

**THE EXETER STUDY:**

**A REPORT ON STUDENT LIFE AT EXETER**

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## I.

### INTRODUCTION

During the 1990-91 school year an extensive study of the Phillips Exeter Academy community was conducted. The study, commissioned by the principal and trustees of the Academy, was designed to gain a better understanding, from a psychological point of view, of what the Exeter experience was like for students, faculty, and parents. Although participation in the study was voluntary, support for the study, as indicated by the response rate (83% of parents, 63% of students, 66% of faculty), was extremely strong.

The first part of the study involved sending all students, faculty, and parents a questionnaire seeking detailed information in a variety of areas. Among the areas covered were such concerns as: family environment, self-esteem, depression, drug and alcohol use, ego development, emotional tone and emotional health, connectedness to others and ideals, sexual behavior, and feelings about Exeter, as well as basic demographic information. The second part of the study involved in-depth individual interviews of representative samples of students, faculty, and parents. The interviews were designed to elicit as much personal experience as possible. While difficult to quantify, the interviews provided a rich and vivid set of stories full of variety and interesting detail.

The study yielded a massive amount of information. What follows is a report focusing primarily upon the student experience at Exeter. Since most adolescents have an ambivalent view of organized society and its institutions, much of the student information, especially that gained through interviews, has equal amounts of criticism and praise for the Exeter experience. Rather than simply accept such information at face value, this report used it to identify the major developmental issues and needs of adolescence, to explain how they unfolded and were being met at Exeter, and to make recommendations based upon these findings. It should be noted this

report did not list the student frequencies and means for each item in the questionnaire. Instead, those findings, when appropriate, were incorporated into various parts of the report. The responses to each item in the questionnaire can be found in the appendix.

It is appropriate to state at the outset, that this report is about a great school. Exeter is a great school in the eyes of its students, its parents, and its faculty alike. It is a great school in its achievements and it is a great school in its aspirations. To anyone associated with the school this may appear to be a statement of the obvious. Sometimes, however, even greatness can be taken for granted. Exeter is such a busy and demanding place people can appear to be taking the quality of its education for granted. Nevertheless, in the interviews, time and again students praised teachers and other students as being, to quote one Upper, "unbelievably smart and stimulating. Just being in the same room with these people is an education in itself."

What reading those Upper's words cannot convey is the tone of pride in his voice as he spoke. This feeling of pride in himself and his school was further reinforced as he continued to talk about how he had gained more confidence in his intelligence in the Harkness classroom. He felt that "the Harkness table taught me patience and to think quicker. It's hard at first to just jump in. You have to be assertive and take charge. It's really noticeable when someone doesn't talk." Once again, statements of that sort are very familiar to anyone who knows the Academy. The interviewers, however, were not familiar with the school. In interview after interview, they noted, it was clear that Exeter succeeded in instilling an ethos of pride, loyalty, and discipline in its students. It seemed to them that Exeter's greatness as a school stemmed from its ability to convey to every student a vision of high purpose which was gained through rigorous training and real achievement. Students at Exeter, they observed, understood that they were receiving a special education and felt proud because of it.

Part of the rigorous mental training that Exeter students receive is to be taught an intellectual tradition that places a premium on the freedom to pursue the truth about any particular state of affairs. Discourse at Exeter, whether it is at the Harkness Table, faculty meeting, the Exonian, or the lunch table, is most often characterized by critical analysis and logical argument. In the intellectual environment found at Exeter, the only coercion to which someone is subjected is the peculiar compulsion of the better argument. Putting emphasis on discourse of this sort can give the appearance that people are never satisfied and always finding fault with some aspect of life at the Academy. This happens because it is difficult to confine the use of critical analysis and logical argument solely within the boundaries of intellectual discussions. For adolescents in particular, this type of discourse becomes a way of discussing all aspects of their lives. Parents, for the most part, are not disturbed by all the "complaining" and see it for what it is, a tool with which students must practice if they are to gain mastery of it. As a group parents are extremely pleased with the Academy. Ninety-five percent agreed with the statement, "I feel Exeter does a superb job of educating its students," and ninety-two percent agreed with the statement, "I am glad I sent my child to Exeter."

There is another reason for emphasizing the greatness of Exeter in the introduction to this report because what follows focuses primarily upon issues in student life that are viewed as problematic. They are serious and they are going to be difficult to solve, but they need to be viewed in the context in which they appear. Firstly, these problems are not unique to Exeter. Whatever is of concern to the Exeter community, is of concern to the larger society. Secondly, Exeter approaches its problems from a position of strength, having as it does, a gifted and forward looking faculty and administration. The task of solving problems and making changes may seem daunting, but having the resources to make a great institution stronger is a stimulating challenge.

## II.

It's something I will have to come to a decision about much later in life, but I've been asking myself if coming to Exeter was worth it. I like what I have learned about myself here, but it's all stuff I would have learned eventually. This place just sped it up a few years. Maybe learning it later would have been easier. I know this is the hardest time of life and maybe no school would have been good.

Four year senior, female, boarder

It is doubtful any quote could fully express what it is like to attend Exeter. This statement, however, does capture an aspect of the Exeter experience with which there is almost unanimous agreement. That is, being a student at Exeter is hard, much good comes from it, but there is often ambivalence about whether or not the rewards justify the struggle. The ambivalence of the young woman quoted above was heightened by her strongly held suspicion, expressed later in the interview, that life at the Academy was more difficult than it had to be. This suspicion was re-enforced through comments made by faculty that led her to believe that Exeter had been a more civil, less stressful school in the past. In the Exeter of old, she thought, people cared for one another more, and as a result, there was much less tension.

The student quoted above thought attending Exeter accelerated the process of self discovery for her because she suddenly found herself, as a boarding student, having "to learn to live away from home, dealing with friends and the social life, and resisting all the temptations all by myself." Boarding school, from her point of view, did not allow her to learn how to manage her affairs gradually, nor did it ever provide her with a respite from continually being on her own. She was also bothered by another aspect of being at boarding school. To her, it seemed on the one hand, as if the Academy all of a sudden expected her to handle her responsibilities like an adult, and on the other hand, she felt as if she were expected to obey a

set of rules that made her feel like a child. She found this to be confusing, frustrating, and inconsistent.

Interestingly, even as a Prep, she did not find the school work all that demanding. Courses were difficult, and there was a lot of homework, she said, but all things being equal, she felt she could handle it because she was disciplined and knew how to study. What she found difficult was keeping schoolwork from becoming "secondary to everything else that was going on." The reason schoolwork was prone to becoming secondary she thought was related to being away from home and living with teenagers. As she put it, "Teenagers are not good living together. It is so competitive. You have a constant feeling of inadequacy and tension in your life." As a Prep and Lower, she found "the desire to be accepted and liked so intense" that she often let schoolwork become less important. This would sometimes make her feel guilty and she attempted to compensate by staying up until two or three in the morning to complete her work. By the time she was a senior she had learned how to study more efficiently and to cut corners when necessary in order to find a good balance between work and play.

So much of this young woman's Exeter experience was similar to what other students who were interviewed encountered that one is tempted to turn her into an average or typical Exonian. Since such a creature probably does not exist, it would not be appropriate to create him or her. What can be done, however, is to take from that young woman's interview everything that is common to the student experience at Exeter. In so doing it can be determined what represents an issue in student life which the Academy needs to address, what represents an issue with which all adolescents must learn to cope, and what represents an issue in adolescent development with which the school could offer more assistance.

## Residential Life

For the eighty-five percent of the students at Exeter who live on campus the school becomes a total institution. This term is used to refer to any institution that combines in one setting all those features of daily life such as school, play, and home that are ordinarily kept separate. One consequence of this all-encompassing characteristic is that it becomes extremely difficult for people who live in total institutions to maintain normal boundary lines between various activities in life. Clear boundaries between activities are useful, even necessary, because they provide the cues that help people to appropriately regulate and change behavior.

Previous research in other types of total institutions such as hospitals, prisons, and the army has shown that to live in such an environment is initially exceedingly stressful. One of the reasons for the high level of stress, researchers discovered, is that emotions associated with most everyday activities become amplified and blown out of proportion in total institutions. This feature is especially true for the negative aspects of daily life. It turns out that those minor irritations that are the inevitable part of social interaction, and which one easily gets over when one goes home, are not so quickly forgotten in total institutions. Since there are no boundaries between life activities, unpleasant experiences and feelings from one activity intrudes into another. This factor probably explains why students scored significantly below normal on the Emotional Tone Subscale of the Offer Self-Image Inventory. This subscale measures a person's emotional reaction to daily experiences. Girls had a mean score of 32.01, and boys a mean score of 30.95. The normal range on this subscale is 45 to 55. Successful adaptation to total institutions requires significant changes in how one thinks, feels, and behaves.

Students do not, of course, know they are entering a total institution when they come to Exeter. From their point of view they are simply at a high school where everything feels more intense. Students find the atmosphere at the Academy to be one in which things that previously

did not seem so upsetting now often make them feel tense and anxious. As one Lower put it, "When you yell at someone over something normal in a public high school, you get over it. At Exeter, you don't." An Upper, commenting upon this phenomenon, said, "Everything is amplified and blown out of proportion here. Not only to others, but to me too."

The intensity of a total institution can also cause daily life to seem much less stable. "Nothing is balanced, nothing is stable. You never know what people are really thinking and where they are coming from" is how one Lower tried to explain his life at Exeter. For another student, it seemed as if, "Life goes up and down, sometimes hourly. The highs are not as high as the lows are low, nor are they as frequent." One young woman explained rather well why Exeter feels so stressful and unstable:

Exeter is probably the single most stressful place you could possibly be in. It comes in all forms, though. It's not just normal stress like you get from a job, or friends, or schoolwork. It's all of these things combined. Exeter is another world. It is the epitome of confusing. Everything you do here reflects on some other aspect of your life. Everything is connected.

