W&L Become Coed	Greatly Enhance	Somewhat Enhance	Have no Effect	Somewhat Detract	Greatly Detract
Strongly Should	56.4%	10.3%	4.5%	7.0%	2.9%
Somewhat Should	24.8	22.5	11.4	3.5	0
No opinion	3.4	9.0	9.1	3.5	0
Somewhat Should not	8.0	20.2	15.9	10.5	8.6
Strongly Should not	7.5	38.0	59.1	75.4	88.6

N = 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%
 (440)* (387)* (44) (57) (35)

└─ 86% ─┘

└─ 19% ─┘

G = (0.73182)

Table 20 indicates that only 95 students (9%) perceived that coeducation would have negative effects on the University's "social environment". This is significant when we compare that 9% to the 86% who perceive positive effects. In addition, there was a strong tendency for those who opposed coeducation to perceive female students as having a negative effect on W&L's social environment. The unusually high gamma illustrates this strong tendency.

The students responded somewhat differently when asked about coeducation's possible effects on W&L's academic environment.

Table 21

Should W&L Become Coed by Coeducations Effect on Academic Environment

Should W&L Become Coed	Greatly Enhance	Somewhat Enhance	Have no Effect	Somewhat Detract	Greatly Detract
Strongly Should	78.1%	32.2%	20.2%	4.5%	2.8%
Somewhat Should	16.4	35.9	19.1	8.6	9.7
No opinion	2.7	6.6	10.4	4.5	2.8
Somewhat Not	0.5	12.5	19.1	26.1	1.4
Strongly Not	2.2	12.8	31.2	56.3	83.3
N =	100.0% (183)	100.0% (320)	100.0% (173)	100.0% (222)	100.0% (72)

Fewer students believed that coeducation would enhance the academic environment. Whereas in the "social environment" table we saw 787 (78.7%) students in the two enhance cells, we see only 503 (50.0%) claiming coeducation would enhance the academic environment. In addition, 30% of the students believed that the academic environment would be harmed by coeducation. In the previous table (Table 20) we saw that only 9% of the respondents believed coeducation would detract from the social environment. Again, however, there is a strong association between coeducation attitude and perceived impact.

There seems to be a difference in how the students view the two environments. They believe the social environment

would be enhanced, yet they do not feel as strongly that the academic environment would be improved. Why? It is difficult to say, but perhaps we are witnessing a display of male egoism. The men may have too much pride in themselves to acknowledge that women could add much to W&L's intellectual environment. Perhaps it is not a matter of sexism at all. Let us look now at how W&L students think coeducation might affect the classroom environment.

Again, we see results which are more congruent with what we observed in the "academic environment" table. In short, there is not an overwhelming majority of students who believe the classroom environment would be enhanced by coeducation. It appears that the students believe that the classroom environment is as likely to remain unaffected or be harmed as it would be enhanced. We see a 563/418 split on this question.

Table 22
Should W&L Become Coed by Coed Effect on Classroom Environment

Coeducation Effect on Classroom Environment

Should W&L Become Coed	Greatly Enhance	Somewhat Enhance	No Effect	Somewhat Detract	Greatly Detract
Strongly Should	65.6%	27.9%	32.2%	5.4%	1.1%
Somewhat Should	24.0	28.1	19.6	15.2	2.3
No Opinion	2.8	8.3	8.7	4.3	4.5
Somewhat Not	4.0	18.5	15.2	18.5	11.4
Strongly Not	3.6	17.3	33.3	56.5	80.7
N =	100.0% (250)	100.0% (313)	100.0% (138)	100.0% (184)	100.0% (88)
	564		418		
G =	(0.65532)	(56.4%)	+	(43.6%)	= 100.0%

Although there is a definite tendency for those who oppose coeducation to believe that women would have no effect on or would detract from the classroom environment, it may be more helpful to pay more attention to the columns which have larger cell frequencies.

The next impact variable I would like to present represents some complex and interesting student sentiments. As I pointed out in the last two paragraphs, W&L men tend to be unwilling to admit that female students could enhance the intellectual aspects of the University. This was true with the academic and classroom environments, and as Table 23 will show, it is true with grade competition as well.

Table 23
Should W&L Become Coeducational by
Coeducation's effect on Grade Competition

Should W&L Become Coed	Increase Competition	Have no Effect	Decrease Competition
Strongly Should	36.8%	27.0%	8.5%
Somewhat Should	22.9	21.7	9.8
No Opinion	6.0	5.9	4.9
Somewhat Should Not	12.8	13.9	17.1
Strongly Should Not	21.4	31.4	59.8
N =	100.0% (467)	100.0% (423)	100.0% (82)

Granted nearly half the students believed coeducation would enhance the competition, but just the same, more students thought coeducation would decrease or have no effect on the competition. This table shows a contrast when viewed in

terms of how the students answered the social environment question.

