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From Teacher To Principal: The Rites Of Passage

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This dissertation, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of The University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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From Teacher to Principal: The Rites of Passage
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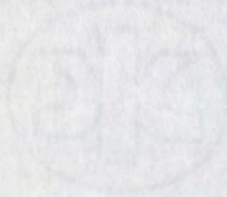
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JEROME J. MILLER

1973

FROM TEACHER TO PRINCIPAL: THE RITES OF PASSAGE

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B.S., University of Wyoming, 1962
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in
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Jerome J. Miller

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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FROM TEACHER TO PRINCIPAL: THE RITES OF PASSAGE

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This study dealt with the upward movement of aspirants from the role of teacher to the role of principal. The Hall's movement was viewed from the context of Van Gennep's "rites of passage" and sponsorship. Van Gennep conceptualized the movement from one role to another in three stages. These stages are: (1) separation, (2) transition, and (3) incorporation. Sponsorship is a mechanism for organizational control and serves as a mechanism to facilitate or hinder movement within the organization.

The findings of the study suggest that sponsors within the school system resemble the elders of the tribe. By right of their experience and knowledge of the rites of the tribe, these elders assume the responsibility of teaching the young. These elders control the acts or rituals which must be performed if movement from one role to another is to be accomplished. The elders are the ones who decide when the young members are ready to move from one role to another.

Control of the organization is maintained by a relatively small number of established members who make up the informal organization. These members constitute Hall's inner fraternity. They occupy prominent positions within

the organization and through their assumed right to sponsor control recruitment and selection of principals. The recruitment and selection of the principals helps to maintain the power of the inner fraternity and the control over the organization.

Using a dichotomy suggested by Turner, two groups of aspirants were established. The groups were: (1) the contest group in which elite status (principalship) was the prize in an open contest and was taken by the aspirants own effort; and (2) the sponsored group who were chosen by the established elite or their agents and given the principalship on the basis of supposed merit.

A third group, the political appointee, was found to exist. The political appointee was feared by the inner fraternity because he had bypassed the rites of passage established by the inner fraternity and had caused a temporary loss of organizational control.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

There have been a number of recent studies concerned with upward mobility (movement) of educational personnel within school organizations, and more specifically, with the movement toward the principalship. Although several of the studies have alluded to the processes by which movement from the role of teacher to the role of principal is accomplished, they have concentrated upon the experiences of the teaching role, or the amount of time spent in the teaching role. There appears to be a gap in research relative to the actual steps involved in movement from teacher to the principalship. It is that gap to which the present study addressed itself.

The movement from one role to another was conceptualized by Van Gennep as a "passage." Van Gennep suggested that:

The life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another. Whenever there are fine distinctions among age or occupational groups, progression from one group to the next is accompanied by special acts, like those which make up apprenticeships in our trades.¹

The acts, or "rites" as Van Gennep described them, are

¹Arnold Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage. Translated by Monika Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 3.

established by the participant group (or society as a whole) so that the passage from one role to another can be regulated and guarded. This effort seeks to insure that both the group (society) and the individual suffer neither sociological nor psychological discomfort. Van Gennep concluded that it is the members of the group which establish rites of passage to reduce harmful effects of the movement from one role to another for the society and the individual.

Hall posited that upward movement of individuals in an organization is determined by a number of factors and that these factors are controlled by the established members of the organization. The factors include: the rights of position, status, mechanisms of legitimate succession, patterns of recruitment, control of the conduct of members, and minimization of competition and conflict. Hall suggested that the control of the organization was held by a relatively small but very influential group of established members which he called the "inner fraternity."² The inner fraternity tends to influence the organization in a number of ways but their most dominant method of functioning is through the process of sponsorship. Hall defined sponsorship as, ". . . simply that established members of the inner fraternity actively

²Oswald Hall, "The Informal Organization of the Medical Profession," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 12, (February, 1946), pp. 30-44.

intervene in the career lines of newcomers to the profession."³ Further, he viewed sponsorship as a dual process. Firstly, it facilitates the careers of those selected, and secondly, it relegates those not selected to a position where they compete under decidedly disadvantageous terms. He concluded that, "In this way sponsorship tends to keep the inner fraternity a stable, self-perpetuating group and maintains its control of the organization in general."⁴

Griffiths, in his study of "Teacher Mobility in New York City,"⁵ found that a significant number of teachers realized that movement within an educational organization was dependent upon gaining visibility. In an effort to gain visibility, this group of teachers employed the concept of "GASing" (Getting the Attention of Superiors). For example, the teachers took on jobs which appeared to be irritants and for which there was no extra salary for these jobs; but, it gave the aspirants a chance to be observed by their superiors and the opportunity to continue GASing. It was this group that gained more important positions such as assistant principalships or acting chairmanships of departments or committees. Griffiths concluded that in New York City to move

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 33.

⁵Daniel E. Griffiths, Samuel Goldman and Wayne J. McFarland, "Teacher Mobility in New York City," (New York: School of Education, New York University, 1963), pp. 15-31.

up in the system one must first GAS.

Turner, in his study of "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System,"⁶ suggested that certain differences between American and English systems of education are related to the prevailing norms of upward mobility in each country. Turner posited that in America the prevailing norm was that of "contest mobility."

Contest mobility is a system in which elite status is the prize in an open contest and is taken by the aspirants own efforts. While the contest is governed by some rules of fair play, the contestants⁷ have wide latitude in the strategies they may employ.

In England, the norm is "sponsored mobility." "Under sponsored mobility elite recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents, and elite status is given on the basis of some criterion of supposed merit and cannot be taken by any amount of effort or strategy."⁸

The school organization appears to be one in which both contest and sponsored mobility operate. There is a group of teachers who realize that to gain upward mobility, they must get the attention of their superiors. This group is represented by Griffiths' "GASers." There is another group who, based on their superiors' criteria of supposed

⁶Ralph H. Turner, "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System," American Sociological Review, 25, (December 1960), pp. 855-867.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 857.

merit, are selectively given sponsored mobility. This group is represented by Hall's sponsorship by the "inner fraternity." It appears that GASers may be able to gain, eventually, sponsorship from the inner fraternity.

THE PROBLEM

The purpose of the present study was to examine the phenomenon of the movement of aspirants from the teacher role to the principal role using sponsorship as the vehicle to examine the movement. Through the use of unstructured interviews, the researcher applied Van Gennep's socialization model to examine the steps involved in the teacher's movement to the principalship. The model conceptualized movement from one role to another as occurring in three stages. The stages are: (1) "Separation," (2) "Transition," and (3) "Incorporation."⁹ Figure 1 presents the general model that depicts the stages of the "rites of passage" necessary for analysis of role movement from teacher to principal.

Using constructs from Griffiths' and Turner's studies, the rite of separation from the teacher role towards incorporation in the principal role was described and analyzed. The beginning of the rite of incorporation was considered to

⁹Van Gennep, op. cit., p. 11.

Separation	→Transition	→Incorporation
Role I (Teacher)		Role II (Principal)

Figure 1. A general model depicting Van Gennep's "Rites of Passage."

be the point at which the aspirant was assigned to a principalship for the first time.

The literature suggests that organizational visibility, often gained through GASing, can lead to sponsorship. This may indicate that there may be two types of sponsorship: (1) Mutually perceived -- both the sponsor and the sponsoree are aware of the relationship between them and the sponsorship is a conscious decision by both parties, and (2) Not mutually perceived -- the sponsoree is apparently unaware of the activities of the sponsor and is surprised to find himself considered for the principalship role.

The following objectives guided the researcher in identifying rituals which most aspirants perform as they move from the teacher role to the principal role.

Objective 1

To establish that a significant number of aspirants to the principalship perform the ritual of GASing in moving

from the stage of separation to the stage of transition.

Objective 2

To establish that certain teachers may be selectively sponsored by members of the organizational hierarchy into organizationally visible positions without the teacher's GASing.

To accomplish the Objectives 1 and 2, the researcher solicited from interviewees the types of activities they were engaged in just prior to their movement to their present position. In addition, they were asked if they felt they had a sponsor and if they could identify their sponsor. Also, those persons identified as sponsors were asked what type of activities they involved their sponsorees in and how they identified the persons they would sponsor.

Objective 3

To establish the existence of formal but temporary roles, such as clinical supervisor and area coordinator, which may act as transitory positions enroute to the principalship.

This objective was accomplished by asking identified sponsors what types of activities in which they tried to involve their sponsorees, and if indeed the sponsors viewed transitory positions as legitimate steps to the principalship and why.

Objective 4

To establish sponsorship as a ritual of transition and identify other rituals of the transition stage.

Accomplishment of this objective was the evidence gathered to substantiate Objectives 1 and 2.

Objective 5

To establish if there is a ritual or set of rituals which clearly predict the successful completion of the movement from separation to incorporation.

Objective 6

To develop hypotheses concerning the rituals of the rites of passage which may be tested empirically in other studies.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The present study was an exploratory effort dealing with a topic which had been largely ignored in previous examinations of the public school principalship as an educational career. The lack of systematic information concerning the rites of passage for moving from the role of teacher to the role of principal in the field of educational administration precluded the framing of specific hypotheses around which the study could be designed. Because of the exploratory nature of the study, the research methodology to best solve the

problem was a field study using structured and unstructured interviews for data gathering. Following Becker's design the analysis of data proceeded as the data was collected.

Kerlinger¹⁰ describes field studies as a type of social scientific research which:

. . . are ex post facto scientific inquiries aimed at discovering the relations and interactions among sociological, psychological, and educational variables in real social structures. Any scientific study large or small that systematically pursue relations and test hypotheses that are ex post facto, that are made in life situations like communities, schools, factories, organization and institutions can be considered field studies.

Katz has divided field studies into two broad types: exploratory and hypothesis testing.¹¹ Exploratory studies have three purposes: to discover significant variables in the field situation; to discover relations among variables; and to lay a groundwork for later, more systematic and rigorous testing of hypotheses.¹² This study clearly falls into the exploratory category.

The data gathering technique used for the study was structured and unstructured interview. Van Dalen and Meyer point out that:

¹⁰Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 387.