This student understood how difficult life becomes when all aspects of life are "combined." She also managed to allude to another dimension of total institutions that has a dramatic impact upon daily life, the fact all parts of life are supervised by the same set of adults. She saw this feature in negative terms because it made her feel as if she were "under a microscope all the time." Although she did not have the terminology, she had a good understanding of the authority system of total institutions, which is unlike that experienced anywhere else. Such systems have three main elements:

1. Any member of the faculty has the authority to discipline any member of the student body at any time and any place.
2. Faculty have authority over a range of conduct that extends beyond what most teenagers have previously experienced.



3. Judgments about a student's conduct by a member of the faculty in one sphere of a student's life can be held against the student in all other spheres.

A one-year Senior related an incident which managed to illustrate how this type of authority operates. Early in the school year he and some friends were eating dinner in the dining hall. After dinner they lingered and continued their conversation. They were having a good time and their conversation became fairly loud. A faculty member came up to their table and told them to leave because they were finished with their meal and were being too loud and foolish. The Senior, seeing no harm in his behavior and angry at being told what to do by a teacher he did not even know, attempted to resist. The senior's friends interceded and told him to just leave. That night when he checked into his dorm, his advisor warned the Senior about the disciplinary consequences of inappropriate behavior in the dining hall. The next day one of his teachers asked to speak with him after class because he had not done a thorough job on his homework. The teacher advised him to spend more time doing homework and less time creating problems in the dining hall. From the student's point of view the incident in the dining hall was fairly minor and practically forgotten until the teacher mentioned it. He was shaken by the rebuke and wondered how many other faculty knew about the encounter.

The Senior discovered that in the enclosed world of the total institution, adults are everywhere, they all have authority, and any behavior can be noticed and confronted. This is quite unlike what most teenagers are used to in the outside world. There, away from adult supervision, they have large amounts of free time in which to satisfy or dissipate in a thousand different ways the passions, emotions, aggressions, and needs of normal adolescence. Being deprived of this opportunity causes students to feel a heavy sense of anxiety and/or anger.

Whatever the reality may be, students feel they have very little time away from adult supervision, causing many of them to feel as if they have no privacy and that their actions are

always being judged. "Since everything is very personal, it makes you feel bad about yourself," is how a Lower said she was affected by this process. The perception of being judged is exacerbated by the impression that once a member of the faculty forms an opinion about a student, that opinion stays. One student said that it was his experience that "Once the faculty have opinions about things or people, they never see it any other way." Commenting upon this situation, another student said, "There is no forgive and forget. You're prejudged the entire time."

The authority system, combined with what students perceive to be a very heavy workload and competitive classroom environment, can create what feels to them to be a very stressful situation. One student, describing the stress of the Exeter environment, explained:

There is so much going at all times that it's hard to get a grip on anything. The work is such a load, and it is stressed as the most important thing at Exeter, but there is so much else. Because there is so much work and so much stress, people are not usually very happy. They develop a kind of competitive attitude and generally are not very satisfied with what they are doing. Everyone is always fighting to be the best, because that is what we are pressured to do. All of this competition allows for many people to become insecure about who they are and what they have the ability to do.

In the face of what is perceived to be such intense pressure students use certain coping mechanisms to adapt to the Academy and to maintain a sense of their own individuality. The first, and most important, is that students seek to bond together to form extremely powerful and supportive friendships. As one student indicated, the importance of a network of friends cannot be overemphasized, "lack of support from friends means you can't survive at Exeter." The student who said this may have been among the fifty-eight percent of students who agreed with the following statement on the questionnaire: "My friends can get me through anything."

If students have been successful in finding supportive friends, they can become very attached. The intensity of these friendships is conveyed by one young man when he said, "I

hope I stay close to these people forever. I'd do anything for them. They are what my life means." The impact of such relationships is what may have caused sixty-nine percent of students to agree with the following statement on the questionnaire: "There are groups for whom I would make great sacrifices."

It may be that not everyone succeeds in making friends of this sort. One student reported that he thought being away from home "makes people act in a way they wouldn't usually." He went on to explain that in the "first couple of years students try to act like adults. Then, by the time they are seniors they're acting like themselves, not thirty." Other students find it quite hard to form real friendships. They perceive other students to be "very immature and incredibly superficial." Some students are uncertain about how much emotion to invest in friendships at Exeter because the Academy is "not your home and not, not your home."

Many of the students who were interviewed expressed a certain amount of envy toward students they thought were so blessed that they sailed through Exeter without any difficulty. There was this suspicion that some students were popular and made friends without effort, earned straight As with even less effort, and were consequently going to go on and have an even more golden life. That person may exist, there may even be more than one or two of them, but it should be noted that this study failed to identify that blessed student. Every student who was interviewed appeared to have his or her share of problems. What seemed to differentiate people were the methods they used to cope with or solve problems.

Students also report that they frequently turn to their parents for support. It was reported that much of parental support involved helping sons and daughters understand that "Exeter isn't your whole life", that "Exeter is only temporary", and that "things get better when you get out of Exeter." Many students also cope by "repressing the bad things and get on with life." For

some repression is even the preferred method of coping because Exeter is "a place where if you show weakness you get kicked in the teeth."

As has been indicated, the all-inclusive nature of total institutions is such that they can easily drain students of their confidence, initiative, and sense of self. In addition to coping by seeking the support of friends and family, students keep their sense of self from being overwhelmed by the all encompassing nature of the school through criticism. Criticism is a form of resistance. Letters and articles in the student newspaper that are critical of school practices and policies serve the important function of helping to keep students from feeling overwhelmed by the faculty and administration. It helps them realize they still have a voice. Students also engage in a great deal of highly critical gossip about day-to-day concerns and the social world which they inhabit. This gossip helps students from becoming totally lost in the culture of the school by allowing students to express displeasure with how certain people and/or groups behave.

Romance at the Academy is difficult. Many students commented on how difficult it is to carry on a relationship at Exeter. When asked, faculty also commented on the relative absence of romantic behavior between students. For some students the conditions that are conducive to romance do not exist at the Academy. They were deterred by the lack of privacy in what they considered to be the fishbowl atmosphere of the school. The pressure of schoolwork also causes students to postpone romance until vacations or after graduation. Work and romance are more than many students can handle. One young man attempted to do both and reported that "having a girlfriend was like having a sixth course, with homework!"

There may not be much romance at Exeter, but there is a good deal of sexual activity. Twenty-seven percent of students say they have had sexual intercourse; eight percent say they have had sex against their will. Both of these levels are below the levels of sexual activity

among teenagers reported in other studies. From the reports of students it seems that a portion of the sexual activity takes place as a result of the way some students choose, as they put it, "to let off steam." Groups of students will find a secluded spot and use drugs and alcohol. They may then have various types of seemingly random sexual encounters. This process, called "scamming," may explain how some students have sex against their will.

Drug and alcohol use, although heavy, is below levels of use among other groups of teenagers. About 29.5 percent of students drink alcohol once a month or more, and 16 percent smoke marijuana at least once a month. Absolutely no use of heroin was detected, and there was extremely limited use of cocaine. The use of LSD persists at Exeter. The level of use rises and falls from year to year, but never disappears. Some students are particularly curious and remain open to new possibilities. For example, one student reported hearing that if you "drink a bottle of Robitussin-DM real fast, you'll hallucinate."

Although the use of drugs and alcohol will be discussed at greater length in the section on Discipline, a few features of student use should be mentioned. It should also be noted that alcohol and drug use is not simply a weekend, after check-in activity. It occurs all during the week. When students drink, they rapidly consume a large amount. Students may not enjoy drug and alcohol use all that much. As one student who drank on campus stated, "It's sad because why do you even drink if you can't have fun because you have to hide it." Another student, commenting on the same issue, said, "It's so unrelaxed. Kids want to get drunk and buzzed fast. It has the same atmosphere as everything else at the Academy." Mostly, they perceive their reasons for using drugs or alcohol to be socializing and to cutting out a bit of their own rebellious space in a setting they deem to be boring, pressured, and not much fun. This latter reason is very much in keeping with the sort of behavior expected in a total institution. As one might expect, students report peer pressure also plays a role.

Finally, drugs and alcohol remain extremely easy to secure. Only the most innocent student is unaware of how to get alcohol or drugs. From what students report, as far as drugs and alcohol are concerned, town/gown relations have never been better. Students who supply other students with drugs or alcohol are, with rare exceptions, never perceived as dealers in the business to make money. They are viewed as people providing a service who take only what they need to cover their costs.

Finally, students cope with the more oppressive and restrictive aspects of the authority structure of the school by forming a subculture. The subculture functions primarily to resist and rebel against the school's authority system in any way possible. Students break rules just because rules exist. Those students who are daring and successfully break rules in the most outrageous manner gain a certain measure of notoriety because the student gossip network speaks of their exploits with admiration. The subculture is not one large group, but many smaller groups. Most, but not all, of these groups are dormitory based. They often create their own language to describe important aspects of their underlife. In addition, they often have their own spaces, rituals, and loyalties.

Before ending the report on residential life it should be noted once again that the feelings, attitudes, and behaviors exhibited in total institutions are not different than those that occur in other settings. Rather, the feelings, attitudes, and behavior are more amplified expressions of how people, particularly teenagers, usually respond to situations they find stressful. If the student point of view seems especially negative and cynical, it is simply a more amplified version of how teenagers feel about what the Senior in the introduction called the "hardest time of life." In spite of all the criticism and complaining it should also be noted that when a student said, "I like being away and living on my own," she spoke for the majority of boarding students.