It looks as though we have uncovered a pattern, a pattern characterized by the perception among students that women could enhance the "social" aspect of the University. The pattern also illustrates that women are viewed as less likely to enhance the school's intellectual life. This pattern holds true whether the student strongly supports or objects to coeducation.

- Summary of Student Survey -

To summarize my Student Survey findings, let me say that only a few sociodemographic variables had any influence whatsoever on the students' beliefs about coeducation. With regards to the perceptual variables, we discovered that the "best interest" table showed elements of objective versus subjective thoughts and that single sex was a generally non-effectual factor in a student's choice to enroll. We also discovered that there was a tendency for those in favor of coeducation to think they might have some trouble working with women in the future.

The attitudinal/perceptual variables showed a link to a student's commitment to W&L's traditions and his views on coeducation. We also found that the advantages of going co-educational were more in the social realm than in the academic. Disadvantages tended to be the fear of losing the tradition and uniqueness which characterize W&L.

Finally, the impact variables indicated that the students thought women could enhance the social environment more than the intellectual life of the school. Now, let me go on to consider the results of the faculty survey.

CHAPTER 6
Faculty Survey

This chapter will utilize the same format as the last one. I will examine what the W&L faculty thinks about co-education and what variables influence those thoughts. I will start with a brief explanation of the methodology, the sample, and the rationale I used in selecting certain variables for the crosstabulations. Then I will analyze those sociodemographic, perceptual, attitudinal/perceptual, and impact variables which affect the faculty's beliefs on the issue of coeducation.

Jon Pakula and I devised and administered this survey in the fall of 1981. Under the direction of Dr. David Novack, we sought to construct a questionnaire that would approximate the variables used in the Student Survey. Ninety-two faculty members filled out the questionnaire. When one considers that W&L retains about 135 faculty, a sample of 92 constitutes about 68 percent of the faculty. Granted, we wanted to have all 135 faculty, and the Student Survey had a better sample as far as percentage goes, but as I will show, our faculty sample was fairly representative.

I claim our sample is representative because of some cross-checking that I did with the 1982 W&L Fact Book. This cross checking revealed that our sample had basically the same average age as the total faculty--46 and 43 respectively. Our sample also paralleled the fact book in terms of faculty rank. The percentage of professors, associates, assistants, and

instructors who answered the survey was nearly the same as the actual percentage in the fact book (e.g. 23% of our sample were associates and 18% of the W&L faculty are associates). Out of all the W&L faculty, 17% of them attended W&L. In the sample, 14% of our respondents had attended W&L. Our sample also had an even distribution of respondents from the respective departments. In other words, the sample was not weighted in favor of any one department or division. All departments were represented proportionately; thus, I believe that our sample is representative enough to enable us to make some sound generalizations and illustrate key insights.

It was necessary for me to select the most important tables for the Student Survey, and the same holds true for the Faculty Survey. I had to choose the variables which demonstrated a tendency or which indicated that no tendency existed. As I noted before, it is as important to show that a certain set of variables does not affect a sentiment as it is to show that a variable has a profound influence. It is with this notion in mind that I will now analyze the sociodemographic variables which incidently had no effect on how the faculty stood on the coeducation issue.

- Faculty Sociodemographic Variables -

The sociodemographic variables had no real effect

*Technically, we do not have a probability sample and therefore I did not utilize "Chi Squared" as a test for significance.

on how the faculty responded to coeducation. Even such variables as age, faculty rank, length of employment at W&L, and geographic origin failed to influence the faculty's stand on the issue. Regardless of which variable I crossed with the coeducation variable, no trends emerged.* In part, the lack of differentiation might be related to the high level of support for coeducation. Approximately 75 percent of the faculty favored coeducation--this is the only trend I found to be consistent with regards to the sociodemographic variables.

- Perceptual Variables -

However, we discover more meaningful trends when we look at the perceptual variables. One such important trend is whether W&L's being single sex was a factor in the faculty member's decision to take a position at the University. We find that the sex composition of the school was either not a factor or was a negative factor. Only three percent of the faculty thought the single sex student body was a positive factor. The real trend I mentioned above comes to the surface when we crosstabulate the "single sex factor" variable with the faculty's attitude towards coeducation. Table 24 reveals this strong association.

*The lack of association in the sociodemographic variables is evidenced in part by the low gammas: (0.07474), (0.1002), (-0.04008), etc.

Table 24

Should W&L Become Coed By All Male Students A Factor

Should W&L Become Coed	All Male Students A Factor		
	Positive Factor	Not A Factor	Negative Factor
Think it should	66.7%	69.4% (43)	96.0% (24)
No opinion	0.0	4.8	0.0
Think it shouldn't	33.3	25.8	4.0
	100.0% (3)	100.0% (62)	100.0% (25)

N =
G = (-0.71895)

This table indicates that while most faculty did not consider coeducation as a factor, those who favored coeducation were more likely to view single sex as a negative factor, while those opposed to admitting women viewed the school's single sex status more favorably.