¹¹L. Festinger and D. Katz, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1953), pp. 75-83.

¹²Ibid., p. 75.

In an informal unstructured interview one can penetrate behind initial answers, follow up unexpected clues, redirect the inquiry into more fruitful channels on the basis of an emerging data and modify categories to provide for a more meaningful analysis of data.¹³

The initial thrust for using sponsorship as a vehicle for studying the movement from teacher to principal came from the analysis of twenty-seven interviews with elementary principals which were gathered by a University of New Mexico research class in the spring of 1972. Portions of those interviews were used in the present study with the permission of the research class. Several of the interviewees suggested that they were sponsored to their present position by someone within the organization. Using this evidence, eleven more interviews were conducted with: (1) principals who indicated they were they were sponsored; (2) principals who indicated they were not sponsored; (3) principals who were identified as sponsors by their sponsorees; (4) an area superintendent who was identified as a sponsor by sponsorees; (5) an assistant superintendent who indicated he was not sponsored; (6) personnel men who were identified as sponsors by sponsorees; (7) a guidance counselor who indicated she was being sponsored toward the principalship by the personnel man and an area superintendent; and (8) an area

¹³D. B. Van Dalen and W. J. Meyer, Understanding Educational Research -- An Introduction, (New York, St. Louis: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966).

coordinator who indicated she was being sponsored by a principal.

The interviews were all recorded and each lasted from an hour to an hour and forty-five minutes.

SUMMARY

Movement through the organization has been studied in various organizations, and the predominant method of movement has been established as sponsorship. Sponsorship has been suggested as a viable method for viewing the movement from teacher to principal by several authors but to this point in time few have done more than suggest it. This researcher has examined this movement in an attempt to establish the actual steps involved.

Chapter II will review literature from other professions that have established sponsorship as a valid method for viewing movement within organizations and establish its usefulness in studying movement within the school organization. In addition, the review of the literature will establish that sponsorship can take many forms and that several types of sponsorship exist within the same organization.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

rites of passage

Van Gennep has suggested that socialization could be considered as a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another. Involved in the passage from one role to another are certain rituals or acts which must be performed before the aspirant is allowed passage. Van Gennep referred to this movement as the "Rites of Passage."¹ Van Gennep described the "rites of passage" in this manner:

The life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another. Whenever there are fine distinctions among age or occupational groups, progression from one group to the next is accompanied by special acts, like those which make up apprenticeship in our trades. Among semi-civilized peoples such acts are enveloped in ceremonies, since to the semi-civilized mind no act is entirely free from the sacred. In such societies every change in a person's life involves actions and reactions between sacred and profane--actions and reactions to be regulated and guarded so that society as a whole will suffer no discomfort or injury. Transition from group to group and from one social system to the next are looked on as implicit in the very fact of existences so that man's life comes to be made up of a succession of stages with similar ends and beginnings: birth, social puberty, marriage, fatherhood, advancement to a higher

¹Arnold Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, Translated by Monika Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).

class, occupational specialization and death. For every one of these events, there are ceremonies whose essential purpose is to enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another which is equally well defined. Since the goal is the same, it follows of necessity that the ways of attaining it should be at least analogous, if not identical in detail (since in any case) the individual involved has been modified by passing through several stages and traversing several boundaries.²

Van Gennep posited that these changes of condition could not occur without disturbing the life of society and the individual, and indicated that it was the function of the "rites of passage" to reduce their harmful effects. The passages, according to Van Gennep's theoretical framework, can be conceptualized into three stages. These are: (1) Separation, (2) Transition, and (3) Incorporation. Van Gennep articulated these theoretical stages as follows:³

1. The rite of separation consists of a marked decrease in the interaction rates of the individual within the previous system.
2. The rite of transition consists of a marked increase in the interaction, often for a very long period of time in the institution in which he is entering.
3. The rite of incorporation is when the period of conditioning is over and the frequency of events have built up to a consistent rate, incorporation

²Ibid., pp. 2-3.

³Ibid.

occurs and the members of the group, including the individual or individuals directly affected by the crisis, begin to interact in their old systems of relations.

Van Gennep concluded that although a complete scheme of rites of passage theoretically includes all three stages, in specific instances the three types are not always equally important or equally elaborated.⁴

To this point in time there have been few educational studies using the rites of passage as a theoretical framework. Two notable exceptions to this generalization are the works of Iannaccone and Button,⁵ and of Willower. Iannaccone and Button viewed student teaching as transitional, falling between teacher preparation and the teaching career itself but not governed entirely by the norms of either. Within the transitional role of student teaching, a secondary system of rites of separation, transition and incorporation was described. Each stage of the secondary system was characterized by a particular interaction structure or set: separation by the observer set, transition by the dyad (student teacher and cooperating teacher), and incorporation by the teaching set.

⁴Ibid., p. 11.

⁵L. Iannaccone and H. W. Button, "Functions of Student Teaching: Attitude Formation and Initiation in Elementary Student Teaching," (St. Louis: Washington University USOE Research Project No. 1026, 1964).

The student teacher passed from the status of college student to that of fledgling teacher primarily by learning to view teaching as a classroom management activity dominated by the necessity to move a class through lessons on schedule.

Willower studied the movement of teacher from the role of "old pro" teacher in terms of teacher socialization and the "rites of passage" that accompany it. He concluded that: "There appears to be very few structured rites of passage in public school teaching particularly if rites are construed narrowly as explicit ceremonial patterns that accompany a passage from one situation to another."⁶

Willower seems to have overlooked Van Gennep's warning that "In specific instances the three stages are not always equally important or equally elaborated," because Willower posits that there are "passageways" rather than rites of passage. Willower states: "This usage suggests a longer time in passage and a more gradual and perhaps more ambiguous achievement of identification with the occupation than is implied by the rites of passage."⁷

It is noteworthy to mention that both of these studies were considering horizontal movement through the organization,

⁶Donald J. Willower, "The Teacher Subculture and Rites of Passage," Urban Education, Vol. IV, (1969), p. 12.

⁷Ibid., p. 109.

from neophyte teacher to veteran teacher. The present study is considering vertical movement through the organization. It is the contention of the present study that "rites of passage" may be more clearly defined in vertical movement as opposed to horizontal movement. The argument suggested here is that the principal difference between a student teacher and an "old pro" is experience in service. The differences between a teacher and a principal involve duties, obligations, and responsibilities. Hence it is the claim of the present research that, involved in the movement from teacher to principal, the three stages of the rites of passage are discernible and distinct stages.

SPONSORSHIP

Medicine

Hall has suggested that medicine, like a number of other professions, is practiced in a network of institutions, formal organizations and informal relationships. Hall posits that the study of a profession requires knowledge about the following facets:

- (1) The institutions within which the members carry on their activities, (2) The characteristics of the clienteles which their members acquire, and (3) The groups into which the members of the profession are organized.

⁸Oswald Hall, "The Informal Organization of the Medical

Access to a multiplicity of institutions is a must to the successful practice of medicine. Of particular importance are the hospital, the clinic and the established office practice. To gain admittance to these institutions and maintaining connections with them is a critical concern to the medical practitioner. Only the most exceptional doctor can survive without access to such institutions. Hall indicates, "The freelance practitioner has gradually been replaced by one whose career depends on his relationships with this network of institutions."⁹

The successful practice of medicine is heavily dependent on the attraction of a clientele and the maintenance and loyalty of that clientele. Whether or not a doctor achieves a good practice is dependent on many factors other than his technical competence. Hall states: "In a given community, certain doctors are chosen more frequently than others merely because they are popular, or fashionable or associated with a successful doctor."¹⁰ None of these characteristics has any direct bearing on the competence of the doctor chosen.

This set of seemingly unrelated factors influencing a doctor's career are more than fortunate circumstances. Hall

Profession," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 12, (February, 1946), p. 30.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 30.

suggests that the doctors in a community are established and have loyal clienteles; they comprise an organization. The organization can effectively exclude any intruding newcomer by not allowing membership to the organization. To quote Hall:

On the one hand they have control of the institutions by way of occupation of the dominant posts within the institutions. On the other hand, over the course of time, they tend to develop a sort of informal organization which functions to provide order, to ascribe and maintain status and control the conduct of the members, and to minimize competition and conflict.¹¹

Hall refers to the informal organization of the medical profession as the "inner fraternity" and suggests that the group making up the inner fraternity, ". . . has some of the characteristics of the secret society, some features of the primary group, and that relationships are closer and more inclusive than those of sheer colleagues."¹² Hall posits that the basic function of the inner fraternity is control of the organization which is accomplished through the process of "sponsorship" which he defined as: ". . . established members of the inner fraternity actively intervene in the career lines of newcomers to the profession and by doing so they influence the careers of those selected."¹³

Hall suggests that much of the assistance in the

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p. 31.

¹³Ibid., p. 32.

sponsor-protege relationship may be of an intangible sort. It may be as unpresumptuous as the help of an established member encouraging a younger person to define himself as a potential colleague. Sponsorship may, however, be much more substantial. It might mean smoothing the path to acceptance at the right training school; it may mean appointment to the right position within the appropriate institutions; and it could mean designating the protege as successor to the sponsor.¹⁴

Sponsorship by an inner fraternity is not a one way process. It allows the newcomer to share in the established organization, but it also imposes responsibilities upon him. There are obligations; he must fulfill minor positions within the institutional system. When he needs advice or assistance he is obligated to turn to his sponsor. If he is designated as a successor to a member of the inner fraternity he must take over the duties and obligations of the inner fraternity. Hence the inner fraternity is able to continue functioning by use of the sponsor-protege relationship. Hall concludes that sponsorship is the device used to control the organization and its membership, but just as importantly it is used to insure the stability and control of the inner fraternity.

The use of sponsorship for maintaining control of the organization is not exclusive to the medical profession.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 33.