It should also be stated that beyond the effects already noted, the pressured environment of the Academy does not seem to produce other extreme reactions. In fact, Exeter students appear to be very much like other groups of adolescents that have been studied in other settings. The incidence of severe depression is about three percent, moderate depression about seventeen percent. This is very similar to levels found in other groups of teenagers. Self-esteem also follows the same pattern it does with other adolescents. It is high in ninth grade, falls in tenth grade, and then climbs higher than before by twelfth grade. There is a difference between Exeter students and other teenagers with respect to self-esteem. When it falls, it falls further than with other groups of teenagers, and when it climbs, it climbs higher. The more pronounced dip in self-esteem can probably be accounted for by the self-doubt that sets in for most students in the first year or so at Exeter as they grapple with a very demanding curriculum. The more pronounced rise in self-esteem is probably attributable to the pride students feel at having completed a rigorous course of study at a prestigious school.

Another finding of some interest with regard to self-esteem is that the females at Exeter consistently have higher levels than the males. This differs with the findings in other studies where females usually have lower levels. Why this is so is not clear. It may be that female students are drawn from a more select or qualified pool of candidates than are males. In any case, it is a finding that merits further inquiry.

#### **Advising and Student/Faculty Relationships**

Everyone at Exeter feels busy. Students and faculty speak of the tyranny of the daily schedule, how their days are taken up by activities, meetings, classes, more meetings, sports, conferences, and elective assignments. Most people feel pressed to find the time to sit down and relax and talk with a friend or colleague. If the amount of time people have to devote to relationships feels very limited, what impact does that have on how much students even want

to get to know teachers? One student answered this question by declaring, "I have little enough time for friendships with my friends. I can't ditch that to be friends with faculty. Besides, faculty have the same time problems we have." The student was not opposed to getting to know some of his teachers better. In fact, he had been taught by a number of teachers he thought he would enjoy getting to know, but given how busy everyone seemed, figured it was unlikely to happen. With great reluctance, many students come to believe that Exeter is a place where work comes before relationships.

Some students saw developing relationships with their teachers as part of the work of whatever courses they taking. They saw getting to know their teachers as another aspect of gaining a competitive edge in courses, their reasoning being that the better a teacher liked you, the better your chances for gaining a higher grade. This type of attitude may help explain why forty-seven percent of students did not agree with the statement, "I feel Exeter is a school where people care for one another."

Without question, students believe the school's busy schedule prevents advisors and advisees from having much more than perfunctory relationships. While some students are frustrated and angry about not having a better relationship with their advisors, many more students feel regretful about this situation. They do not see advisors as bad people, only busy ones. Nor do students perceive that all advisors are unconcerned. Many students report that if they go to their advisors with a problem, the advisors will do their best to help solve it. Students also very much appreciate the little things that advisors do in an attempt to stay in touch with how an advisee is progressing. One student commented on how much he appreciated his advisor asking him from time to time how he was doing in a particularly difficult course during his Prep year. He thought the asking helped him to keep from giving in to a tendency of his, which was to avoid those things he found distasteful or difficult.



Over and over, students' comments about the advisor system sounded similar to the following account:

Advisors are rarely around when you need them and by the nature of the system it is almost impossible to have a one-to-one experience with your advisor. In all fairness to advisors, asking them to teach, coach, and be actively involved in the lives of twenty moody adolescents is a bit much, to say the least. After a long day of meetings, teaching, and coaching, I would want to spend time with my family or just relaxing, too. So it seems the system as it stands can never work and that it wasn't really designed to work in the way that we (students) need it to.

Students feel they need and want a better relationship with their advisors. The fact that they cannot may help explain why fifty-nine percent of the students did not agree with the statement, "I feel a strong sense of community at Exeter."

The business of the schedule is not the only reason that students are dissatisfied with the advising system. Students believe that no effort is made to establish a compatible match between advisor and advisee. They think the matches are made on an arbitrary basis. Further, because of the number of advisees each advisor has, they think it is extremely difficult if not unrealistic to expect much in the way of personal attention. Students have some difficulty working out in their own minds how to have a friendly relationship with an adult who is also an authority figure. This is especially true for student/faculty relationships in the dorms. One student, in thinking about this dilemma said, "Faculty living with students means they have to discipline and have a relationship, but they don't love you as a parent. Parents can love and discipline, faculty can't. Once they form an opinion through discipline, they never forget." Although she liked the faculty in her dorm and thought they were well intentioned, this student resolved her dilemma in favor of keeping the faculty at arms length by being cordial but superficial with them. She saw this as being not only in her best interest but the faculty's as well. She perceived that the faculty living in her dorm were uncomfortable with their authority and had

difficulty confronting students, especially those with whom they were friendly. She was critical of other students, particularly the proctors, who she thought used their friendship with the faculty to succeed in bending and breaking rules. She concluded it was better to keep her relationships with faculty businesslike. That way they could discipline her and she would not have any hard feelings because as she said, "Obviously we are going to break some rules no matter what, since we are just playing with our limitations." It would seem from this student's approach that some students like having their roles with regard to adults clearly defined.

It may be that students do not like having to deal with so many adults having the authority to control their lives, but they usually understand and respect the fact that faculty have the responsibility to do so. What they do not respect is when faculty do not exercise their authority. One young man expressed this point of view rather succinctly. Early on, he said, "I got the impression from the faculty in my dorm that if I stayed out of their hair, they wouldn't bother me. I gradually began to realize that they didn't notice much unless you drew attention to yourself." Since students expect faculty to have an interest in knowing what is going on, especially in the dorms, they are confused by the attitude of faculty who do not. Not only had this young man lost respect for the faculty in his dorm, he had also become rather cynical about adults at the school and had no expectation of having a relationship with any teacher. While he did not think that he came to Exeter feeling this way about adults, he now found that, "Adults don't loom very large in my life. They are primarily rule monitors."

Although it may appear to do so, the busy schedule at Exeter does not preclude the possibility of warm relationships between students and faculty. Many students report having made good friends with a coach, classroom teacher, or other adult at the Academy. This type of relationship, sometimes without the student or adult realizing it, often becomes an important source of support for the student. Some faculty are clearly very popular and well liked by

students, but as might be expected in a total institution where students use criticism and gossip to keep from being overwhelmed by adult authority, every teacher has his or her fans and detractors. Even a teacher's popularity and ability to get along well with teenagers can become suspect in the eyes of some students, especially if they feel they are not getting enough attention from adults. For example, one student, feeling very alienated from adults at the time, talked about teachers "who need to be liked by students so they develop a persona that attracts kids to them." While it is true that teachers, like everyone else, have a certain desire to be liked, the interviewer could discern that the young man making the criticism probably would have enjoyed being closer to teachers and was defending himself by devaluing the worth of being liked by teachers.

Students complain about the lack of privacy and how uncomfortable it is to live in an environment that feels like a fishbowl, but they spend a good deal of time engaging in exactly the same behavior that makes them feel uncomfortable. Much time is spent observing and speculating about faculty and faculty families. Teenagers are keen observers and miss very little. When they do not have the complete picture of a faculty member's life, they use their imaginations to complete it.

Their observations and relationships with faculty provide students with information for idle gossip, to ponder, or to use for their own well-being. In this way students might speculate about the state of someone's marriage or the quality of his or her parenting. Or, they may try to understand why a teacher who professes to intensely dislike the school does not leave. Information about faculty is useful to students because then "You know which faculty will let things go and which won't. And you know which faculty you can tell what to."

Whether or not their perceptions are correct, in some instances students share information about faculty that they deem necessary for their own protection. One female

described how students share information about sexual harassment by faculty. It was common knowledge, she said, referring to teachers who had a reputation of making female students feel uncomfortable. "We know the school isn't going to do anything to them if we complain. And we know they aren't going to rape us or anything. You can't avoid the obnoxious stuff they do in class, but we know not to ever get yourself in a situation where you're alone with them."

Parents gave extremely high approval ratings to virtually every aspect of the Academy except for advising, dormitory supervision, and student/faculty relationships. In these three areas anywhere from twenty-five percent to forty-five percent of all disagreed with such statements as:

- I feel students are supervised adequately in the dorms.
- I am pleased with Exeter's advising system.
- I feel that advisors and teachers notice right away when a student is having difficulty and offer quick help.
- I think Exeter is a school where faculty have strong positive relationships with students.

A similar percentage of all parents agreed with the following statements:

- I worry that if my child is in trouble at Exeter, he/she will not know where to turn.
- I feel it is too easy to slip between the cracks at Exeter.
- I have serious misgivings about what goes on in the dorms at Exeter.

Overall, parents were extremely pleased with the quality of the educational program at the Academy, but a substantial number wished their child had a closer relationship with an adult at the school. As the following statement indicates, parents appear to understand the situation: "There are a lot of terrific, involved people at Exeter. If there weren't, I would hardly be sending my kid there. The trouble there is systemic, born of crowded schedules." Other parents were puzzled by faculty behavior. One parent cited the example of a friendly teacher who, in what the parent assumed was misplaced sympathy, informed the students in his son's dorm that the Deans' Office was suspicious of the dorm's drug and alcohol use. For the most

part parents were very understanding and recognized that they were asking for something that would not be easy to provide. As one parent said, "I have never run a dorm, and I can only shudder at what it must be like to be around thirty-six or so confined, over-sexed adolescents twenty-four hours a day, day in and day out."

### **Discipline**

**Every kid has learned they have to catch you in the act.  
Otherwise, just deny everything.**

That statement was not made by a student who had broken numerous Academy rules and succeeded in avoiding punishment by skillfully and/or brazenly lying to adults. The young man who made that statement was not particularly inclined to break rules, at least not major rules. He was simply expressing what he understood to be the prevailing attitude of students toward discipline at the Academy. He then gave several well-known instances of students successfully using this approach when confronted by faculty or the Dean of Students. From interviews with other students it became clear that this young man was indeed on the mark. Most students acknowledged that if a teacher accused them of breaking a rule, but did not have proof, they would lie in order to escape punishment. When asked to consider, within the framework of their own personal code of conduct, the morality of lying to faculty, students needed to take a minute to consider the question. They paused, it seemed, not so much because they did not understand the question, but rather because lying to faculty was so taken for granted, it no longer had a moral dimension to it. "Lying doesn't make you feel bad because you become convinced the place is so important you'll say anything to make sure you don't get kicked out," is the way one student rationalized the practice. One student said quite directly, "It's not wrong to lie if you want to stay at school." Another student, engaging in a bit of adolescent hyperbole to describe

how he felt about protecting his place at the Academy said, "you don't care about anyone. You would take down someone else to save your own skin."