A pattern also emerged with the variable concerning the faculty's perception of whether W&L men would have trouble working with women after they graduated. We found that the faculty who favored coeducation were more likely to think W&L men would have trouble working with women. 47 percent of those opposed to coeducation believed that W&L men would have trouble (see table below).

Table 25

Should W&L Go Coed by Trouble Working
With Women

Should W&L Become Coed	<u>Trouble Working With Women</u>		
	Yes	No	Maybe
Think it should	96.7%	47.1%	92.6%
No Opinion	0	5.9	3.7
Think it should not	3.3	47.1	3.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(30)	(34)	(27)
G = (.09253)			

When we combine the "yes" and "maybe" columns, we see that at least 68% of the faculty perceive that W&L men might have trouble working with women. This table is important because it focuses on what the future might hold in store for W&L's graduates. In the next chapter I will compare the faculty and student tables which deal with this issue.

The last perceptual variable I will discuss is that one which deals with the faculty member's objective viewpoint. Is coeducation in W&L's best interest? As I noted in the last chapter, this question was designed to test objectivity. A perfect association ($G = 1.00$) would mean that not only do the faculty want coeducation, but they think it would be in the best interests of the school. The faculty responded to the "best interest" question in such a manner that a nearly perfect association resulted. Not only did they approve of coeducation objectively and

subjectively, but they objected to it in the same fashion (see table below).

Table 26
Should W&L Go Coed by Is Coed In
W&L's Best Interest

Should W&L Become Coed	Is Coed in W&L's Best Interest		
	Believe It Would	No Change	Believe It Would Not
Think it should	92.9%	40.0%	9.1%
No opinion	1.4	20.0	0
Think it should not	4.7	40.0	90.0
	100.0% (70)	100.0% (10)	100.0% (11)

N =
G = (0.93235)

Table 26 shows that most faculty thought coeducation would be in W&L's best interest, and that there is commitment among the faculty as to whether coeducation would help W&L survive as a quality school.

- Attitudinal/Perceptual Variables -

This section will deal with what the faculty feel might be the various advantages and disadvantages of going coeducational. Again, we asked for a forecast; a prediction as to what might take place at the school in the event that coeducation became a reality.

As it appears, the faculty believed that the advantages of coeducation would be concentrated in the realm of academics.

Although the faculty responses are distributed throughout the table, if we combine certain columns, we see that academic concerns take precedence. [See Table 27, page 95]

The faculty stress the increasing applicant pool, better academics, better social environment, and the issue of naturalness as the main advantages. Of these advantages, the faculty concentrates on "better academics" and "double the applicant pool" both of which are academic in nature. The faculty forecast improved academics, and this is to be expected. I noted in the theoretical chapter that the faculty desire competent students. It looks as though the faculty are calling for coeducation and the improved academics which would follow.

With regard to coeducation's disadvantages, no real trend emerged. In other words, one cannot detect a pattern in this table. [See Table 28, page 95] Therefore, instead of looking for a pattern, we should simply examine the numbers which appear at the bottom of each column. Upon doing this, one will discover that most faculty who support coeducation think that coeducation would endanger alumni support, be too expensive, and would probably require the University to expand its facilities. Over 65% of those in favor of coeducation cited these three disadvantages. The "no response" column indicates that a significant number of coeducation supporters did not respond. This could be

Table 27

Feel W&L Should Become Coed by Coeducation's Advantages

Advantages

Should W&L Become Coed	Diverse Opinion	Better Applicant Pool	Better Academics	Better Social Environment	More Natural	None	Unsure	No Response
Think it Should	88.9%	83.3%	78.6%	81.8%	100%	0%	37.5%	90.0%
No opinion	0	0	0	9.1	0	25.0	12.5	0
Think it Shouldn't	11.1	16.7	21.4	9.1	0	75.0	50.0	10.0
	100.0% (9)	100.0% (12)	100.0% (28)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (9)	100.0% (4)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (10)

G = (0.21918)

Table 28

Should W&L Go Coed by Coeducation's Disadvantages

Disadvantages

Should W&L Become Coed	Lose Alumni Funds	Too Costly	Increase Size	Need More Facilities	None	Unsure	No Response
Think it Should	78.9%	68.4%	88.9%	69.2%	88.9%	62.5%	85.6%
No Opinion	5.3	0	0	7.7	0	12.5	0
Think it Shouldn't	15.8	31.6	11.1	23.1	11.1	25.0	14.3
N =	100.0% (19)	100.0% (19)	100.0% (9)	100.0% (13)	100.0% (9)	100.0% (8)	100.0% (14)

due to the fact that they did not want to compromise their support by listing disadvantages. In addition, only 6 percent were unsure as to the disadvantages that might surround coeducation.