Trade Unions

In his study of predominately white trade unions, Kornhauser suggests that,

The selection of some and exclusion of others to fill positions in a trade union as in other organizations, are aspects of control of the organization for those in authority and determinants of personal career for those aspiring to union office.¹⁵

Kornhauser found that Negroes would be considered for higher union office if two conditions existed: (1) the "push" of a sizeable Negro membership in the union and/or in the union's jurisdiction, and (2) the "pull" of the leaders faced with a conflict in which their sponsorship of a Negro promised to have tactical advantage. The sponsorship is, in part, an anticipation or recognition of the power of Negroes as a group in the outcome of the conflict. Kornhauser stated:

Hence careers of Negroes in unions are tied to the position of Negroes as a group in the work force and union, where that position is defined as important by those in power in the union--for those in control are the sponsors (actual or potential) of Negro officials and sponsorship is the crucial means by which Negroes get into union office.¹⁶

Sponsorship in unions usually takes one of two paths. Either a person is chosen for nomination on the administration's or opposition's slate of candidates for elective offices; or, if the position is appointive, he is put directly into

¹⁵William Kornhauser, "The Union Official: A Study of Sponsorship and Control," The American Journal of Sociology, 57: (March, 1952), pp. 433-443.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 446.

office. Generally, when white leaders decide they want a Negro elected to office, they take into consideration the sentiments of the Negro members; usually by choosing a Negro officer or informal leader of a local union with a large Negro membership.

The reasons for sponsoring Negroes to higher union offices are twofold from the standpoint of the whites who control the union. The sponsors expect that the Negro in office under their auspices will serve as a symbol of the union or faction within it to the Negroes whose allegiance is sought. This symbolic Negro official, defined on the basis of the manifest function for the sponsors, probably typifies the majority of national Negro officials in predominantly white unions. Kornhauser posits, ". . . the symbolic leader is expected by the sponsors to win support and confidence of Negro members for the union and/or a particular faction within the union."¹⁷

The second role of the Negro leader in a predominantly white union is that of "liaison" man. He is given authority primarily over the Negro members. Particularly in times of racial conflict he is expected to straighten things out by dealing with his own people.¹⁸

The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing discussion

¹⁷Ibid., p. 448.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 449.

are: (1) The use of sponsorship is limited to a relatively small number of people within the organization who, by their possession of key positions, control the informal organization, (2) these members are the inner fraternity who over a period of time will develop procedures which provide order, ascribe and maintain status, control the conduct of the members, and minimize competition and conflict. In short, sponsorship is the method of co-optation of the formal organization by the informal organization.

SPONSORSHIP IN EDUCATION

This portion of the review of the literature will deal with selected studies in education which either alluded to the possibility of sponsorship or deal directly with sponsorship as a method of viewing movement within the educational organization.

New York City: Griffiths

In the interpretation of the findings of their study of "Teacher Mobility in New York City," Griffiths, Goldman, and McFarland¹⁹ suggest that the major findings of the study lend themselves appropriately to division into four categories:

¹⁹Daniel Griffiths, Samuel Goldman, and Wayne J. McFarland, "Teacher Mobility in New York City" (New York: School of Education, New York University, 1963).

(a) localism; (b) formal and informal structure; (c) teacher typology; and (d) bifurcation of interest. Although the authors did not speak directly to sponsorship, the analysis of each of the categories suggests the possibility of its existence.

Localism. Analysis of the data led Griffiths to conclude that there is a tendency for a large majority of the teachers to be "inbred New Yorkers." In addition he stated, "No outsider has been known to be licensed as a principal or a department chairman, and that the appointment of an outsider as superintendent was a traumatic experience to the members of the school system."²⁰

The inference to the existence of an inner fraternity controlling the organization is given weight by the next category.

Formal and informal structure. In New York City practically all positions in the school system are supposed to be filled through examination, placement on a list, and appointment by the Bureau of Personnel. Griffiths suggests that, as is generally the case, the formal structure in New York City is accompanied by an informal structure.

By informal is meant the unofficial structure

²⁰Ibid., p. 27.

of sets of practices by which members of an organization attempt to overcome the shortcomings (from their point of view) of the official system. At times, these actions are designed to enable individuals to attain their goals in a manner which frustrates the goals of the organization; at other times the actions enable the organization to attain its goals.²¹

If the formal structure was allowed to operate, the principals would have been deprived control over the selection of teachers for their buildings. Therefore, the principals encouraged the practice of "shopping around" because this method allowed them to select their teaching staff. Under the formal structure the power of promotion was in the hand of the Board of Examiners and the Bureau of Personnel. The power of promotion under the informal structure was largely in the hands of the principals. Griffiths concluded,

The first step in vertical mobility is to GAS in one or more ways. The superior whose attention is gained is the principal, except for those assigned to a field superintendent or central headquarters (and these assignments must be preceded by a recommendation from the principal). The first firm step upward is to an acting position, either department chairman, assistant principal or assistant to the principal. All acting assignments within a school are made by the principal.²²

Types of personnel. Analysis of the data indicated that New York City teachers fell into four general categories:

1. GASers -- Those most interested in Getting Attention of their Superiors and seeking organizational

²¹Ibid., p. 28.

²²Ibid.

advancement.

2. Pupil Oriented -- Those most interested in the children.
3. Subject Oriented -- Those most interested in their subject.
4. Benefit Oriented -- Those most interested in the benefits they receive from the organization.

Griffiths described "GASers" in the following way:

They have regular teaching licenses and five to nine years of experience. They will take jobs which appear to others to be irritants: teacher in charge of lunch room; administrators of annual field day; chairman of teacher interest committee; school coordinator of student teachers; trainer of school track team, etc.²³

The intent of these behaviors was organizational promotion.

Bifurcation of interest. In the New York City system one of the major activities of teachers was examination taking (there was estimated to be over 1,000 different tests).

Griffiths described this as bifurcation of interests, that is,

The members of the subunits feel the need to maintain their unit over and above their contribution to the total organization. Bifurcation of interest is further stimulated by specialized training which causes the members to become further estranged from the organization.²⁴

Griffiths alludes to the existence of sponsorship even

²³Ibid., p. 23.

²⁴Ibid., p. 30.

in his definition of mobility. "Mobility occurs wherever a professional employee is assigned, appointed, promoted, or given a special task by an administrator."²⁵

California: Blood

Blood²⁶ speculated that the prolonged and intense interaction with the teacher and principal roles had some impact, apart from the formal preparation, upon the behavior of the individual as he filled successive roles within the organization. Blood concluded that studies which included information on teaching experience relative to preparation for administration were largely confined to listing the number of years of experience, while the nature of the experience itself had eluded study.

Using Merton's three constructs,²⁷ "anticipatory socialization," "compliance theory"²⁸ and "perspectives,"²⁹ Blood studied the impact of previous teaching experience on

²⁵Ibid., p. 17.

²⁶Ronald E. Blood, "The Functions of Experience in Professional Preparation: Teaching and The Principalship," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Clearmont Graduate School, 1966), Clearmont, California. *Clearmont*

²⁷Robert R. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-McMillan Ltd., 1964).

²⁸Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, (The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., New York, 1961).

²⁹Howard Becker, et al, Boys in White, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1961).

subsequent performance in the principal role.

Anticipatory socialization. Blood indicated that the anticipatory socialization category allows for the observed movement from one organizational role to another, such as from teacher to principal. He stated, " . . . anticipatory socialization describes the function of positive orientation to nonmembership groups for the individual, his membership group and the positive reference group."³⁰

The focus of anticipatory socialization is upon the decision point (initiation of movement) to entry into the positive reference group (the principalship).

Perspective. The perspective construct provides a means by which the organizational differences between two roles can be viewed. It allows the aspirant to experience, at least in some degree, the difference in duties of the two roles, and thereby allows the aspirant to experience some of the activities of administration before becoming an administrator.

Compliance theory. Blood suggests that compliance theory can be used to examine the teaching experience as experience in a role where compliance is maintained by a

³⁰Blood, op. cit.

coercive-normative mixture. He further maintains that the role of principal is such that compliance is maintained by a more normative structure.

Blood concluded that the three conceptual frameworks allowed for role definition of teacher and principal and prediction of the effects of movement from one role to another within the school organization.

Although Blood did not directly address sponsorship, he developed a number of hypotheses from the construct of anticipatory socialization which related to the concept of GASing. He suggested that sponsorship might be an important concept in the movement from the role of teacher to the role of principal by hypothesizing that, " . . . a corollary of GASing is the development of a sponsor-protege relationship which provides the candidate with access to his principal's perspectives."³¹

Blood appears to have implied that when the GASing activities were recognized by a superior the process of movement began, but he made no reference to the types of activities the superiors were looking for. Nor did Blood explain how the sponsor-protege relationship was developed.

Oregon: Rose

Rose, in his study of "Career Sponsorship in the School

³¹Blood, op. cit.

Superintendency,"³² addressed himself specifically to what sponsorship is, what the sponsor looked like, how sponsorees are selected, what the sponsorees look like, how the sponsor-sponsee relationship is developed and how the relationship is maintained as it pertains to the role of superintendents within the school organization. His definition of sponsorship is similar to the one used by Hall. He states,

Sponsorship refers to the active intervention of established persons associated with or members of the educational administration profession in the career lines of selected individuals who aspire to be or are public school superintendents. Such intervention is designed to enhance the career progress of the selected individuals as they pursue a career in the public school superintendency.³³

Sponsors. All sponsors have certain identifying characteristics but based on their sphere of influence they may be characterized as "locals" and "nationals."³⁴ The locals confine their sponsorship activities to a specific geographical area and are involved in lesser administrative appointments in addition to that of superintendent. The nationals are active and effective throughout the nation and deal primarily with larger and more prominent school districts.

Based on his evidence, Rose posited that sponsors,

³²Robert L. Rose, "Career Sponsorship in the School Superintendency," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, 1969).

³³Ibid., p. 6.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 43-44.

whether local or national, have the following similar characteristics: (1) an intense interest in other people, particularly in their sponsorees; (2) a pride in the professional accomplishments and advancement of their sponsorees; (3) a certain paternalistic attitude toward their sponsorees; (4) a strong commitment to individuals and activities within the public school systems; and (5) the ability to match individuals with jobs.³⁵

Selection of sponsorees. Sponsorees are identified and selected for their role as a result of personal contact with the sponsor, upon recommendations of colleagues whose judgment the sponsor respects, or on the basis of public or private record of the professional achievements of the sponsoree.