One also gets the impression in listening to students discuss the Academy's code of conduct that they do not view the school's rules and regulations as having any particular moral legitimacy. Many students tend to view rule violations in terms of consequences and not in terms of whether it is right or wrong to break the rule. Behaviors such as cheating and plagiarism, in particular, are not viewed in moral terms, but rather in pragmatic terms. Simply put, when contemplating cheating or plagiarism many students ask themselves, "Will it work? Will it may me look smarter? Will I get a higher grade?" Consistent with this point of view was a noticeable tendency on the part of some students not to look to the institution or teachers to be a role model for moral leadership or life values. Students who talk about the Academy in this manner seem to think of it as a world totally separated from the rest of their lives, requiring a totally different moral code conduct. Other studies have shown that the attitude of these students is very much in keeping with how other residents of total institutions adapt. Successful adaptation to everyday life requires a certain amount of pragmatism and expediency in conducting one's affairs. As with other traits, in a total institution they can become quite amplified.

What was particularly intriguing about some of the incidents of lying to faculty or to the Dean of Students was that students often came away from such encounters feeling uncertain about whether or not the adult believed them. Students were further puzzled when skeptical adults did not confront them and say they did not believe what they were being told. In listening to students describe such encounters one got the impression they really did not expect to succeed in their efforts. They almost seem surprised at the ease with which they succeed in denying

doing something wrong, as was the young woman who responded to a teacher who said she thought the student smelled like beer by saying, "That's weird. We haven't been drinking."

In the same vein, some students expect the school to exercise more of its authority than it does. As one young man, speaking from experience, said, "Why don't they make more of the Dean's Office. Being called into the Dean's Office is one of the most intimidating things you can do." On the other hand, he said, "What doesn't work is when the Dean doesn't know the whole story and tries to trick or convince you they do." In this instance, he successfully lied and convinced the Dean he was not involved in a rule violation. In the final analysis, he pointed out, "The Deans are either intimidating or stupid depending on what they know."

Proctors are frequently viewed by students as "pretty much letting us do what we want." The reason for this, as one student explained it, is that a proctor's role "does not override your relationships with your friends." The proctors have and can exercise their authority to enforce rules among the younger students. The older students quickly make it clear to the proctors that they will not respect the proctors' authority. In some instances not only do proctors not enforce school rules, they participate in breaking them.

When students talk about the fairness of the disciplinary system, two issues are frequently mentioned. The first involves what they think are the limitations in having so few forms of punishment. Specifically, students think that having Restrictions, Probation, or Requirement to Withdraw as the only consequences for rule violations does not meet the requirement of having the punishment fit the crime. Students do not have any particularly novel approaches to this problem. They simply point to it as one of the unfair aspects to discipline. Students also complain about what they consider to be unfair, erratic, or inconsistent discipline decisions on the part of faculty. They become particularly upset when it appears to them that a teacher will give one student a harsh punishment for a rule violation, and the teacher gives another student

a milder or no punishment for the same transgression. The decisions of the Discipline Committee are often interpreted similarly.

The approximately two hundred and fifty students consuming alcohol and approximately one hundred fifty students smoking marijuana each month probably means drug and alcohol use is the most frequently broken major school rule. Given the number of students involved, it is safe to say that drug and alcohol use cuts across all lines, ages, interests, intellectual skills, and dorms. Generally speaking, students do not have much difficulty getting as much alcohol or marijuana as they want. Students report that regular users of drugs and alcohol do so several times per week. Some of the heavier users pride themselves on being able to do so without being detected.

Whatever the reason for using drugs or alcohol, students did not think there was a serious possibility of getting caught. Part of the explanation for thinking this way is undoubtedly due to the feeling of invincibility that so many adolescents display. Every student seems to know at least one other student who has managed to check in after having consumed alcohol. As one student said, "After the first time you get away with drinking you convince yourself you can cover up real well." One young woman reported that some students come to take drinking so much for granted she noticed that "I've been around kids who get mad if they can't drink on Saturday." Students also sense that, by and large, faculty are not trying to catch them. Fairly or unfairly, a common perception on the part of students is that the reason faculty does not try to catch them is that the faculty does not know what students do, and faculty do not want to know. Instead, students say teachers are insistent about keeping noise down, checking in on time, and enforcing all the other minor rules, while totally missing what students perceive to be the larger, more important picture. It would be fair to say that in the eyes of many students, rigid enforcement of what the students deem to be the small rules does not breed respect for the



system, it breeds contempt. This may be why 54 percent all students disagreed with the statement, "I believe in the fairness of Exeter's disciplinary system." Commenting on this state of affairs, one student said it was his opinion that "boarding school shouldn't be an opportunity to do all the things you can't do at home."

### III

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

**It takes a village to raise a child.**

**Anonymous**

That quotation was chosen to begin this section because it succinctly states one of the major findings of the Exeter Study, the relationship between connectedness and success at the Academy. Connectedness emerges as a unifying concept as a result of trying to identify which students were thriving at Exeter and which were having a hard time. Specifically, analysis of the data revealed that connected students were the least depressed, had the highest self-esteem, felt most comfortable with their families, were the most positive about their education, used the least drugs or alcohol, felt the least stress, and had the highest grade point averages. By the same token, every measure of success, happiness, and achievement revealed that the students at risk were those who felt disconnected, alone and cut off, suffering in silence and self-reliance. About twenty percent of the students responding to the questionnaire appeared to feel strongly connected to family, peers, ideals, etc., and about twenty percent of the students appeared to be highly disconnected. The remaining sixty percent of the students fell somewhere between those two groups. One young woman expressed the benefits of connectedness very simply when she said, "When you're connected, you're never bored."

Connectedness was defined to mean a feeling of being part of something larger than self. It may be a feeling of connectedness to friends, family, a faculty member, the church, a set of

ideals, whatever. The concept of connectedness was assessed on the written questionnaires by agree/disagree responses to a set of statements like, "My friends can get me through anything," or, "I feel a strong commitment to my family," or, "There are groups for whom I would make great sacrifices." Students who agreed with these statements, and others like them, were considered as connected, and those who disagreed as disconnected.

In addition to the finding that a feeling of connectedness strongly correlates with high grades, the Study uncovered another interesting fact. There was a set of questions that assessed a student's achievement-orientation. It did not assess levels of achievement, but how much achievement mattered, how "driven" the student was toward individual achievement. When grade point average was compared with achievement orientation the results were quite surprising. Those students who got the lowest grades were the most achievement-oriented; those students who got the highest grades were the least achievement-oriented.

A total institution cannot be turned into one that is not. Nor should the Academy attempt to do so. One of the reasons the school is able to provide such an outstanding education is that it is a total institution. Nevertheless, efforts can be made to ameliorate some of the more deleterious aspects of institutional life without sacrificing the quality of education. In so doing, overall morale or esprit de corps can be significantly improved. If the finding that the more connected, less driven, and more relaxed students are ultimately more successful in terms of overall achievement is valid, then any steps taken by the Academy to create an environment that supports these attributes should only enhance performance.

This report on student life has, for the most part, detailed the ways in which students feel disconnected while at the Academy. What follows are recommendations to address the most important student concerns. In some instances, it is recommended that current practices change. In other instances, the change that is needed is improved communication so that

students can have a better understanding of certain issues. Some changes only require a change in attitude.

**Residential Life in a Total Institution** - In one of the parent interviews, a mother noted that her daughter always returned home from Exeter totally exhausted and would sleep from twelve to fifteen hours a day at the beginning of each vacation. When she asked her daughter about the cause of the exhaustion, her reply was that she felt like she never really relaxed at school, at least not the way she could at home. The stress of the Academy was such that by the end of each term she was exhausted. "Nothing is free there. The intensity is incredible," was the way she tried to describe the atmosphere at Exeter for her mother.

The young woman's description of the intensity of the Academy is one which any person, teacher or student, who has spent significant periods of time in a total institution would recognize. This report identified and explained the effects of a few but not all of the significant features of total institutions. Perhaps the most significant feature of a total institutions is that they are social hybrids, part residential community, part formal organization. This feature alone means that total institutions are automatically incompatible with the way people are culturally conditioned to think and feel about work and home. Blending the two spheres of life generates cognitive dissonance that for most people often manifests itself in feelings of irritability, impatience, and tension.

Some people resolve their dissonance by embracing every aspect of the institution, viewing with puzzlement or anger any mention of discontent or criticism of the goals and aims of the organization. Other people resolve their dissonance by using criticism to distance themselves as much as possible from the organization, sometimes becoming resident mavericks or curmudgeons, saying and doing the things other people are thinking and feeling. Most people are somewhere in between the two extremes, endeavoring to adjust and find a comfortable

existence within the institution, often feeling that somehow the institution is never quite as caring a community nor the completely fair and rational organization it could be.

One area where the stress of total institutions has a particularly noticeable impact is in relations between students and faculty. Although adolescents have mixed feelings about adults and the adult world, numerous studies have indicated that this ambivalence does not prevent eighty percent of teenagers from relating well to their families and other adults. Nor does their ambivalence prevent them from accepting the social values of the larger culture. In total institutions, the relationship between teachers and students tends to be an amplified version of the negative. Each group tends to see the other in terms of narrow, often hostile stereotypes. Teachers often see students as bitter, secretive, and untrustworthy. Students often see staff as condescending, high-handed, and mean. Teachers tend to feel superior and righteous; students tend in some ways at least, to feel inferior and weak. Social interaction between the two groups is usually restricted; even talk between the two may be conducted in a special tone of voice. Two different social and cultural worlds develop, tending to jog along beside each other, with points of official contact but little mutual penetration.