If we consider those who are opposed to admitting women to W&L, we see that most of them perceive the same disadvantages as their counterparts; the matter of alumni support, the cost, and the need for more facilities dominate the bottom row of the table.

Taken together, Tables 25 and 26 reveal a rather interesting phenomenon. The disadvantages and advantages, cited by most of the respondents, indicate a concern with the school's survival. Advantages such as "diverse opinion" and "more natural" were cited less frequently than were the advantages which dealt with improving the academics (See Table 25). Granted, a more "natural environment" (i.e. sexually integrated) might improve the quality of life on campus, and a "more diverse opinion" (i.e. female viewpoint in class) might broaden a student's horizon; however, the faculty neglected these advantages in favor of the ones which would strengthen the school's academics and help ensure its survival in the environment. As I explained in the theory chapter, a school that cannot maintain its academic standards cannot expect to recruit good students. The faculty seem to believe this, and their responses on the matter stand as evidence.

So too do we detect a concern with survival when we examine the "disadvantage" table (Table 18). The disadvantages cited by opponents and proponents of coeducation are concentrated in the realm of cost, the fear of losing alumni support and in the belief that the school would have to build more facilities. All three of these perceived disadvantages, if they become realities, could endanger the survival of the school. If W&L went coed, built new facilities, and then lost its alumni support, it would be financially distraught and unable to function. Thus, survival would be endangered.

- Impact Variables -

The tables I will now present illustrate some unpredictable patterns with regards to the impact the faculty thought coeducation would have on W&L's academic, social, and classroom environments.

Before I go into the analysis, let me note that I am primarily concerned with whether there is an association between the faculty's attitude towards coeducation and coeducation's possible impact on W&L's various environments. However, in order to be as thorough as possible, I cross-tabulated all the sociodemographic variables with the impact variables. In doing so I found that age, length of employment at W&L, department, faculty rank, etc. had no effect on how the faculty perceived coeducation's impact on

the school. The only exception to this was that those faculty who attended W&L as undergraduates were slightly more likely to think that grade competition would increase if there were women on campus.

Let us begin with an analysis of how the faculty thought coeducation might affect W&L's academic environment.

Table 29

Should W&L Become Coed by Coed
Effect on Academic Environment

Should W&L Become Coed	Effect on Academic Environment		
	Enhance	No Effect	Detract
Think it should	85.7%	11.1%	50.0%
No Opinion	1.3	22.2	0
Think it shouldn't	13.0	66.7	50.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(77)	(9)	(4)
G = (0.81427)			

Table 29 clearly shows that an overwhelming majority of faculty believe that coeducation would enhance W&L's academic environment. In addition, 55 percent of those who oppose coeducation thought that coeducation would have positive effects on the academic environment. Perhaps the most valuable insight one can gain from this table is that 85.6 percent of all the faculty believed that the academics at W&L could benefit from coeducation. Further, only 4 percent of the 92 faculty in the sample thought that women would detract from the existing academic environment.

A consensus also exists as to the perceived impact of coeducation on the classroom environment. Nearly 77 percent of the faculty foresaw an enhancement of W&L's classroom environment as a result of coeducation. This 77 percent includes 9 out of the 18 faculty who oppose coeducation. A meager 7 percent thought that coeducation would detract from the classroom environment.

Table 30

Should W&L Go Coed by Coed's Effect On Classroom Environment

Should W&L Become Coed	Effect on Classroom Environment		
	Enhance	No Effect	Detract
Think it should	87.0%	44.4%	42.9%
No opinion	0	1	1
Think it shouldn't	13.0	44.4	42.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(69)	(9)	(7)
G = (0.66812)			

The faculty displays a certain amount of consistency with regards to these impact variables. Again, 84 percent of the faculty believe that coeducation would enhance W&L's social environment. Only one out of the sample believed coeducation would detract from the social environment, while twelve (66 percent) of those opposed to coeducation thought that women could enhance the social environment. There is little else I can say about the three tables above except that I was surprised to see so many opponents to coeducation

Table 31

Should W&L Go Coed by Coed
Effect on Social Environment

Should W&L Become Coed	Effect on Social Environment		
	Enhance	No Effect	Detract
Think it should	81.3%	50.0%	0%
No opinion	2.7	0	0
Think it should not	16.0	50.0	100*
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(75)	(4)	(1)
G = (0.45180)			

perceive coeducation as having an overall positive effect on the academic, classroom, and social environments. I would not have predicted this.

When we consider the faculty's perceptions on coeducation's possible impact on grade competition we discover that the positive concensus no longer exists.