Sponsoree characteristics. Rose suggests that sponsorees have the following characteristics: (1) they have certain competencies; (2) they are responsive to the sponsor's efforts in their behalf; (3) they have worked closely with the sponsor in some professional capacity; (4) they are ambitious and desire career advancement; and (5) they are geographically and professionally mobile.³⁶ Rose states, "Sponsorees without exception have been judged by the sponsor

³⁵Ibid., pp. 14-21.

³⁶Ibid., p. 49.

to surpass some standard of ability considered necessary to be a successful school superintendent."³⁷

The sponsoree must make himself known to prospective sponsors and encourage their interest in him and his career. This is done by making himself available to work on projects headed by the sponsor, by calling upon the prospective sponsor for program and career advice, and by demonstrating a similarity in professional interests.

Maintenance of the sponsor-sponsoree relationship.

Once the relationship has been established, the sponsoree is obligated to involve himself in activities which will insure continuance of the relationship. Generally, these activities include: (1) activities related to being successful in the assignments to insure the continued support of the sponsor; (2) activities related to using the sponsor as a resource person; and (3) activities designed to maintain contact with the sponsor.³⁸

Rose suggests that sponsorship could be used as the center of inquiry in the study of any of the various careers within educational administration. The present study has as its purpose to use sponsorship as the center of inquiry for studying the movement from teacher to principal. The evidence

³⁷Ibid., p. 49.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 63-67.

suggests that the role of sponsorship is similar in the movement from the teacher to the principalship. It was the stated goal of the present study to examine the phenomenon of sponsorship of teachers who aspire to the role of principal, and to demonstrate that consideration of this concept will contribute to the understanding of the career of the public school principal.

English and American Systems: Turner

Turner,³⁹ in his study dealing with differences between American and English education systems, suggests that the accepted mode of upward mobility shapes the school system directly and indirectly through its effects on the value of social control. He discusses two types of upward mobility when examining the differences between education systems of America and England.

In America the accepted mode of upward mobility is "contest mobility." "Contest mobility is a system in which elite status is the price in an open contest and is taken by the aspirant's own efforts."⁴⁰ While the contest is governed by some rules of fair play, the contestants have wide latitude in the strategies they may employ.

³⁹Ralph H. Turner, "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System," American Sociological Review, 25: 855-867, December 1960.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 856.

Contest mobility is likened to a sporting event in which many compete for a few recognized prizes. The contest is judged to be fair only if all players compete on an equal footing. The prize must be won solely by one's own efforts. The most satisfactory outcome is not necessarily a victory of the most able, but of the most deserving. Even clever manipulation of the rules may be admired if it helps the contestant who is smaller or less muscular or less rapid to win.

Under the contest mobility system, society at large establishes and interprets the criteria of elite status. Turner states that, "If one wishes to have his status recognized, he must display certain credentials which identify his class to those about him."⁴¹ The credentials must be highly visible and require no special skill for assessment, since credentials are presented to the masses. Material possession and mass popularity are good credentials, and any special skill which produces a tangible product and which can be easily assessed by the untrained will do.⁴²

Finally, Turner suggests that contest mobility disapproved of premature judgments and of anything that gives special advantage to those who are ahead at any point in the race, indicating that contest mobility may be a lengthy

⁴¹Ibid., p. 858.

⁴²Ibid.

process.

England's mode of upward mobility is characterized as "sponsored mobility."

Under sponsored mobility, elite recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents, and elite status is given on the basis of some criterion of supposed merit and cannot be taken by any amount of effort or strategy.⁴³

Sponsored mobility, in contrast to contest mobility, rejects the pattern of the contest and favors a controlled selection process. To quote Turner,

In this process the elite or their agents deemed to be the best qualified to judge merit, choose individuals for elite status who have the appropriate qualities. Individuals do not win or seize elite status; mobility is rather a process of sponsored induction into the elite.⁴⁴

The nature of sponsored mobility assigns to credentials the function of identifying elite members to one another. As a result, the ideal credentials are special skills that require the trained discrimination of the elite for their recognition.

Under sponsored mobility early selection of only the number of persons necessary to fill anticipated vacancies in the elite is desirable. Early selection allows for time to prepare the recruits for their elite positions. Turner posits:

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 857.

Aptitudes, inherent capacities, and spiritual gifts can be assessed fairly early in life by techniques ranging from divination to the most sophisticated psychological test, and the more naive the subjects at the time of selection, the less likely their talent is blurred by differential learning or conspiracy to defeat the test.⁴⁵

Since elitists take the initiative in training recruits, they are more interested in the recruits' capabilities than in what they will do with them on their own, and they are concerned that no one else should first have an opportunity to train the recruits' talents in the wrong direction.

Where contest mobility tends to delay the final award as long as practicable to permit a fair race, sponsored mobility tends to place the time of recruitment as early as practicable to insure control over selection and training.

SUMMARY

The review of the literature established that movement from one role to another within the organization cannot occur without disturbing the life of the individual and the organization. In an effort to reduce the harmful effects, members of the organization develop rituals or rites of passage, that when performed facilitate the movement.

Evidence suggests that sponsorship is a process used by a select number of established members within the

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 858.

organization to provide passage through the rituals for selected individuals with a minimum of disturbance.

Within the school organization there are promotable groups of teachers; one group that realizes that in order to gain sponsorship they must engage in activities that bring them to the attention of their superiors; the other group is selected by the sponsors on the basis of some criterion of supposed merit that only the sponsors or their agents recognize.

In Chapter III the data of the present study will be analyzed using Turner's constructs of sponsored and contest mobility as they apply to the movement from the role of teacher to the role of principal. Additionally, the data is then related back to the rites of passage as outlined by Van Gennep.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

INTRODUCTION

As a focus for the analysis of movement within the organization, sponsorship raises three specific questions:

- (1) Who are the persons who provide the career intervention?
- (2) Who are the individuals selected to receive the support of a sponsor?
- (3) What kinds of interventions are involved?

Such a focus also suggests other questions which, if explored, would increase the understanding of the sponsorship phenomenon and its relationship to the public school principal's career. For example: What are sponsors like? What do they do? What are sponsorees like? What do they do as sponsorees? How and when is the sponsor-sponsoree relationship established? It is around these and related questions that the data gathered in this study are organized and presented in this chapter.

Sponsors: An Overview of Their Role

By its very nature, sponsorship requires that the sponsor have considerable influence, power, and visibility within the organization. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that sponsors generally hold positions as director of the elementary division, director of personnel, area

superintendents, the superintendent and on rare occasions, trusted principals. The trusted principals are those who have been given a principalship by the sponsors and are deemed successful by the sponsor.

Sponsors attained their present positions by right of experience in the organization. The interviewed sponsors had usually been principals within the system for a number of years and in these roles had acted as trusted principals for the members of the inner fraternity. As the members of the inner fraternity reached retirement age and because the system was in a period of rapid growth, the present sponsors who were interviewed had moved into their positions to help the inner fraternity remain stable and maintain control of the organization. As a general rule, the trusted principals suggest likely candidates to the sponsors and the sponsors then start looking at them.

If a person is to become a well known and highly active sponsor, he must have the opportunity to meet a large number of potential sponsorees; he must be highly visible and he must have contact with a large number of positions suitable for potential placement of sponsorees. These external factors are, by and large, more available to the central administration than they are to the principals within the schools. In addition to holding positions of responsibility and influence, the active sponsor must also possess

certain characteristics. In the words of one informant, referring to an individual reputedly involved in a large number of sponsorship activities in the system studied:

". . . he just has an uncanny knack for picking the right people for the right job . . ." It is these characteristics that are the topic of the next section of this chapter.

Sponsors Characteristics

I. Clearly, the most distinguishing characteristic attributed to sponsors by the informants is an intense interest in maintaining and controlling the system by establishing sponsor-protege relationships.

This emphasis upon the sponsor's interest in maintenance was expressed both by informants who identified themselves as sponsors and those who were speaking of individuals they considered to be sponsors. The most direct reference to this characteristic came in the succinct response of one of the strongest sponsors who, when asked what he considered when he was looking at people for the principalship, replied:

Every time I meet a teacher I look at them in this respect, are they potential principals. I don't care whether I see them when they are going in to get information or whether I run into them in Foodway Store or wherever I run into them. I always look at them for potential.

The sponsor may have been indicating a two pronged reason for his interest. If he were able to find good candidates

through his own efforts, the candidate was then indebted only to the sponsor and this strengthened his control of the organization. Second, if he found a good candidate through his own efforts, he had the opportunity to hold the trusted principal responsible for not finding him. This increased his control over trusted principals.

A second sponsor suggested his reason for being intensely interested was because of bad experiences he had in taking recommendations from any one else. He had a staff of consultants and a group of trusted principals that he had appointed but as he stated, "No matter how many were recommended, I always had to look at them myself." While this particular informant had probably been in the role of active sponsor longer than anyone else and considered himself to be the most experienced in the ways in which the principalship could be attained, he really trusted only himself.

Van Gennep¹ suggests that the elders in the tribe become the leaders of the young because of the wisdom they accrue through their experiences and age. The elders are familiar with the rituals involved in moving from one role to another and they are responsible for training the young and helping them through the rituals. The sponsors consider

¹Arnold Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage. Translated by Monika Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 80.

themselves to be the elders of the system and felt it was their responsibility to take the young aspirants and lead them through the rituals. One put it this way, "Because I think some of these people may have good characteristics that need to be molded one way or the other if they are to become good principals."

II. A second characteristic of sponsors is their pride in the accomplishment and advancement of individuals whom they have assisted in their career efforts. Three possible explanations for the pride are suggested.

A. The first possible explanation is the fact that most active sponsors have reached a point in their careers at which further advancement is unlikely because of their mature age and advanced position within the organization. Thus their own careers are nearly at a standstill, and they look to the future in terms of accomplishments of individuals whose careers they have helped shape.

B. A second possible explanation is suggested by Hall²--maintenance of the inner fraternity. Because the sponsors are reaching an age where retirement is being considered, they feel an obligation to the organization to find proteges that will carry on the work of the inner fraternity.

²Oswald Hall, "The Informal Organization of the Medical Profession," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 12, (February, 1946), p. 33.