With the uniqueness of total institutions in mind, we recommend that the faculty of the Academy receive in-service education and other types of opportunities to learn and discuss the characteristics of such organizations. In particular, those committees or groups charged with examining policies and procedures with an eye to recommending changes should have a good understanding of the special dynamics of total institutions. It is our assumption that efforts to find solutions to those things which are unsatisfactory can be handicapped by the lack of a clear understanding of the fundamental characteristics of total institutions.

We also recommend that students as well as faculty be provided with opportunities to learn about the special environment in which they have chosen to live and work. It is our

assumption that if understanding the nature of a situation is a useful problem solving tool on the organizational level, it can function to the same effect on the social and individual level. On a very basic level, simply understanding the reasons why something has been bothering one can sometimes help one relax. People can also use this understanding of some of the causes for the amplified feelings of tension, stress, and emotional volatility in total institutions to monitor and/or anticipate their own reactions to events, thereby gaining mastery over them. People can also remind and/or assist one another in these efforts.

On a more concrete or practical level, steps can be taken to counteract the tendency in total institutions for people to be extremely inward looking, self and/or work absorbed, and overly serious. This is usually the result of eliminating the boundaries between work, home, and play. If countervailing measures are not taken, work can tend to dominate most people's perceptions of life. People cannot be told to cheer up and have fun, but a message can be sent that it's okay to stop working and relax. For example, one head, concerned that her teachers were working too hard, launched a "Get A Life" campaign. Bulletin boards were placed in the faculty lounge and teachers were asked to pin up proof each Monday that they had a life outside of school. They could bring in stubs from tickets to movies, concerts, or plays, restaurant receipts, etc. as proof they had stopped working.

Overall, the campaign proved to be a good morale booster and had the additional benefit of providing a way to humorously remind those teachers who tended to be too absorbed in the affairs of the school that they "needed to get a life." Most importantly, it was a way to remind faculty to put some play and work boundaries back in their lives. Students, of course, are prone to the same tendencies. Students frequently mentioned in interviews that they found it particularly difficult to relax and enjoy themselves on Saturdays because they could not stop thinking about schoolwork. Thoughts of some assignment or test would inevitably intrude into

their nonacademic time. Being around other students with the same concerns on their minds does not help the situation. Students too, need to get a life. In particular, they should be encouraged to get off campus more frequently by providing them transportation to local malls and movies, to events in Portsmouth and at the University of New Hampshire, as well as the usual buses to Boston. Each dorm could have its own bulletin board that students could use to post evidence that they had a life outside of Exeter.

The point of this and other strategies would not be to dismantle all of the characteristics that make an institution total, but rather to devise in a conscious and deliberate manner ways to counteract the most pernicious affects of these characteristics. Faculty, students, and administrators, working with a clear understanding of the issues involved in a total institution, would be able to devise numerous strategies.

**Advising & Student/Faculty Relationships** - Numerous studies have shown that adolescents benefit significantly from having at least one adult besides their parents with whom they can talk and be close. One of the reasons teenagers benefit from this type of relationship has to do with their vulnerable sense of self-esteem. Adolescence is a time of so much change involving events that are vague, unpredictable, and anxiety provoking that a teenager's sense of self-esteem often feels under attack. Having a supportive relationship with an adult who has a stable and mature sense of his or her own identity is immensely helpful. Ideally, the advising system should provide students with that opportunity. However, student comments about their relationships with their advisors reveal that it is extremely difficult in an institutional setting for an advisor to integrate the nurturing and disciplining functions of a parent into his or her relationship with an advisee. Students made it very clear that for many of them the advisor's role as a disciplinarian serves as a barrier to closeness. The effort to have a good relationship becomes practically impossible if students think advisors are very judgmental; if advisors do not have the

time to get to know students; if advisors appear uninterested in the job; or if students think they have nothing in common with their advisor. Overall, parents have made it clear they are very pleased with the educational program at Exeter, but at least a third of the parents wished their child had a better relationship with his or her advisor. To put it plainly, parents want to be reassured that someone knows, understands, and cares for their child.

With these concerns in mind, we recommend the following:

1. Advisor and advisee should not live in the same dormitory.
2. Students should be assigned an advisor for their first year at the Academy and allowed to select their advisor thereafter. This can be done in such a way as to prevent advisor selection from becoming a popularity contest.
3. In order to keep advisor/advisee ratios reasonable, all faculty should serve as advisors.
4. To signify the importance of the relationship, a meeting time should be set aside in the weekly schedule for advisor/advisee meetings.
5. Although being willing to listen is the most important attribute for being good advisor, all advisors would benefit from receiving regular training in talking with teenagers.
6. Students feel they are being judged and evaluated by faculty and their peers all day long. It would be most beneficial to them to have a relationship with an adult which did not seem as judgmental as their other contacts with adults. Every student needs an advocate and supporter.

When students needed help and support, they tended to look to each other first for assistance. They turned to their parents next and faculty, if at all, last. One of the reasons students did not think to turn to faculty was that they shared a perception that faculty were so busy they would prefer to be left alone. Other students commented that teachers seemed "too tired" and "burned out." The largest group of students said that they did not choose to turn to a teacher when they needed help because they were afraid of showing that sort of vulnerability to a teacher. When asked to elaborate, it became clear that students did not trust that teachers

would respect the boundaries of the relationship. Practically every student had an example of a trust betrayed. One student even interpreted this behavior as being "the way faculty keep us from coming to them with our problems."

Most students were not hesitant about saying they would like to have closer relationships with adults, but they were unsure of how to bring this about. The one area of school life where students generally agreed things could be improved was in the evening routine in the dorms. Students made it clear they wanted to see more of a faculty presence during the evening hours. Many students acknowledged that more careful supervision during the evening would be in their own best interests. They want faculty not simply to tell them what to do, but to also make sure the evening regulations are enforced. In particular, Seniors saw a real need for faculty to much more carefully monitor the study hours of Preps and Lower. The following recommendations were suggested by students in response to being asked how study hours could be improved:

1. Students, especially the younger ones, acknowledge that study hours are not always put to good use and feel it would be beneficial if faculty would supervise the study hours more carefully. Many students said they would like to see faculty checking students into their rooms and then making sure students were doing their homework.
2. Students also asked that faculty stay available and on duty later in the evening to make sure that the dorms were settled down for the night. In particular, they saw a need to make sure the Preps and Lower were getting to bed by midnight, something which apparently does not happen enough.
3. Students asked that faculty be more careful about checking to make sure homework is completed and that teachers not be so lenient about accepting excuses when it is not.

Interestingly, students saw more diligent supervision as a pro-active response to discipline. Students acknowledged their inability to always exercise good judgment and/or self control, and saw more careful supervision as a way to keep them from being their own worst enemies. Although engaging in covert behavior is a way of carving out some space in a total institution, in listening to some students describe their nocturnal activities, one almost got the



impression certain things occurred simply because it was possible to do them, not because there was a burning need to express one's individuality in the face of institutional oppression. There was also tacit acknowledgement that students needed adult supervision as an aid in resisting peer pressure. One young man, having successfully broken most of the school's rules, thought that careful supervision in the evening and careful monitoring of homework in classes would cause most reasonable students to settle down and behave more responsibly. Most students saw the issue of supervision in developmental terms, meaning they felt younger students needed much more supervision than older ones. Finally, no one expressed any concern that more diligent supervision would damage student-faculty relationships. Students were not upset with the idea of setting limits that were fair, uniform, and consistently enforced.

Students reported that faculty, especially dormitory faculty, frequently appeared to them to be tired, burned out, uninterested, too busy, not to mention immature, unfair, inconsistent, timid, and uncertain. Rather than accepting these comments at face value, one should understand them in the context of how adolescents view adults. The typical teenager's predisposition to narcissism, combined with his or her ambivalence toward adults and authority, causes him or her to be at times extremely critical of adult behavior, especially when adults are not perceived to be meeting the teenager's needs.

There was enough consistency in student observations to grant that students were both correct and not correct in their assessments of adult behavior. That is, students were fairly accurate in their descriptions of behavior, but not so accurate in their assumptions as to its motives or causes. In most instances students were not describing the behaviors of teachers who were indifferent or hostile to teenagers, as the students assumed. Rather, it seemed, students were describing the reactions of adults who were impatient, inconsiderate, irritable, etc., because they were experiencing the same stress reactions as students. In the case of dormitory faculty,

who shoulder the largest burden for direct student support and supervision, students were describing faculty who were perhaps tired and overworked.

The following recommendations are offered to address some of the issues in student/faculty relationships:

1. In the vast majority of student descriptions of encounters with teachers that made students feel angry, hurt, frustrated, or mistrusting, it was evident that teacher motives or manner were being misinterpreted. Teachers did not mishandle conversations with students in order to convince students not to come to them. To an extent, a certain amount of misinterpretation is inevitable. Nevertheless, faculty need to have a heightened awareness of the importance of maintaining appropriate boundaries in their conversations and relationships with students. To guard against misinterpretation faculty need to take the time to explain their motives for speaking with a student. As with advising relationships, this is an area where further training and clearly understood guidelines would be helpful.
2. Students are very sensitive to the issue of faculty having enough time to spend with them. It is recommended that the question of duty assignments be revisited because students make it clear that, especially in the larger dorms, having one faculty member on duty each night does not meet their needs. When seasoned faculty stop doing duty, both students and junior faculty lose a valuable resource.

**Discipline -** In a certain way, the area of discipline may represent one of the more dynamic aspects of student-faculty interaction. No matter how much adults may argue that a stricter approach would simplify life, the reality is that there is a continual process of accommodation, of negotiation and compromise in the interplay between adults and adolescents. Through the process of arguments, threats, cajolery, coercion, punishments, and capitulations that characterize the struggle over discipline, adults and teenagers constantly shape one another so that notions of acceptable and appropriate behavior change from generation to generation.