Table 32

Should W&L Go Coed by Coed's
Effects on Grade Competition

Should W&L Become Coed	Increase Competition	Have No Effect	Decrease Competition	Unsure
Think it Should	76.2%	82.8%	0%	75.6%
No Opinion	4.8	3.4	0	0
Think it Shouldn't	19.0	13.8	100	23.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N =	(42)	(29)	(1)	(17)
G = (-0.0441)				

Instead, we find that there are large numbers of faculty who are "unsure" or believe that female students would have no effect on grade competition. This is significant when viewed along with the preceding "impact tables". Although the faculty believe coeducation could enhance the academic environment, they do not believe as strongly that grade competition would increase. This phenomenon may reflect a kind of sexist attitude. In the event that W&L went coeducational, a woman would have to possess superior credentials to be admitted. She would have to have higher high school grades, SAT scores, etc. than her male competitors or she would be denied admission. If the lower third of the entering class were replaced with better qualified females, would not one expect the academic environment to be enhanced? Would not one expect grade competition to increase as well? It seems illogical to assume that well qualified females, who take the place of the lesser qualified males, would not increase grade competition.* It is because of this reasoning that one may be able to detect a sexist attitude among that significant number of faculty who answered "unsure" or "have no effect". It is also a possibility that this might reflect a negative attitude toward grade competition by faculty.

*It is possible that the better work in general would be done and that this better overall work would not increase competition.

- Faculty Survey Summary -

The Faculty Survey analysis revealed some important patterns. As I demonstrated, the sociodemographic variables had no effect on the faculty's attitude on coeducation. The faculty was 75 percent in favor of coeducation regardless of age, faculty rank, geographical origin, religious preference, etc. This indicates that the faculty's attitude on the issue may be the result of their teaching experience at W&L. Their attitudes may have been shaped by their knowledge of W&L's up-hill battle with its environment and the gloomy outlook for single sex schools; that is, they may perceive how difficult the future of a single sex school might be. In any event, the faculty seem to be committed to revising the status quo.

With regard to the perceptual variables, we discovered that W&L's single sex student body was not a positive factor when the individual faculty members were job hunting. Instead, the nature of the student body was a neutral or negative factor. The faculty also believes that W&L men might have trouble working with women after they graduate. More of those faculty who favored coeducation believed that men would have trouble; however, a number of those opposed to coeducation perceived the same. Finally, the "best interest" table indicated that nearly all those in favor of coeducation also believed coeducation was in W&L's best interest.

The attitudinal/perceptual variables showed us that, in terms of advantages, the faculty were most likely to list advantages which were academic or intellectual in nature. They were most likely to list advantages which would strengthen the school's academics and help ensure survival. The disadvantages were concentrated in the realm of cost, increased facilities, and the loss of alumni support. Once again, these disadvantages can be categorized as having a destructive effect on the school's ability to survive in the environment.

Perhaps most important of all were the results of the impact variable analysis. This analysis showed that those who favored coeducation (and a majority of those who did not) thought that female students would enhance the academic, social, and classroom environments. We also discovered that the faculty attitude on the issue of grade competition defied logic; that although a majority of the faculty favor coeducation, less than half the faculty thought female students could spur an increase in grade competition.

The patterns which emerge from the student and faculty surveys allow us to make some comparisons. Such comparisons can help clarify and perhaps integrate the sentiments of both the faculty and student body. In this next chapter, we will address those sentiments.

CHAPTER 7

Student/Faculty Survey Comparisons

In the interest of time and space, I will refrain from presenting the actual tables again. Instead, I will make the comparisons and let the reader refer back to the respective tables. My goal in this chapter is to show a congruence or divergence between the faculty and student sentiments. If it happens that the students and faculty hold the same views on a particular set of variables, one can feel comfortable in calling that view a campus consensus. If the two groups hold dissimilar views, it will be necessary to point that out in any discussion of those groups. I will begin by comparing the sociodemographic variables; then I will follow with the perceptual, attitudinal/perceptual, and impact variables.

- Sociodemographic Variables -

A researcher could get into a series of methodological problems if he tried to compare two different samples too closely. Although it can be done, one should beware of picking nits. To compare each cell of each table would no doubt show something, but whether that "something" would be meaningful is questionable. Therefore, let me say that with regard to general tendencies, the faculty and student surveys are very similar when we compare two sets of sociodemographic variables; those being the students' class and major compared to a faculty member's length of employment at W&L and the department in which he teaches.

In the student section, we found that a student's class had no real association with his opinion on coeducation. Likewise, whether the faculty were new, tenured, or about to retire, we found no association between their length of employment and their attitude on coeducation. Nor did the faculty's departments or the students' majors have an overly convincing association with how they thought about the issue. Thus, it could be said that with regard to these two sets of related variables, no association worth noting exists. The same does not hold true for the "fraternity membership, geographical origin," and "relative of a W&L alumni" variables.