C. Another alternative is pride in one's self as a result of evidence of a job well done. If a sponsoree is successful in the principalship, the sponsor assumes that his influence on the individual has made a positive contribution to this success and to the organization.

For whatever reasons, and they probably vary with different sponsors, the fact remains that sponsors do exhibit considerable pride when speaking of individuals whom they have sponsored. The following remarks are illustrative of this fact: .

You mean did I pick any that didn't cut the mustard? Nobody comes to my mind.

When I took the job there were forty-nine schools and when I left there were seventy-nine. I would say that of those I picked, they all made it. I would say that in ninety-five per cent of the cases, a principal was not picked without my approval.

One thing I tried to impress on teachers was good leadership, and if they did something about it they were on their way to having it made. I have appointed a number of principals who took this advice and they have done quite well on that score.

Well generally, the batting average was good but I did err and I had to work hard afterwards to bring these people, these few, into a standard where they could stand the gaff, where they could do the job.

None of the sponsors admitted to having appointed a principal that didn't make it, even though they had to work with them after the appointment to assure success.

III. A third characteristic attributed to sponsors of school principals is they tend to have strong dominant

personalities and are not hesitant in suggesting appropriate courses of action for their sponsorees. Because of his knowledge of the organization, the elder is accepted by the sponsoree as the expert on how to gain the principalship. Therefore, the elder anticipates that the sponsoree will do his bidding without question and this is usually true. One informant described the authoritarian qualities of her sponsor as follows:

One day he called me into his office and said I have submitted your name as a candidate for an NDEA Institute to try as a guidance counselor. You go ahead and make time for an interview but I submitted your name for this school. I was just thunderstruck but I went ahead and did.

The sponsor suggested that he had done this because he considered the aspirant the best in the school based on his knowledge. He expected she would carry through because he knew what was best for her and the school. Although she was surprised, she didn't let the sponsor know it and she did what was expected of her.

One sponsor explained his domination of sponsorees in this way:

It would depend on the individual of course. Now it could be that I had a good person here and a very good classroom teacher who had not in his graduate work, had any work with supervision, for example, and I know this and I would feel free to suggest that he might take certain courses that he had not had. Because certainly it would help him to do that.

Clearly the inference was that his experience and knowledge

as an elder made him the one to show the sponsoree the rituals leading to the role of the principalship.

IV. The last and possibly most important characteristic of sponsors is their ability to match individuals with principalships in which their performance will be judged satisfactory. Since their reputation as sponsors and therefore their control of the organization is based on the success and failure of their sponsorees, it is not surprising that the more active sponsors are reputedly successful in matching individuals with positions. Just as importantly the sponsors within the school organization suggest they must be successful for the security of their position within the inner fraternity.

One put it very pointedly:

You see this appointment is a two way proposition. Whenever any principals got into trouble and his community wanted to get rid of him, they came to me. And whenever the principal was in hot water, and the superintendent was involved, he pointed his finger at me. So you can see why I was concerned.

Sponsors in the school organization then look like Hall's "inner fraternity." They are established members of the organization with control of key positions by occupation of dominant positions within the organization, and they attempt to maintain their control and stability through the process of sponsorship.

Sponsors and the Political Appointment

The sponsors are quite comfortable as long as they

control the system with the mechanism of sponsorship and referral. Their main concern is the political appointment because they have no control over it. The political appointee is not trustworthy because his appointment is initiated by someone else. He has not had to go through the rites of transition and the sponsors have lost control, if only temporarily, of the organization. One sponsor expressed the problem in the following manner:

To me the greatest sin that we can commit is to appoint anyone politically. I think that it is worse now than ever because, it was always terrible but it is so important that we have fine strong principals today because the role of a principal is well at stake you know and while I think teachers are on the wrong track too, but Mr. Public, who pays the bill, is going to eventually call the shots and they are getting sick with some of the stuff so we need the best principals that we can possibly find you know.

The inference from the above statement is clearly that those members of the inner fraternity are the best qualified by reason of their experience and position to choose the best principals for the good of the system.

The sponsors concern with political appointment is based on the fact that they have established the rites for becoming a principal and they control the principalship because they control the rites. The political appointment bypasses their method and allows individuals who the sponsors don't deem as trustworthy into positions where they might challenge the sponsors. If the political appointee is not

successful the sponsors are blamed because they are supposed to control the position and make sure only successful principals are appointed. The sponsors suggested that the political appointee caused them much more work, because they had to be sure they were successful. The political appointee is watched very closely with the hope that they can be moved to a position within the system where they can do the least harm to the established rites.

One sponsor summarized the political appointment as follows:

There were a few who got in through the superintendent and we lived to rue the day--you know when they were just appointed just because of their father friendship or something like that, that is very sad and it knocks the props out of professionalism and from under you, but I guess we have to endure this sometimes.

The sponsors indicate that their method insures professionalism because there are certain rituals that must be performed to be professional. The political appointee is not professional because he has not had to go through the rites developed by the established sponsors. The sponsors don't view themselves as political because they went through the rites developed by the sponsors who appointed them. They cannot trust the appointee because they have not helped in his development and so he can't be among the trusted principals.

The evidence of the present study suggested that the political appointee was endured and even helped as long as

the one who appointed them remains in the system. They are even allowed to recommend other principals, but their recommendations are very carefully evaluated. When the one who appointed them leaves the system, the appointee is ignored so that in one case the appointee finally withdrew from the system.

In summary, the political appointee is untrustworthy because he had not been trained by the elders. They have not had the opportunity to see him perform in various roles, as a result he may not look or act as the trusted principals. He must therefore be watched carefully and helped as long as the person who appointed him remains in the organization. As one sponsor suggested, the political appointee usually required more watching and help from the elders because he obviously would not have made it under normal conditions.

The sponsorees on the other hand were carefully picked and carefully moved through the rites of passage; as a result they look just like the other trusted principals and can be given the right of recommendation.

The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to those who aspire to the principalship. The analysis of the data will be done using the sponsored and contest mobility dichotomy suggested by Turner. The analysis will follow each group through the rites of passage starting with the rites of separation through the rites of transition and to the point of

incorporation.

The Sponsored Group

Turner³ suggests that under sponsored mobility the recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents. Elite status is given on the basis of some criteria of supposed merit and cannot be earned by any amount of effort or strategy. The implication of Turner's statement is that the sponsors have established some criteria for choosing the recruits and this criteria is understood by the sponsors and their agents (the trusted principals).

In an effort to establish what these criteria were, the sponsors were asked what sorts of characteristics they looked for in people being considered for the principalship.

One responded:

Certainly there are personal characteristics that are important in a principal. His personality, the way he presents himself, his use of English, his potential leadership ability. Now along with that, of course, I personally and my staff, do -- want to know that this fellow or woman knows something about teaching. So, I would make it a point if John Smith wanted to become a principal, I would personally go visit John Smith as a teacher.

In responding to the same general questioning, another stated:

³Ralph H. Turner, "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System," American Sociological Review, 25, (December 1960), pp. 855-867.

I look for people who have some sort of ability to relate to people because you don't force kids at all, you lead them. I look for people who are willing to go a little above and beyond. In interviewing I asked more open ended questions than I did straight forward questions. For instance, well when English teachers were applying just to get them off the fence, I would say, do you know that I believe English teachers and History teachers cause more dropouts than any other group of teachers. And they'd shut up. It doesn't take long to read what they have on their minds. Now, if they immediately respond to, Oh you mean the red pencil, or mean not making adjustments, this sort of thing. I look for people who I suppose tell me things about themselves.

From the foregoing it is apparent that the sponsors choose people to be considered for movement on rather general, self-experienced criteria, which in their minds made them successful principals. The people who might be chosen using these criteria appear to be nearly anyone on the staff who, for one reason or another, has had the opportunity to work closely with the sponsors or the trusted principals and appear to have the same personality characteristics.

The sponsored group give the impression that they were not actively seeking the principalship. When they were asked questions concerning their interest, they would usually reply along the following lines:

No, I never thought about it. I was never interested. I was asked to do it and I did.

I got thrown into the principalship accidentally. I was one of three teachers who started an elementary school and somehow I had to handle things.

Both of the informants went on to discuss how they were later

sponsored to the principalship, one by the superintendent and the other by the personnel manager.

The "rite of separation" for the sponsored group is acceptance by a sponsor, either by his own searching out of the sponsoree, or by recommendation by the agents of the sponsor. This method of selection helps to explain why the sponsored group talks about their appointment coming out of the blue. When they are asked what sorts of things they were doing, they list numerous activities but never suggest which one was important or might have been helpful. A respondent indicated the following things got him to the principalship:

What got me my principalship was doing extra jobs unasked for; helping set up tables for the Pep Club, going to dinners and volunteering to help with enchilada dinners, and the book fair. I did it because it should be done. Some men teachers just walk out at the end of the day.

When the informant was asked what one should do to become a principal, he suggested:

Getting along with parents and the community--they can make or break you. Going to parent club meetings, being sociable, carrying out the garbage and washing dishes after school dinners.

It is very apparent that the informant was not at all aware of what it was he had been doing when he was picked as a sponsoree, and it is equally clear that he has no real idea of what someone else should do.

The sponsored group indicate they were just doing the

normal things expected of them and were suddenly appointed to certain committees which worked closely with administrative personnel or someone in the central administration would approach them to suggest that they take certain classes at the university or consider transferring to another school within the system. The sponsorees appear to be naive to what is going on between themselves and the sponsors and agents. One informant summed up the rite of separation in the following manner:

I taught for four years. My principal talked to me about it. I was surprised. I didn't have my Master's at the time. The principal set up a meeting with the superintendent and called me in. He said I would get a principalship if I got the Master's. My principal probably thought I already had it. I had some hours I knew would count toward a certification from elementary education.

The same informant suggested the things he was doing were those that were expected, that is, volunteering to help with dinners.

The sponsored group appeared to be unaware that anyone was watching them, so they were surprised when they were chosen out of the blue. It is obvious that the sponsors and their agents are watching for people who are willing to take on the unasked for activities.