As it is written and enforced, the Academy's code of conduct assumes and emphasizes the importance of behavior based upon individual autonomy and responsibility, self-direction, and a strong ethical orientation. Today's teenagers, having had to adapt to the social conditions of urbanization, easy geographic mobility, corporate business structure, and massive population

growth, may not see these traits as being all that useful. A workable personality for them may tend to emphasize easy amiability, tolerance, and compromise rather than strict adherence to principles in all matters. Current social conditions may cause students to favor a generalized, relaxed, though possibly superficial, friendliness rather than what they perceive to be the mannered formality of the Academy.

Stating what may be the difference between the Academy's code of conduct and how today's teenagers view the world did not mean that students felt the Academy's code of conduct had to be continually open to negotiation. Conceptually, setting limits was something students saw as obvious, necessary, and even helpful to their well-being. In fact, aside from the rules concerning the dress code and visitations, neither the rules of the school, nor the formal disciplinary system were perceived as all that burdensome by students. They tended to take a pragmatic approach and were more concerned with which rules were enforced and which were not. In basic terms, they wanted to know what they could get away with and what they could not. In their attitude toward rules, students demonstrated one of the most predictable aspects of residence in a total institution.

As might be expected, given their pragmatic approach to rules and regulations, oftentimes, it was the attitude and approach faculty bring to rule enforcement that was more troublesome to students than the rules themselves. For example, it was not the fact that the Discipline Committee made important decisions about discipline, but that the Committee's decisions seemed capricious. In the minds of students the same offense, committed by two different students, could have two different outcomes. To some students, the length of the process seemed to have some bearing on the outcome. When asked what they wanted from the Discipline Committee, students said swift, certain, and consistent justice.

On the level of day-to-day discipline, student opinions clearly reflected the impact of the total institution. Students frequently used terms like "feeling in a prison" to describe the effect of constantly having faculty around. What made this so stressful for students was the lack of consistency in faculty behavior. One student tried to express this issue by stating, "Faculty don't all play the same role, and students know this." What he meant was that one day a student could be doing something and a teacher, observing the behavior, would say nothing. The next day the student could be doing the same thing, in the same spot, and be disciplined by a different teacher. The student went on to say that, "We know which faculty don't want to be bothered and will allow us to get away with things, and which won't."

Another student had his own view of the consequences of the lack of consistency among faculty. "It is a misconception among faculty," he said, "if they think students mistrust them because they have to discipline us. That's not the reason we distrust them. Distrust comes from the arbitrary behavior of the faculty. We never know what to expect from one person to the next. Trust comes from clearly defining your role, and then acting accordingly."

What follows are recommendations designed to help address some of the concerns expressed about discipline:

1. The school's code of conduct, discipline system, and expectations for enforcement should be formally explained to all students at the beginning of the year. Although the school's code of conduct should not be formalized to the point that students can do a cost/benefit analysis before breaking a rule, students should be told in general terms what to expect when rules are broken. Students should also be told that no one wishes to turn the school into a police state, but all faculty have a responsibility to see that the Academy's code of conduct is being followed. Therefore, faculty are responsible for confronting those behaviors that appear confusing, suspicious, or wrong. In this way both students and faculty know what is expected.
2. Although the requirements of due process place certain limitations on the overall process, the possibility of shortening the length of time for the Discipline Committee to make decisions should be explored. Students should also be told at the beginning of the year

how the Discipline Committee decides cases. Students would also benefit from knowing the guidelines used by the Committee to determine punishments.

3. Since they know they can only be accused of what they have been observed doing wrong, students have decided that, for the most part, telling the truth is simply not in their best interest. Students use what they perceive to be the arbitrary and capricious nature of discipline to justify their actions. In short, they argue, why should they tell the truth and subject themselves to a system they do not believe will treat them fairly and where the consequence of telling the truth can be expulsion. Although the rationale for lying is deeply ingrained and can never be completely eliminated, certain steps such as those outlined above can weaken their argument. In addition, it is recommended that there be more disciplinary consequences besides Restrictions, Probation, and Expulsion. Student sentiment is that the current system is not only capricious, but also unfair. Increasing the range of options may or may not automatically lessen the chances for expulsion, but it would provide the Discipline Committee with the opportunity to have the punishment fit the crime. This, in turn, will be perceived as more fair.
  
4. As it is probably the most frequently violated major rule, drug and alcohol use should receive more attention. As with other rules, it would be wrong and probably a waste of time to try and turn the Academy into a police state with the goal of eliminating drugs and alcohol. Being as clever as they are, for every strategy designed to stop usage, students will devise a way to counter it. Nevertheless, the following steps are recommended: Take enormous care in the selection of dormitory proctors. They should understand who they are working for, and a prerequisite for taking the job should be a willingness to abide by all the school rules. Perhaps signing a contract stating so would be in order. If possible, try to lend new and additional prestige to the job. From student interviews it seems clear that dorms with bad reputations invariably deserve them. When a dorm acquires the reputation of being a place where heavy drug and alcohol use occur, act on it. Let the dorm know that the school knows what they are up to, is concerned, will inform parents, and take whatever steps necessary to put a stop to it. Make it unequivocally clear to all faculty members that looking the other way, however noble the intention, will no longer do, and will not be tolerated. Insure that the faculty who live in the dorms are, in the area of substance abuse (notably alcohol), purer than Caesar's wife. These problems cannot be hidden from the students, who are simply death on hypocrisy. Realize that students who show up at the Health Services before first period classes, seem somehow withdrawn, do not engage in extracurriculars, appear inexplicably cocky or arrogant, may be up to something that is not good.

**Faculty Conduct** - Time and again, interviews of not only students, but also of faculty, revealed how both adolescents and adults struggle to keep boundary lines clear in their day to day relationships. Adolescence is generally understood to be a time of impatiently seeking and

pushing to have all the rights of adulthood. Spending 24 hours a day with teenagers means that faculty are constantly feeling pressured to relax and/or relent around rule enforcement. Students at Exeter, being so intelligent and articulate, can be especially persuasive in convincing faculty to make exceptions to rule and policy enforcement. Students can also be quite sophisticated and charming, making it that much easier to blur the boundary between student and adult. These factors, combined with the faculty's natural and understandable tendency to prefer friendly relationships with students over having to act as monitors, constantly supervising behavior, further lends itself to the blurring of boundary lines between adults and teenagers.

One of the unintended consequences of this aspect of total institutions is that adults often say or do things to students that under different circumstances, where boundary lines are more easily maintained, they would not. What seems to be missing for faculty in their relationships with students is the necessary support for maintaining appropriate boundaries in relationships. In addition, there does not appear to be adequate means to address those situations where there have been serious breaches in professional responsibility. The irony in this, as revealed in numerous interviews, is that instances of inappropriate conduct are often generally known, but not publicly acknowledged. The effect of this aspect of life at the Academy upon students (and faculty) seems to be that it breeds low morale, cynicism, and tacitly condones the notion that misbehavior is permitted as long as one does not draw too much attention.

It is recommended that the faculty adopt a code of conduct. In keeping with the principle of Exeter being a faculty run school, such a code would provide the faculty with the means to address its own conduct. Although the faculty should have the responsibility of developing its own code, the interviews made it quite clear that appropriate boundary lines between adults and adolescents will be supported if such a code contains the following elements:

1. All faculty must enforce all school rules and regulations with all students.

2. Criticizing or demeaning the performance of colleagues with students is unprofessional.
3. Criticizing or demeaning any aspect of a colleague's personal life, or that of his or her family with students is unprofessional.
4. Criticizing or demeaning the authority of the institution and/or its administrators with students is unprofessional.

A code of professional conduct should also make clear how and to whom transgressions should be reported, how they will be addressed, and, if complaints are valid, the consequences of noncompliance.

### CONCLUSION

This report has described certain aspects of how students experience life at Exeter. No matter where or what the setting, it is not unusual for adults and adolescents to misunderstand how the other is experiencing a particular situation or relationship. This report took advantage of the opportunity of being provided a candid assessment by students of their experience at Exeter in order to provide the school with a sense of things that might otherwise go unnoticed. The intent in doing so is to provide the school with information that may be of use as the school engages in its never-ending quest of improving upon what it already does so well.

It is well to remember once again that life in a total institution is not different from life outside the institution. Events are simply amplified and the feelings around them more acute. Whatever is happening at Exeter is happening everywhere. Therefore, it is important that there not be an amplified reaction to this description of student life. The faculty and administration at Exeter, having stuck that in mind, should not panic, should not feel guilty or hand-wring. Adults at Exeter should realize that they do an excellent job, and that whatever the problems, no one knows that better than the students.