The faculty survey indicated that a faculty member's view on coeducation was not influenced by his prior fraternity membership. However, the students who were members of fraternities were more opposed to coeducation than were their independent classmates. Therefore, one could say that the influencing effect of fraternity membership on one's opinions is not shared in common by the student and faculty groups. This fact could be due to the maturation process which the faculty have experienced. The older, more mature faculty may see beyond the social world of their old fraternity days. No longer do they take into account strictly their social lives when they consider such issues as coeducation. Instead, because they are more removed from their fraternities, they may look beyond trivial social matters. The students, however,

may be so immersed in their fraternity lives that they pay particular attention to how coeducation may affect those lives.

Perhaps the time the faculty has spent at W&L (or anywhere on a professional level) has enabled them to observe the issues more clearly. The faculty member's origin had no effect on his attitude. 75 percent of the Northerners favored coeducation, 75 percent of the Southerners favored it as well. Once again, maturity might breed an element of objectivity. With the students, however, they are still closely linked with their home regions and political and cultural beliefs. Perhaps for this reason, we see the "traditionalist/progressivist" split between the Northern and Southern students.

There is also a difference between the faculty and student sentiments when we consider whether the respondent was related to a W&L alumnus. Those faculty who were related to an alumnus still favored coeducation by a 75 to 18 percent margin. However, among the students, those related to an alumnus were more likely to oppose coeducation (see Table 11). As I have noted time and again, the element of maturation may be the key. The faculty are less directly influenced by their relatives. They have had time to make up their own minds about coeducation, whereas the students are still living at home and are still influenced by their uncles, grandfathers, fathers, and brothers. Therefore, if a student's relatives attended W&L and were happy there,

and if they still support the single sex nature of the school, we would expect their sons, brothers, etc. to do the same.

These sociodemographic variables reveal that professional competence and a mature mind may cancel out the effects of fraternity membership, geographical origin, etc. One point should be made in conclusion, however; it may be more rewarding to be a student at W&L than to be a professor. In terms of the faculty and student sentiments, this seems to be true. Barely 50 percent of the students favor coeducation. However, when we look at the faculty, a committed 75 percent support coeducation. While a single sex atmosphere may be novel and exciting for a student, the same atmosphere may be stifling for a faculty member.

- Perceptual Variables -

The perceptual variables indicate that among the two survey groups there is agreement and disagreement. Both the faculty and students did not think that W&L's all-male student body was a positive influence on their decision to either enroll as a student or seek employment at the school. In fact, most students believed that the school's sex composition had no effect or had a negative effect on their choice. Granted, a small percentage were positively influenced by single-sex, but these students represent only 23 percent of the total student body. Likewise, 96 percent of the faculty was either not affected by or was repelled by the nature of the student body. We see that the all-male aspect of W&L did

not attract a significant number of students or faculty. Perhaps the faculty who viewed single sex as a negative factor had no other job opportunities. Perhaps the students who had no other choice came to W&L. Whatever the reason, it appears that most faculty and students came to W&L in spite of its single sex student body--not because of it (see Tables 13 and 24).

The faculty and students differed on the issue of whether W&L graduates would have trouble working with women after they graduated the single sex school. Not surprisingly, 73 percent of the students did not think W&L men would have problems while only 37 percent of the faculty agreed (See Tables 13 and 25). Most faculty believed that W&L men might or would have difficulties. The students, in contrast, were less likely to perceive this and only 26 percent thought that W&L men would have trouble. In both groups, those most in favor of coeducation were more likely to perceive trouble for W&L graduates.

Perhaps the faculty can view this matter from a better vantage point than the students. After all, they are professionals who have more experience in the real world. They know what it means to graduate from college and to have to work with women.* The students do not have this experience.

*Neither the students nor faculty have had much experience working with women as equals. This "equality" is a new development.

Perhaps we see a glimmer of sexism arising. Perhaps the W&L students do not perceive having to work with women anyway. Whatever the reason, the faculty differs from the students on this matter.

The students and faculty differed somewhat on whether coeducation would be in the best interests of W&L as a quality institution. We found (Table 22) that the faculty who opposed coeducation also believed it would not be in W&L's best interest. We also saw that those faculty who favored coeducation also thought it would serve W&L's best interests. This indicates a strong stance on the issue.

Among the students, we see that the association between the attitude on coeducation and the "best interest" variable is not so strong. This means that many students who favored coeducation may not believe it would be best for the school. The opposite is true as well; that is, many students who oppose female students on campus realize that women could enhance the quality of the school. The students display an element of honesty. They seem to realize that there is a difference between personal preference and what is best for the school. The faculty indicate consistent commitment to their sentiments. They believe that what they prefer is best for the school. We have to say that both the faculty and students are concerned and aware of what the school needs to do to achieve a quality existence.