The sponsored group was apparently not aware of the relationship of the trusted principals and the inner fraternity. Analysis of a number of interviews indicated that the

sponsorees were not aware of who specifically sponsored them. When asked if she felt she had been sponsored, one female principal replied:

I feel there were two sponsors in my case--a principal and the personnel director. The reason I feel that there were two sponsors in my case is that one day we were standing in the hall at the central office after I had my principalship with that principal and the personnel director and the principal said, "I don't know whether you know it or not, but the two people that are responsible for you having this job are standing here with you right now."

The informant was unsure of which sponsor had been most important but as the interview continued, she referred to things the personnel director had suggested that she do and finally she concluded that he was probably the one most responsible for her having her present position.

It was evident that many of the sponsorees were not sure who the sponsors were. This may be because the sponsors do much of their initial evaluation of candidates through the trusted principals and as a result the sponsoree believes that agent is the sponsor. Another informant lent weight to this conclusion when she suggested that she had two sponsors, both of whom had been her principals. When she was asked if she felt either of them had helped to get her into her present position, she stated:

Oh yes, I feel that both of them had to be helpful or I wouldn't be where I am today would I? I don't think either of them was more influential than the other. I think I had to have both of them on my side to get where I am today, so in that sense, I don't think

I could say that either one of them was my sponsor. Actually, one of the principals had left the system and the other was not aware of her interest in the principalship until she told him she was filling out a leadership form. This interview was not completed because the informant became too nervous to continue because of other people present. It became apparent that she didn't know who her sponsor was. Yet in another interview, the person who recommended her talked about the recommendation explicitly. He was then an assistant area superintendent.

The rite of separation is accomplished when the sponsor or his agent suggests a route of action for the sponsoree and the sponsoree accepts the route and begins working toward it.

When the rite of separation has been accomplished, the sponsorees move into the transition stage. The sponsors have over time developed a series of rituals which allows them to watch the aspirants perform under various conditions and make judgments as to when the aspirant is ready for a principalship or if more training is required.

The expressed purposes of the rituals of the transition stage are to give the aspirant training so that when a position opens the sponsor will be able to move his sponsoree into that position with the acceptance of the other members of the inner fraternity. Evidence of this was clearly suggested by one

principal as he stated:

I think it is necessary to see them in a different environment. Yes, I deliberately asked them to do things or suggested that they do it. So I can get a looksee. Then when I felt they were ready to move, I notified the personnel department and the superintendent, and I would say this fellow is ready or this lady is ready or whatever.

The sponsor clearly controls the visibility of his sponsoree until he feels the aspirant is ready to move. The informant above was in the personnel department and so the notification of the personnel department was simply a formal matter which he took care of so that it appeared that organizationally everything was carried on in the formal way. Later in the interview this informant was asked if he felt this was a type of sponsorship. He commented:

I think you could call it that and when I made up my mind to transfer them out, when I saw a position open that I felt was his type, I made it known to the people wherever they were, here is a person who can handle this, and I'll back him all the way. And I think most people felt that I either backed a person all the way or I didn't push him at all.

Other sponsors considered the transition period a training ground where the aspirant could gain administrative experience while he was being observed by his sponsor. One described the transition stage as follows:

Then another thing I would do would be to get this fellow on a committee probably a curriculum committee of some kind, or some kind of vital committee where I could see him operate in a group, and maybe even make him chairman, that could certainly be considered. And then I would observe how he functioned; sometimes I would discover things I didn't know and that would

make me question whether the person had what it took.

This particular informant was queried as to how effective recommendations he made were in assuring the aspirant a principalship. He replied that in ninety-five per cent of the cases, a principal was not appointed without his approval.

The rites of transition are a series of appointments to committees by the sponsor of his agents. Initially they may be committees at the school level like building committees or department chairmanships. These may be made by the trusted principal. Next appointment is made to committees which involve the school and the community; these are made by the principal in cooperation with the sponsor. Finally, the sponsor will appoint the sponsoree to committees where other members of the inner fraternity are involved. The appointments are designed to become more and more responsible and at the same time provide more and more visibility. If the aspirant fails at any level, he may be dropped altogether or moved back to a lower level for more training.

The agents of the sponsors are the trusted principals. The principals that look like the sponsor and have the same philosophy as the sponsor--these trusted principals then act as feeders to the sponsor. The sponsor will accept recommendations from the agents but they then carry through with their own evaluation of the recommendations. In summary, the

agent can recommend but only on rare occasion can he sponsor. The sponsor will accept recommendations from the principals he has appointed because they are trustworthy, but even the sponsor will evaluate the recommendation himself. By this method the sponsors maintain control of the organization, and keep the trusted principals in their places.

Incorporation of the sponsored group begins with their appointment to their first principalship which is given by the sponsors. The sponsors watch and help the new principals until, in the sponsor's opinion, the new principal is progressing as he should. As one sponsor put it, "Once I had put my stamp of approval on one of them, I worried about some of them and I would work very hard with these to bring them up to the standards."

The same sponsor provided insight into those sponsorees that didn't make it. He discussed working with one person he was interested in for nearly ten years to train him. He stated:

I finally gave up on him. I had to but I told him very frankly why he could not be considered anymore-- it was this business of relationships and he would blow the works invariably whether they were parents or what have you.

The sponsor above put a great deal of stock in the principal's ability to get along with the community and the faculty. When he decided the aspirant was not able to learn this behavior, he dropped him as a sponsoree. The aspirant withdrew from

the system.

The newly appointed principal may be given the power of recommending but even his recommendations are evaluated by the sponsor as this is his method of controlling the organization and at the same time controlling the principals he has sponsored. When two of the most active sponsors were questioned about accepting recommendations from their sponsorees, they answered as follows:

- Q. Did you solicit names from the principals in the field that you had appointed?
- A. Yes, we did. But I think there is question whether or not this is the thing to do. I did it as one of the criteria but I am not so sure it is a very good one and I'll tell you why. You know what I want in a principal, I want an instructional leader--a quality person who can meet the public and so forth.

Clearly the sponsor was suggesting that he and a few others were the only ones with the ability to judge the sort of people who could meet their requirements for the principalship. Van Gennep indicated that the elders by right of their experience and knowledge of the tribe were the only ones who could pass the knowledge on to the young member. The elders' control of the organization was based on their power of sponsorship; as a result they guarded it very jealously.

Another sponsor stated:

Their recommendations meant a lot to me but the question again depends on who recommended them, then I took a look at them myself, then any other thing I could pick up along the way. But I think it's important who recommends them.

Again the clear implication that only a few are able to determine the types of people that can become principals and those few will take suggestions but the final decision must be theirs for the sake of the organization.

In summary, the sponsored group is chosen by the members of the inner fraternity and their agents. A route is suggested to the sponsoree; if he accepts the route, separation is accomplished. The sponsors then lead the sponsorees through a series of increasingly more responsible and more visible rituals which are designed to make the aspirant ready for the principalship. When the right position becomes available, the trained and groomed sponsoree is moved in with the approval of the inner fraternity. The sponsoree on the other hand appears to be unaware of much that is going on in his behalf.

The next section of the chapter will deal with those teachers who become aware of the need for sponsorship as a method for moving to the principalship but must compete for that sponsorship.

The Contest Group

Turner⁴ described "contest mobility" as a system in which elite status is the prize in an open contest and is

⁴Ibid., p. 856.

taken by the aspirant's own efforts.

The contest group are usually teachers who have decided early in their teaching career that if they are going to advance they must move out of teaching and into administration. When this group was questioned concerning when they made their decision to become principals, they suggested within the first three years of teaching. One stated:

Probably around my second year of teaching I had what I considered a real good leader as a principal and he had a lot to do with my decision.

Another suggested:

I became interested quite early due to my background in business administration. I felt I had something to give and wasn't making it financially on a teacher's salary during the first three years and started thinking of administration.

The members of the contest group differ from those of the sponsored group in that the contestants would say they had considered administration while the sponsored group always indicated they were not thinking of it until it was suggested by someone else.

Some of the contest group had considered the possibility of administration early and had taken steps to insure they would be ready if the possibility ever presented itself.

A principal put it very plainly:

I had gotten my Master's in administration, and then about thirty hours above the Master's by the time I became a principal. I got my Master's in administration because of a vague notion that some day I might want to be an administrator--that's what

a man teacher does, pave the way in case.

The informant was also aware that some people were better sponsors than others. During the interview he indicated that his principal had suggested he consider the principalship but he told the principal he wasn't that interested. Later the same year the personnel director asked him if he was interested, and he said very interested.

A number of the contest group were aware of the active sponsors and could name who they were. One informant suggested that in filling out her leadership form she didn't use any principals she had worked under but instead used the names of administrators in the central office that she had met on a committee. She indicated in the interview that she knew at least three of these people were responsible for sponsoring a number of people to the principalship.

The contest group volunteered for committees of all sorts because they hoped that sooner or later one of the committees they were on would be observed by sponsors. They sought to gain some visibility. They differ from the sponsored group in that they are not doing it just because it is expected, they are doing it to gain visibility. They felt it was necessary to do a wide variety of things because they were not sure which activity they would be observed in.

Almost invariably one of the activities they mentioned was something where they would be involved with their principal

or higher administrator. One respondent summarized the types of activities and his reasoning for being in those:

I was involved in the classroom teacher's association. They had me sit on the salary committee. There was a vacancy in the Teacher Association that year and the teachers voted to put me in as Vice-President for the remainder of the year. I supposed the superintendent kept his eye on that. In the American Legion I served on the Education Committee and our superintendent was also chairman of that committee.

The rite of separation for the contest group appears to come only when they are recognized by a sponsor or his agent; as a result, the aspirant may engage in a number of activities which others have engaged in and gained sponsorship.

The contestant has two alternatives open to him:

(1) achieving sponsorship by gaining the attention of a sponsor or his agent, and (2) not gaining the sponsorship.