## **APPENDIX A**

# **BASIC FREQUENCIES AND MEANS FOR THE EXETER STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS**



## STUDENT DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1.	<b>SEX:</b>		
		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	A. Female	243	39.0
	B. Male	380	61.0
	Total	623	100.0
2.	<b>ARE YOU A:</b>		
		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	A. Boarding student	533	85.6
	B. Day student	90	14.4
	Total	623	100.0
3.	<b>WHAT GRADE ARE YOU IN NOW?</b>		
		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	A. 9th	81	13.0
	B. 10th	189	30.3
	C. 11th	190	30.5
	D. 12th	156	25.0
	E. PG	4	.6
	Total	620	99.5
	Missing	3	.5
4.	<b>ARE YOU A:</b>		
		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	A. Scholarship student	176	28.3
	B. Nonscholarship student	447	71.7
	Total	623	100.0
5.	<b>HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN AT THE ACADEMY?</b>		
		<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	A. First year	210	33.7
	B. Second year	211	33.9
	C. Third year	153	24.6
	D. Fourth year	49	7.8
	Total	623	100.0

6. HOW OLD ARE YOU?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Fourteen or less	59	9.5
B. Fifteen	164	26.3
C. Sixteen	171	27.4
D. Seventeen	158	25.4
E. Eighteen	69	11.1
F. Nineteen +	2	.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.</b>

7. WHAT IS YOUR ESTIMATED GRADE POINT AVERAGE?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Between 9.5 & 11	144	3.1
B. Between 8.0 & 9.4	318	51.0
C. Between 7.0 & 7.9	102	16.4
D. Between 6.0 & 6.	934	5.5
E. Between 4.1 & 5.9	16	2.6
F. Below 4.0		3.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>617</b>	<b>99.0</b>
<b>Missing</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1.0</b>

8. ARE YOU:

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. The child of an alumnus	68	11.1
B. The sibling of an alumnus	85	13.2
C. None of the above	470	75.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>

9. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PLACED ON RESTRICTIONS FOR ABSENCES?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Yes	130	20.9
B. No	493	79.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>

10. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PLACED ON PROBATION FOR ABSENCES?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Yes	9	1.4
B. No	614	98.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>

11. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PLACED ON RESTRICTIONS FOR RULE VIOLATIONS?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Yes	14	2.2
B. No	602	96.6
Total	616	98.8
Missing	7	1.2

12. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PLACED ON PROBATION FOR RULE VIOLATIONS?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Yes	18	2.9
B. No	602	96.5
Total	620	99.4
Missing	4	.6

13. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PLACED ON ACADEMIC WARNING?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Yes	24	3.9
B. No	590	94.7
Total	614	98.6
Missing	9	1.4

14. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PLACED ON ACADEMIC PROBATION?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Yes	19	3.0
B. No	604	97.0
Total	623	100.0

15. WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR RACE/ETHNIC GROUP TO BE?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Black (Afro-American)	22	3.5
B. Hispanic	20	3.2
C. Asian	135	21.7
D. Native American Indian	4	.6
E. White	417	66.9
F. Other	25	4.0
Total	623	100.0

16. WHAT TYPE OF COMMUNITY DO YOU LIVE IN?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Urban	113	18.1
B. Suburban	233	37.4
C. Small town	215	34.5
D. Rural	55	8.8
Total	616	98.8
Missing	7	1.2

17. ARE YOU:

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. An only child	53	8.5
B. A first born	264	42.4
C. A second born	201	32.3
D. A third born	76	12.2
E. A fourth born	14	2.2
F. A fifth born or later	11	1.8
Total	619	99.4
Missing	4	.6

18. HOW MANY SIBLINGS DO YOU HAVE?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. None	44	7.1
B. One	288	46.2
C. Two	192	30.8
D. Three	61	9.8
E. Four	14	2.2
F. Five +	11	1.8
Total	610	97.9
Missing	13	2.1

19. ARE YOUR PARENTS:

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Married	532	85.4
B. Divorced-mother only remarried	26	4.2
C. Divorced-father only remarried	32	5.1
D. Divorced-mother & father remarried	14	2.2
E. Mother deceased	9	1.4
F. Father deceased	7	1.1
Total	620	99.5
Missing	3	.5

20. WHAT DO YOU ESTIMATE YOUR FAMILY'S INCOME TO BE?

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. \$0 to \$40,000	102	16.4
B. \$40,001 to \$80,000	97	15.6
C. \$80,001 to \$120,000	131	21.1
D. \$120,001 to \$200,000	83	13.4
E. \$200,001 to \$300,000	53	8.5
F. \$300,000 Plus	155	24.9
Total	621	99.7
Missing	2	.3

**DRUG AND ALCOHOL USE SURVEY**

SUB 1. TOBACCO (CIGARETTES, CIGARS, SNUFF, CHEWING TOBACCO)

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	333	53.5
B. Did use but quit	140	22.5
C. Less than once per month	75	12.0
D. One to four times per month	42	6.7
E. One to four times per week	18	2.9
F. One or more times per day	13	2.1
Total	621	99.7
Missing	2	.3

SUB 2. ALCOHOL (BEER, WINE, HARD LIQUOR)

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	102	16.4
B. Did use but quit	21	3.4
C. Less than once per month	309	49.6
D. One to four times per month	163	26.2
E. One to four times per week	9	1.4
F. One or more times per day	12	1.9
Total	616	98.9
Missing	7	1.1

**SUB 3. MARIJUANA (HASHISH, GRASS, POT, HASH OIL)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	231	37.1
B. Did use but quit	45	7.2
C. Less than once per month	242	38.8
D. One to four times per month	96	15.4
E. One to four times per week	4	.6
F. One or more times per day	5	.8
Total	623	100.0

**SUB 4. COCAINE (SNOW, COKE, CRACK)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	614	98.6
B. Did use but quit	3	.4
C. Less than once per month	6	1.0
D. One to four times per month		
E. One to four times per week		
F. One or more times per day		
Total	623	100.0

**SUB 5. OTHER STIMULANTS (SPEED, UPPERS, DEXADRINE, AMPHETAMINES)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	602	97.3
B. Did use but quit	14	2.2
C. Less than once per month	5	.8
D. One to four times per month	2	.3
E. One to four times per week		
F. One or more times per day		
Total	623	100.0

**SUB 6. DEPRESSANTS (BARBITURATES, TRANQUILIZERS, SLEEPING PILLS)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	606	97.3
B. Did use but quit	6	1.0
C. Less than once per month	7	1.1
D. One to four times per month	2	.3
E. One to four times per week		
F. One or more times per day		
Total	621	99.7
Missing	2	.3

**SUB 7. INHALANTS (AMYL NITRATE, POPPERS, AEROSOLS)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	588	97.3
B. Did use but quit	20	3.2
C. Less than once per month	9	1.4
D. One to four times per month	4	.6
E. One to four times per week		
F. One or more times per day		
<b>Total</b>	<b>621</b>	<b>99.7</b>
<b>Missing</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>.3</b>

**SUB 8. NARCOTICS (HEROIN, MORPHINE, CODEINE)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	620	99.5
B. Did use but quit	2	.3
C. Less than once per month		
D. One to four times per month		
E. One to four times per week		
F. One or more times per day		
<b>Total</b>	<b>622</b>	<b>99.8</b>
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.2</b>

**SUB 9. HALLUCINOGENS (LSD, Mescaline, Peyote, Acid)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	600	96.3
B. Did use but quit	10	1.6
C. Less than once per month	8	1.3
D. One to four times per month		
E. One to four times per week	2	.3
F. One or more times per day		
<b>Total</b>	<b>620</b>	<b>99.5</b>
<b>Missing</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>.5</b>

**SUB 10. OVER-THE-COUNTER DRUGS (DIET PILLS, COLD PILLS, NO DOZ, COMPOZ, COUGH SYRUPS)**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never used	271	43.5
B. Did use but quit	52	8.3
C. Less than once per month	196	31.5
D. One to four times per month	52	8.3
E. One to four times per week	22	3.5
F. One or more times per day	28	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>621</b>	<b>99.7</b>
<b>Missing</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>.3</b>

**SUB 11. HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU STARTED DRINKING?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never started	132	21.2
B. Twelve or younger	73	11.7
C. Thirteen to fourteen	275	44.1
D. Fifteen to sixteen	133	21.3
E. Seventeen to eighteen	10	1.6
F. Nineteen or older		
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**SUB 12. HOW OLD WERE YOU WHEN YOU STARTED USING DRUGS?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. Never started	247	39.6
B. Twelve or younger	17	2.7
C. Thirteen to fourteen	213	34.2
D. Fifteen to sixteen	124	19.9
E. Seventeen to eighteen	15	2.4
F. Nineteen or older	2	.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>618</b>	<b>99.2</b>
<b>Missing</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>.8</b>

**SUB 13. WHEN YOU DRINK, HOW MANY DRINKS DO YOU HAVE?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. I do not drink	127	20.4
B. One or two	88	14.1
C. Three to five	180	28.9
D. Six to nine	200	32.1
E. Ten or more	27	4.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>622</b>	<b>99.8</b>
<b>Missing</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>.2</b>

**SUB 14. DO YOU THINK YOU HAVE A DRUG OR ALCOHOL PROBLEM?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. No	548	88.0
B. Yes-drug problem	6	1.0
C. Yes-alcohol problem	2	.3
D. I'm not sure	12	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>568</b>	<b>91.2</b>
<b>Missing</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>8.8</b>



**SUB 15. DO YOUR PARENTS USE ALCOHOL?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. No	245	39.3
B. Yes-mother and father	295	47.4
C. Yes-mother only	33	5.3
D. Yes-father only	42	6.7
Total	615	98.7
Missing	8	1.3

**SUB 16. HAVE YOU EVER WISHED ONE OF YOUR PARENTS WOULD STOP DRINKING?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. No	457	73.4
B. Yes-mother and father	28	4.5
C. Yes-mother only	35	5.9
D. Yes-father only	65	10.4
Total	587	94.2
Missing	36	5.8

**SUB 17. ARE YOU THE CHILD OF AN ALCOHOLIC PARENT(S)?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. No	530	
B. Yes-mother	12	1.9
C. Yes-father	36	5.8
D. Yes-mother & father	9	1.4
E. I am not sure	34	5.5
Total	621	99.7
Missing	2	.3