- Attitudinal/Perceptual Variables -

In this section we will be comparing what the students and faculty foresaw as the advantages and disadvantages of coeducation. What we will find with advantages is that the faculty tend to be more interested in the academic/intellectual realms while the students are most concerned with the social atmosphere (See Tables 16 and 17). This divergence between the two groups is perhaps not so hard to explain when we consider that faculty morale depends a great deal upon the quality of the academics. As I showed in the theoretical chapter, if W&L's academics become poor, the faculty would have to change their style and compromise their aspirations. Since the faculty favor coeducation, it follows that they do so primarily for the reason that coeducation could improve the learning experience and thus the teaching experience.

The students, on the other hand, are more concerned with the social advantages. This fact is interesting because it shows that the students' educations are not totally consumed by academic matters. The students want a good intellectual life, but they stress the social advantages of coeducation more heavily. Taken together, the student and faculty groups are predicting an improvement in the academics and in the social atmosphere of the school.

The students and faculty were less sure of coeducation's disadvantages. The faculty stressed the loss of alumni

support, cost, and the need for new facilities as the coeducation's major drawbacks. The students were more concerned by what might happen to the uniqueness of the school and with the belief that the academics might be harmed. It is difficult to compare the disadvantages that both groups cited. This is due to the fact that so many of the respondents were uncertain. One big difference stands out: No faculty thought that the loss of tradition would be coeducation's most important disadvantage. The students, however, were quite concerned with this question of tradition. Both groups did cite the respective advantages and disadvantages which had something to do with the school's survival. The students are aware of how important their social lives are to them. The faculty are more concerned with strengthening the academics, and both groups realize the possible costs and risks of going coeducational.

- Impact Variables -

The students and faculty thought that coeducation would definitely enhance W&L's social environment. Whether they were in favor of or opposed to coeducation, 80 percent of the students and faculty believed that female students could improve the social aspect of the University.

Concerning the academic environment, 85 percent of the faculty believed that women would improve it as well. The students were not so sure. Only about 50 percent of them

thought women could enhance the academics, while a significant proportion thought women would have no effect or might detract from the academic environment (See Table 21). With regard to the classroom environment, 77 percent of the faculty thought that women might improve it. About 60% of the students forecast an improvement.

Both the faculty and students thought similarly about coeducation's effect on grade competition. Although about 45 percent of each group thought female students could increase the grade competition, about 55 percent of each group thought women would have no effect or that they were unsure about coeducation's possible impact on grade competition.

In essence, both survey groups thought that female students could enhance the school's social environment. In the realm of academics, the faculty thought much more strongly than the students that coeducation would enhance the academic environment, and both groups thought female students would enhance the classroom environment; however, perhaps the most important difference is with regard to grade competition. Both groups seemed to be unwilling to grant too much to the female intellect and its ability to spur more intense competition.*

*Personal interviews have revealed that "grade competition" was interpreted more as intellectual competition, preparedness, and intellectual excitement as opposed to "grade grubbing."

CHAPTER 8

Meaning In Terms of the Homans Model

One must ask, what do all these self-study and survey data mean? In terms of Homans' systems model, it means a great deal. When we apply Homans' thoughts on a group's struggle with its environment, when we observe the crucial sentiments within the University's groups, and when we consider the issue of W&L's survival, we can see the value in the Homans approach.

No competent observer would deny that our University is struggling in its environment. Granted, the school graduates students of an unusually high caliber, and as in the past, W&L graduates continue to move into the upper echelons of law, medicine, business, education, etc. However, what was true in the past, and what is true now must be separated from what might be true in the future. The crucial question, then, is whether W&L can, in the wake of a declining male applicant pool, continue its success indefinitely. Some may believe so. Others doubt it. Some want W&L to remain as it is; others want it to go coeducational. One would have to say that the faculty and students want the school to admit women.

The survey revealed the faculty's internal sentiments; it showed us that the faculty were over 75 percent in favor of coeducation. Homans maintains that internal sentiments such as pride, apathy, and personal gratification are an integral part of a functioning system or group. If we examine the faculty sentiments, we discover personal

dissatisfaction. After all, an overwhelming majority of faculty are calling for a change. This fact signals a problem. Perhaps the faculty feel stifled. Perhaps they do not feel complete because they work exclusively with male students. The problem, then, is with the sentiments; more specifically with job contentment. But there is another problem: the teaching job market is so poor that those discontented faculty must remain at W&L. I am not trying to suggest that if the job market picked-up that W&L would lose 75 percent of its faculty. What is more likely, is that many of the younger faculty might leave. Such an exodus would certainly weaken the faculty group. Furthermore, in the future, any faculty who might leave would probably be harder to replace as it becomes less desirable to teach at single-sex schools.