Sponsorship Achieved

If the contestant achieves sponsorship, the pattern will resemble that of the sponsored group, that is, suggestions will be made and tests will be put before the sponsoree. The difference between the two types of sponsorees is sharp. The sponsored aspirant will continue to suggest that he wasn't doing anything out of the ordinary and didn't actively seek the principalship; it was just thrust upon him and he accepted it. The contestant will discuss the fact that he was engaged in a number of activities, all of which he did

in an effort to become a member of the sponsored group and thereby capture the principalship which he saw as his goal. The contestant actively seeks the sponsorship by his actions and behaviors. The sponsored aspirant suggests that he is not aware that he was doing anything to draw attention to himself; it just happened.

Sponsorship Not Achieved

It may be hypothesized that members of the contest group who are not able to achieve visibility and sponsorship, appear to have four alternatives open to them: (1) They will continue to engage in GASing activities, (2) They will attempt to short circuit the rites of passage by obtaining a political appointment, (3) They will become benefit oriented, or (4) They will withdraw from the contest.

The first group, because they are not sure what activities will help them to gain sponsorship, will continue to cast around joining groups, and volunteering for various committees always with the hope that their behavior will cause them to gain visibility. The sponsors and their agents will not tell the aspirants what activities to engage in and so they may never gain visibility. This group may be made up of people recommended by the political appointee or the group of principals not trusted by the sponsors. One described this group of principals in the following manner:

There are in the schools principals who were appointed before my day who were ex-coaches or who let me say that the criteria for the selection would have been questionable, now I am not saying that an ex-coach can't be good; I do have some coaches that I encouraged to go into the classroom and teach for some years and then I got them into a principalship and it turned out fine Well, let me say there were a variety of principals and backgrounds and if one of these people whose background was not very good in my judgment and whose operation left some things to be desired, I found it a little difficult to take his word as a recommendation for a person to become a principal you see.

The second group will reach a point where they feel the sponsors are either not noticing them as soon as they should or for some reason are not going to notice them. This group will then attempt to skip the rites of passage and go around the sponsors by political appointment. One respondent was a good example of this. She had wanted the principalship for a number of years and had engaged in activities designed to gain sponsorship. She stated that she knew the man who was the most active sponsor of elementary principals but didn't think he cared for her very much. As a result when she was aware that one superintendent was leaving and a person she knew quite well was to be appointed she began developing a friendship with the new one and was appointed principal the following August. She described the situation as follows:

You see I had Dr. for a class and he and I used to talk together all the time, so that I had a feeling that when became superintendent when my name was brought up he knew my name, he knew things about me and I think that's what helped me to get here.

The informant indicated that she had been interviewed by the previous superintendent but that it had not gone well. He had thought she was too young and wasn't married and they had never appointed a young, single woman to the principalship before. She felt that it was necessary to go around the system, if she were to gain the principalship and as a result she worked at becoming a political appointment and succeeded. It is interesting to note that the principal discussed above has tried for the past two years to transfer to other schools within the system because of trouble in the school she has now but has been turned down. This principal is considering leaving the system at the end of this year.

The third group will continue to GAS until they become sure that the sponsors are not going to recognize them. They then go back to teaching but only for what the system can give them. They resemble Griffiths' "benefit oriented"⁵ teachers. There was no evidence to substantiate this generalization, and it is offered only because it is a possibility as suggested by Griffiths.

The fourth group may continue the GASing activities for a long period of time and then withdraw from the contest and from the system. One sponsor talked of a teacher who

⁵Daniel Griffiths, Samuel Goldman, and Wayne J. McFarland, "Teacher Mobility in New York City," (New York: School of Education, New York University, 1963).

continued trying for a principalship for ten years even though he had been rebuffed on a number of occasions because of his lack of "good common judgment." Finally, the sponsor had to tell the teacher he would never become a principal. The teacher then left the system.

SUMMARY

The evidence of the study establishes the existence of an inner fraternity within the school organization made up of a few members with influence, visibility and the power of sponsorship for organizational control. The inner fraternity members resemble Van Gennep's elders; they have by right of their experience and knowledge of the organization assumed the responsibility of training and leading the new members through the rites of passage.

The elders of the organization are constantly looking for candidates to sponsor to the principalship and thereby maintain their control of the organization.

The elders take pride in the accomplishments of the individuals they sponsor for one or more of three reasons: (1) They have reached a point in their own career where upward movement is at a standstill and so they are interested in the accomplishments of others; (2) They are interested in the maintenance of the inner fraternity; and (3) They view their sponsorees as evidence of a job well done.

A third characteristic of the elders is they suggest courses of action for sponsorees which must be followed or sponsorship will be withdrawn.

The last characteristic of the sponsor is their effort to match individuals with principalships. If sponsored individuals do not appear to be successfully fulfilling their new role, sponsors will assist them.

Three routes to the principalship were established by analysis of the data: (1) Sponsored, (2) Contest, and (3) Political appointment. The elders of the inner fraternity accept the sponsored and contest mobility as legitimate routes to the principalship because they have established and control the rites for obtaining the principalship by these methods. They view the political appointment as illegitimate because it gives the aspirant the opportunity to obtain the principalship while bypassing the established rites and cause the elders to lose control of the organization temporarily.

Chapter IV discusses the conclusions and implications of the study; additionally, the role that sponsorship has in the rites of passage will be presented.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study was to examine the phenomena of the upward movement from the teacher role to the principal role within the organization. It was suggested that upward movement took place in stages from separation to incorporation, and that the sponsorship process was a significant factor in facilitating the movement. The evidence from the study indicates that an understanding of the sponsorship process and the individuals involved would contribute to our understanding of the public school principalship as a career.

Van Gennep¹ suggested that in a tribe, the movement from one role to another took place in a series of stages. Because of their age and experience, the elders of the tribe were assigned the responsibility of leading the young members of the tribe from one role to another. Every young member was eligible at a certain age to move, for example, from adolescence to adulthood. The rites of passage from adolescence to adulthood were developed over time by the members of the tribe. The elders prepared the young members for passage

¹Arnold Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage. Translated by Monika Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1960.

through a series of teachings and ceremonies. This preparation separated them from their fellow uninitiated. When the elders thought the young members were ready, there was a ceremony which marked the end of the rite of separation.

The young were separated from their even younger peers and were led through a series of tests. At the completion of the tests of this transition stage, the young became tribal members and were expected to go forth as adult members of the tribe. The ending of these rites of transition were celebrated with a formal ceremony and the new members were incorporated with all of the rights and privileges of the adults of the tribe.

Van Gennep indicated that the passages from one role to another were dangerous, and at least, were upsetting to the life of the group and the individual. The transitional period was met with rites of passage which were designed to cushion the disturbance.

In essence, the elders of the tribe assumed the role of sponsors based on their age and knowledge of the expectations of the tribe. They were responsible for the teaching of the expectations of the tribe to the new members. These teachings allowed the young to move from one role to another while maintaining the stability of the tribe as a whole.

In studying the medical profession, Hall suggested that the established members made up an informal group (inner

fraternity).² Because of their position in the profession, they assumed the responsibility of the elders. They were charged with leading new members through the rites of passage from internship to practitioner.

In opposition to the tribe, all new members are eligible but only a select few are encouraged to enter the stage of separation and the rest are discouraged based on the decision of the elders. There appear to be no clear criteria for choosing one intern over another.

The chosen interns are assigned to the best positions within the institutions to insure their incorporation. They are sometimes assigned to members of the inner fraternity in an effort to insure that they will be properly trained for incorporation as a practitioner. They also may be given a clientele by the members of the inner fraternity to insure that they will be incorporated.

Incorporation in the medical profession brings with it obligations to the inner fraternity. The sponsored members must maintain the profession and the inner fraternity by acting as members of the inner fraternity and carrying on its functions.

Control of the membership in the organization is

²Oswald Hall, "The Informal Organization of the Medical Profession," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 12, (February, 1946), pp. 30-44.

maintained by the elders through their assumed power of sponsorship. This power is passed on to the sponsorees and the inner fraternity is maintained by control of the key positions.

The present study was concerned with the movement from the role of teacher to the role of principal within the organization. The interview data established the existence of an inner fraternity within the organization who, through the use of their assumed right to sponsor, control the organization by controlling the principalships within the organization.

The sponsors, like Van Gennep's elders, assume the responsibility of insuring that the movement from one role to another is accomplished with as little discomfort as possible for the individuals and the organization as a whole. Because of their time and experience in the organization, the elders are aware of what the expectations of the role of principal are and have over time developed a series of rites which are used to allow passage from the role of teacher to the role of principal for those selected by the elders.

The criteria for selection of recruits for the principalship is not clear. It appears to be based on the experience and personality characteristics of the elders. The elders suggest that they are the only ones who have the ability to pick the people who will become good principals

and though they will take recommendations, the final decision to sponsor an aspirant is made by the elder.

Using the dichotomy suggested by Turner,³ the aspirants to the principalship were divided into two groups based on statements from the interviews indicating how they became principals: the sponsored group who was given elite status by the sponsors and their agents; and, the contest group who gained sponsorship and elite status through their own efforts.

The sponsored group is chosen by the sponsors and their agents on the basis of some supposed merit. These teachers appear to unwittingly become involved in activities that gain the attention of the trusted principals. The trusted principal suggests activities within the school which gives the aspirant more responsibility and visibility. The trusted principal recommends the aspirant to the sponsor who evaluates and decides whether or not to offer sponsorship.

Separation is accomplished when the sponsor makes "suggestions" to the aspirant concerning committee membership, acting chairmanship of highly visible committees or possible courses of study which might be followed.

The transition stage progresses with assignments to committees which allow the aspirant to become more responsible

³Ralph H. Turner, "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System," American Sociological Review, 25, (December 1960), pp. 855-867.

and gain more administrative experience. The sponsor is able to evaluate the sponsoree under various conditions and judge when the training period is over and the sponsoree is ready to move into a principalship. The rite of transition is accomplished with the appointment of the first principalship. The sponsor will continue to work with the novice principal until success in the view of the sponsor has been accomplished.

The beginning of the stage of incorporation is indicated by the appointment of the first principalship and the given right to act as a trusted principal in making recommendations to the sponsors.

The contest group is involved in a conscious effort to obtain sponsorship by gaining the attention of their superiors. Unlike the sponsoree group, they are not told what committees or activities to become engaged in and, as a result, they will be involved in a number of activities, any one of which they hope will give them a sponsor.