**QUESTIONS ABOUT PERSONAL VALUES, BEHAVIOR,  
BELIEFS, CONNECTEDNESS, AND EXETER**

**EX 1 I FEEL TOO MUCH PRESSURE ON MYSELF TO EXCEL.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	100	16.1	16.2
B. Describes me well	110	17.7	34.0
C. Describes me fairly well	179	28.7	62.9
D. Does not quite describe me	119	19.1	82.2
E. Does not really describe me	89	14.3	96.2
F. Does not describe me at all	26	4.2	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 2 I WISH THAT I COULD FIND MEANING IN LIFE.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	83	13.3	13.3
B. Describes me well	116	18.6	32.4
C. Describes me fairly well	64	10.3	42.4
D. Does not quite describe me	88	14.1	56.6
E. Does not really describe me	124	19.9	76.5
F. Does not describe me at all	148	23.8	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 3 I WORRY THAT I MIGHT CARE TOO MUCH FOR MONEY.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	30	4.8	4.9
B. Describes me well	101	16.2	21.5
C. Describes me fairly well	115	18.5	40.3
D. Does not quite describe me	111	17.8	58.5
E. Does not really describe me	128	20.5	79.5
F. Does not describe me at all	138	22.2	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 4 OUR SOCIETY IS A COMPETITIVE ONE AND I AM NOT AFRAID OF IT.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	108	17.3	17.6
B. Describes me well	152	24.4	42.5
C. Describes me fairly well	140	22.5	65.4
D. Does not quite describe me	91	14.6	80.2
E. Does not really describe me	91	14.6	95.1
F. Does not describe me at all	41	6.6	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 5 MY FRIENDS CAN GET ME THROUGH ANYTHING.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	63	10.1	10.2
B. Describes me well	132	21.2	31.6
C. Describes me fairly well	163	26.2	58.0
D. Does not quite describe me	149	23.9	82.2
E. Does not really describe me	66	10.6	92.9
F. Does not describe me at all	50	8.1	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 6 I FEEL EXETER IS A SCHOOL WHERE PEOPLE CARE FOR ONE ANOTHER.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	37	5.9	6.0
B. Describes me well	102	16.4	22.5
C. Describes me fairly well	191	30.7	53.3
D. Does not quite describe me	108	17.3	70.8
E. Does not really describe me	109	17.5	88.4
F. Does not describe me at all	76	12.2	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 7 I FEEL UNCERTAIN ABOUT MAKING MORAL CHOICES.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	33	5.3	5.3
B. Describes me well	78	12.5	17.8
C. Describes me fairly well	98	15.7	33.5
D. Does not quite describe me	124	19.9	53.4
E. Does not really describe me	174	27.9	81.4
F. Does not describe me at all	116	18.6	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 8 I FEEL A STRONG SENSE OF COMMUNITY AT EXETER.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	34	5.5	5.5
B. Describes me well	74	11.9	17.4
C. Describes me fairly well	150	24.1	41.6
D. Does not quite describe me	170	27.3	69.0
E. Does not really describe me	128	20.5	89.7
F. Does not describe me at all	67	10.8	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 9 I HAVE A STRONG BELIEF IN GOD.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	151	24.2	24.3
B. Describes me well	90	14.4	38.8
C. Describes me fairly well	79	12.7	51.5
D. Does not quite describe me	57	9.1	60.7
E. Does not really describe me	106	17.0	77.8
F. Does not describe me at all	140	22.5	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX10 I FEEL THAT EXETER PUTS TOO MUCH STRESS ON COMPETITION.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	101	16.3	16.3
B. Describes me well	166	26.6	43.0
C. Describes me fairly well	154	24.7	67.7
D. Does not quite describe me	111	17.8	85.6
E. Does not really describe me	55	8.8	94.4
F. Does not describe me at all	36	5.8	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 11 I FEEL A STRONG SENSE OF COMMITMENT TO MY FAMILY.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	259	41.6	41.8
B. Describes me well	178	28.6	70.6
C. Describes me fairly well	94	15.1	85.8
D. Does not quite describe me	40	6.4	92.2
E. Does not really describe me	28	4.5	96.8
F. Does not describe me at all	24	3.8	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 12 WHEN I FEEL GOOD ABOUT MYSELF I ALSO HAVE TO FEEL GOOD ABOUT MY BODY.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	132	21.2	21.4
B. Describes me well	161	25.8	47.4
C. Describes me fairly well	98	15.7	63.3
D. Does not quite describe me	96	15.4	78.8
E. Does not really describe me	82	13.2	92.1
F. Does not describe me at all	54	8.7	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 13 WHEN ALL IS SAID AND DONE, YOU ARE ON YOUR OWN IN LIFE.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	96	15.4	15.4
B. Describes me well	123	19.7	35.2
C. Describes me fairly well	115	18.5	53.7
D. Does not quite describe me	112	18.0	71.7
E. Does not really describe me	108	17.3	89.1
F. Does not describe me at all	69	11.1	100.0
Total	623	100.0	

**EX 14 I WOULD RATHER BE PART OF A HAPPY TEAM THAN EXCEL INDIVIDUALLY AND BE LONELY.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	232	37.2	37.4
B. Describes me well	182	29.2	66.8
C. Describes me fairly well	100	16.1	82.9
D. Does not quite describe me	42	6.7	89.7
E. Does not really describe me	34	5.5	95.2
F. Does not describe me at all	33	5.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**EX 15 I LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING MY OWN CHILDREN.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	213	34.2	34.3
B. Describes me well	181	29.1	63.4
C. Describes me fairly well	105	16.9	80.4
D. Does not quite describe me	50	8.0	88.4
E. Does not really describe me	36	5.8	94.2
F. Does not describe me at all	38	5.8	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**EX 16 AT TIMES I FEEL MY EATING IS OUT OF CONTROL AND I CONSUME GREAT QUANTITIES OF FOOD.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	95	15.2	15.2
B. Describes me well	63	10.1	25.3
C. Describes me fairly well	75	12.0	37.3
D. Does not quite describe me	77	12.4	49.7
E. Does not really describe me	116	18.6	68.3
F. Does not describe me at all	197	31.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**EX 17 THERE ARE GROUPS FOR WHOM I WOULD MAKE GREAT SACRIFICES.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	133	21.3	21.3
B. Describes me well	179	28.7	50.0
C. Describes me fairly well	116	18.6	68.6
D. Does not quite describe me	87	14.0	72.6
E. Does not really describe me	62	10.0	82.6
F. Does not describe me at all	46	7.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**EX18 I FEEL CERTAIN THE FUTURE HOLDS GOOD THINGS IN STORE FOR ME.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	198	31.8	31.8
B. Describes me well	210	33.7	65.5
C. Describes me fairly well	124	19.9	85.4
D. Does not quite describe me	59	9.5	94.9
E. Does not really describe me	14	2.2	97.1
F. Does not describe me at all	18	2.9	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**EX 19 I THINK I AM PROBABLY GAY.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. No	553	89.7	89.7
B. Yes	27	4.3	94.0
C. I think so	20	3.2	96.2
D. I'm not sure	23	3.8	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**EX 20 I BELIEVE IN THE FAIRNESS OF EXETER'S DISCIPLINARY SYSTEM.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cum Percent</u>
A. Describes me very well	68	10.9	10.9
B. Describes me well	104	16.7	27.6
C. Describes me fairly well	111	17.8	45.4
D. Does not quite describe me	104	16.7	62.1
E. Does not really describe me	116	18.6	80.7
F. Does not describe me at all	120	19.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

### SEXUAL EXPERIENCE QUESTIONS

**SEX 1. WHICH OF THESE ANSWERS DESCRIBES YOUR SEXUAL EXPERIENCE?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. I have never had intercourse?	466	74.1
B. I have had intercourse once.	39	6.3
C. I have had intercourse on more than one occasion, but with the same partner.	46	7.3
D. I have had intercourse with two partners	40	6.4
E. I have had intercourse with more than two partners.	32	5.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**SEX 2. HAVE YOU EVER HAD SEX AGAINST YOUR WILL?**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. I have never had sex.	409	65.7
B. No	164	26.3
C. Yes	50	8.0
Total	623	100.0

**SEX 3. I THINK I HAVE BEEN SEXUALLY ABUSED.**

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
A. No	526	84.4
B. Yes	36	5.7
C. I think so	30	4.8
D. I'm not sure	31	4.9
Total	623	100.0

**FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE**

The Family Environment Scale (FES) measure the social and environmental characteristics of families. The ten FES subscales assess three underlying domains or sets of dimensions;

1. The relationship dimension which assesses the degree of commitment, help, and support family members provide for one another; the extent to which family members are encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly; and the amount of openly expressed anger, aggression, and conflict among family members.
2. The personal growth dimension assesses the extent to which family members are assertive, self-sufficient, and make their own decisions; the extent to which activities (such as school and work) are cast into an achievement oriented or competitive framework; the degree of interest in political, social, intellectual, and cultural activities; the extent of participation in social and recreational activities; and the degree of emphasis on ethical and religious values.
3. The system maintenance dimension assesses the degree of importance of clear organization and structure in planning family activities and responsibilities, and the extent to which rules and procedures are used to run family life.

Scores for the subscales range from 1 to 10. The higher the score, the stronger the family environment.

**RELATIONSHIP DIMENSION:**

1. **Cohesion**-the degree of commitment, help, and support family members provide for one another.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	5.67	6.09
BOYS	380	5.91	

2. **Expressiveness**-the extent to which family memmbers are encouraged to act openly and to directly express their feelings.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	4.39	4.49
BOYS	380	4.70	

3. **Conflict**-the amount of openly expressed anger, aggression, and conflict among family members.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	3.64	4.30
BOYS	380	3.80	

**PERSONAL GROWTH DIMENSION**

4. **Independence**-the extent to which family members are assertive, are self-sufficient, and make their own decisions.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	5.50	6.17
BOYS	380	5.82	

5. **Achievement Orientation**-the extent to which activities (such as school and work) are cast into achievement-oriented or competitive framework.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	5.80	5.82
BOYS	380	5.88	



6. Intellectual/Cultural Orientation-the degree of interest in political, social, intellectual, and cultural activities.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	6.56	5.23
BOYS	380	6.48	

7. Active/Recreational Orientation-the extent of participation in social and recreational activities.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	5.59	5.75
BOYS	380	5.41	

8. Moral/Religious Emphasis-the degree of emphasis on ethical and religious issues and values.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	3.67	4.34
BOYS	380	3.54	

#### SYSTEM MAINTENANCE DIMENSION

9. Organization-the degree of importance of clear organization and structure in planning family activities and responsibilities.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	4.55	5.43
BOYS	380	4.55	

10. Control-the extent to which set rules and procedures are used to run family life.

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Mean Scores for Adolescents</u>
GIRLS	240	4.20	4.87
BOYS	380	4.56	