We constructed a question for the faculty survey which served as a more specific barometer for faculty job-satisfaction. We asked them if they had to do it all over whether they would choose W&L again. The table reveals that only 60% of the faculty would choose W&L again. Although we cannot say that those who said they would not choose W&L again said so because of a discontentment with single sex student body, there was a positive association between the respondent's attitude toward single sex and whether he

would choose W&L again.*

What does the student survey mean in terms of Homans' model? For one thing, the majority of students believe that the social atmosphere at W&L is lacking, lacking in women and thus naturalness. The student sentiments on the social atmosphere are crucial when we recall what Homans said about the interdependency between sentiments, activities, and interaction. According to the model, activities provide an increase of sentiment and vice versa. The sentiments and activities, then, make for increased interaction. If the students become too unhappy with their social lives, one could expect a drop in activities and interaction. As I pointed out in the theory section, such a drop in activity and interaction would have grievous consequences for the student group.

One would have to admit that the Student Activities Board, in conjunction with the fraternities, provides a good social schedule, but we must go one step further. What about those who do not enjoy Cockpit parties or who do not belong to fraternities? Those people might be in need of female students, not merely for sexual purposes, but for friendship, intellectual endeavors, etc. When we consider that 40 percent of W&L's student body do not belong to fraternities, the point becomes more clear. And when we con-

*Personal interviews with faculty members have revealed that although single sex may not be the only cause of dissatisfaction at W&L, it is perceived by many that coeducation could rescue the faculty and the students from the current state of dissatisfaction which reportedly prevails.

sider that over 80 percent of those students surveyed believed that women could improve the social environment, perhaps we can detect a problem.

The student survey was designed with a "student contentment" barometer. As with the faculty survey, we asked the students if they could do it over whether they would choose W&L again. Only 53 percent of the students said "yes" they would choose W&L again, while 26 percent were "unsure," and 19 percent were certain they would go elsewhere. What this amounts to is that 47 percent of W&L's students, at the time of the survey administration, were not happy enough with the school to say they would choose it again. Table 31 shows, in addition, that there was a strong association between the students' attitudes on coeducation and whether they would choose W&L again.

Table 33

Should W&L Go Coed by Would
You Choose W&L Over Again

Should W&L Go Coed	Would You Choose W&L Again:		
	Yes	Not Sure	No
Strongly should	10.0%	45.3%	63.9%
Somewhat should	16.3	29.8	22.2
No opinion	6.5	5.8	4.1
Somewhat should not	18.8	10.5	4.6
Strongly should not	48.5	8.5	5.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(522)	(258)	(194)
N =			
G = -0.70005			

The strong Gamma represents a strong association. As we can see, those opposed to coeducation are more likely to choose W&L again, while those who favor coeducation would be less likely to do so. This table certainly is evidence of student dissatisfaction and that this discontentment is related to W&L's being an all-male institution.

When we look at both the students and faculty, we witness the same kind of dissatisfaction. If these kinds of sentiments continue into the future (i.e. dissatisfaction), we could expect even greater problems to arise. Those unhappy students may spread negative propaganda to their friends (prospective students) at home. Some of the faculty might leave or disperse similar propaganda. These bad reviews could take their toll in the recruitment of both faculty and students. A bad reputation might ensue. If this were to happen, the school would suffer, and the battle with the environment might become too difficult to handle.

When we consider this "dissatisfaction" in terms of the external and internal systems we discover that W&L's "survival" is at stake. The environment is exerting pressure on single sex schools. The result is and will be fewer male students and thus fewer qualified students from whom to choose. This environmental pressure means that W&L will have to settle for less qualified students. To the faculty this means that they will have to compromise their aspirations in order to graduate the poorer students. Such a compromise

may enable the school to exist, but this notion of "existence" is a far cry from Homans' concept of "survival." If the faculty must teach poor students, they will become frustrated. This frustration arises out of what they must do to graduate the poor students and manifests itself in the internal sentiments. This set of internal sentiments then affects the manner in which the faculty carries out day-to-day activities and interactions. The end result may be that the sentiments arising out the external system will further hamper the ability of the school to exist let alone "survive." Eventually, the environment may win as it will always continue to exert new pressures on the University.

The student and faculty surveys elaborated on those sentiments which exist at W&L concerning coeducation. We can assume that poorer students could affect the student, administration, admissions, and trustee groups in much the same way that it might affect the faculty. In essence, frustration, dissatisfaction, and a lack of enthusiasm has an influence on the five groups and the way each helps provide for W&L as a quality institution.

Finally, "survival," in the Homans sense, must be W&L's ultimate concern. Can the school continue to improve? Can it upgrade its intellectual, social, and classroom environments without admitting women? Could the admission of women help the University survive as a quality institution? The

faculty believe so, and the students believe so, but the weight of the decision rests on the President and the Trustees. They must make a decision either way. If they make the right decision at the right time the school will survive. If they make the wrong decision, the school will cease to "survive."

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