The contest group, through their own efforts, become divided into at least five subgroups. The first of the subgroups, as a result of their efforts, is recognized by the sponsors or their agents and are given sponsorship. The distinction between the first subgroup and the sponsored group is that the subgroup admits carefully that the activities they were involved in were designed to get them sponsorship.

The sponsored group suggests that the activities they were engaged in were only those that were expected of them as professional educators and they were not done in an effort to capture the principalship.

The second subgroup will persist in GASing activities until they come to the decision that they are not going to be sponsored. They will then seek a political appointment to bypass the inner fraternity or move into one of the other subgroups.

The political appointment is feared by the inner fraternity because it allows the formal organization to exert its power of appointment over that of the inner fraternity and temporarily usurp the control of the organization. Political appointments are made by the superintendent without the advice of the elders. They are based on friendship, strong public pressure, or changes in the administration rather than completion of rites.

The political appointees are considered untrustworthy by the members of the inner fraternity because they were initiated by someone not in the fraternity. They have been allowed to bypass the rites of passage, and they have caused temporary loss of organizational control of the inner fraternity. The evidence suggests that the member of the inner fraternity will watch and work closely with the political appointee in an effort to train him to look like the other

principals. If a person who made the appointment leaves, the appointee may be either ignored completely, or moved from the principalship.

The third subgroup of contestants continues in GASing activities with the hope of eventually becoming sponsored. This activity may continue for long periods of time as evidenced by the statement that one had tried for over ten years and then moved to another subgroup and finally out of the system.

Subgroup four contestants may continue to GAS until they become disillusioned and embittered with the system for not recognizing their value. They will then move back into the teaching situation and, as suggested by Griffiths,⁴ become part of the benefit oriented group of teachers. They may also move into another of the subgroups.

There was no evidence collected in the present study that indicated that subgroup four existed. The interviews were conducted with principals and sponsors and the questions explored that area primarily. The benefit oriented group was suggested only because Griffiths indicated this as a possibility.

Subgroup five suggests the other alternative open to

⁴Daniel Griffiths, Samuel Goldman, and Wayne J. McFarland, "Teacher Mobility in New York City," (New York: School of Education, New York University, 1963), pp. 15-31.

any of the contestants. They recognized that their efforts are not going to be rewarded and they are unable to obtain a political appointment so they withdraw from the contest by leaving the system.

Figure 2 summarizes the rites of passage as viewed by Van Gennep, Hall, and the present study using Turner's concepts of contest and sponsored mobility for studying movement from one role to another.

GENERALIZATIONS

The obvious and most important finding of the study was that sponsorship in the school organization is used as a method of controlling the organization through control of recruitment and selection of principals.

A second finding was that the control of the organization is maintained by a relatively small number of established members who make up the informal organization. These members are comparable to Hall's inner fraternity. They occupy prominent positions within the organizations and exercise control through their assumed right to sponsor. The foregoing two findings fulfill objective 2 of this study.

A third finding was that the inner fraternity fears the political appointee. The political appointee is deemed untrustworthy because he has by-passed the rites of passage established by the inner fraternity causing a temporary loss

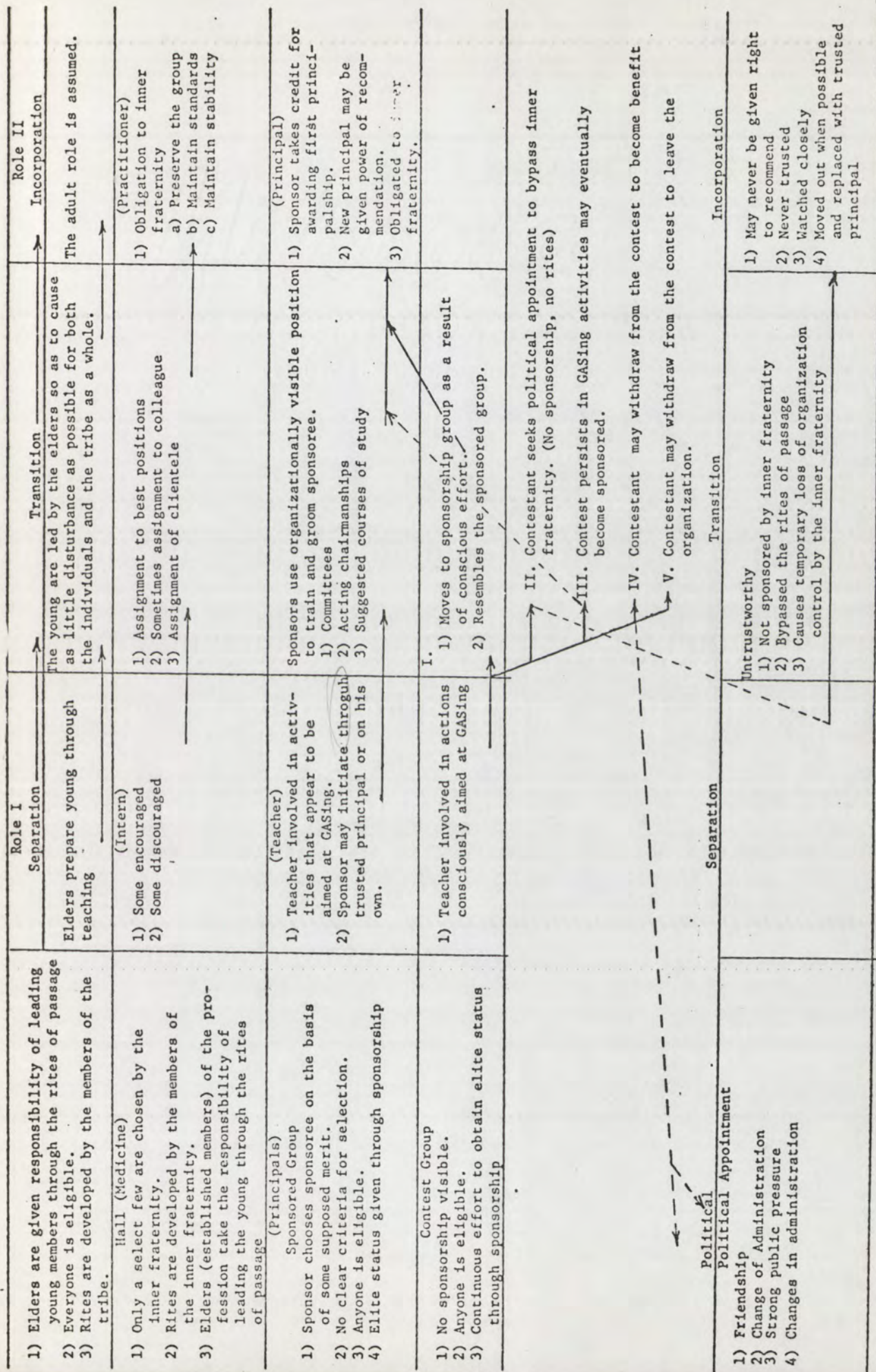


Figure 2. A graphic representation summarizing Van Gennep, Hall, and the present study through the "Rites of Passage."

of organizational control. The formal organization usurps the power of the inner fraternity through the political appointee. This finding fulfills objective 4 of this study.

A fourth finding was that the use of the contest and sponsored mobility concepts posited by Turner provide a very useful way of viewing movement from one role to another in the school organization.

The data presented in Chapter III establishes that a significant number of aspirants to the principalship perform the ritual of GASing to gain sponsored mobility. Others, although not consciously GASing, demonstrate GASing behaviors ("because those things need to be done") and are selectively sponsored (objective 2) for the principalship. This finding fulfills objective 1 of this study.

A fifth finding of the study was that the use of formal but temporary roles such as clinical supervisor or area coordinator do act as transitory positions enroute to the principalship. These positions are controlled by the inner fraternity and generally serve the same purposes as committee appointments. That is, they are used as a training ground where the sponsorees can be groomed for upward movement by the sponsors. This was objective 3 of this study.

Finally, the study established that committee appointments and temporary positions constitute a pattern of rites which may predict movement from separation to incorporation.

Completion is determined by the individual sponsor and can be given or withheld by him. The particular set of rituals may vary with the specialized needs of an individual sponsoree, but a generalized pattern of positions did seem to exist. This was objective 5 of the study.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recognized that errors may have occurred in this study. The area which is most susceptible to error is over-generalization of the results. This study was very limited in scope, dealing with only one school system in a specific setting. Therefore, the generalization from the study should be viewed critically and carefully before they are used to describe the same phenomenon in another school setting. Kerlinger expresses this problem clearly as he states,

A difficult criterion to satisfy, external validity mean representativeness or generalizability. When an experiment has been completed and a relation found, to what population can it be generalized? Can we say that A is related to B for all school children? All eighth-grade children? All eighth-grade children in this school system or eighth-grade students of this school only? Or must the findings be limited to eighth-grade children with whom we worked? This is a very important scientific question that should always be asked--and answered.⁵

⁵Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 213.

The generalizations from this study should be viewed with care. They are post hoc inferences rather than substantiated hypotheses. Furthermore, they are based on cross sectional, rather than longitudinal data.

IMPLICATIONS

The major findings of the study suggest that more work is needed in the area of the political appointment to the principalship. The evidence indicates that the inner fraternity is deeply concerned with the fact that although they have assumed the responsibility of training and appointing new principals, the formal organization on occasion, can override their established rites. Further study dealing specifically with principals who were politically appointed may lend more understanding to one power struggle which is evident in the school organization, that is the power of the superintendent to appoint even though he is not a member of the inner fraternity. The following two hypotheses are offered:

- H₁: There exist in school districts with student memberships of 50,000 or greater a small group of individuals (inner fraternity) who collectively control principalship appointments.
- H₂: Individuals identified as "political appointments" to the principalship will receive significantly lower efficiency ratings by inner fraternity members than sponsored principals.

The contest and sponsored mobility dichotomy needs

further development. The present study dealt essentially with principals and aspirants that were being sponsored. It indicated the existence of three groups, and suggested alternative routes they might follow, that is, contest, sponsoree and political appointment. There is obvious need for similar studies to confirm the existence of these groups. The following hypothesis is offered:

- H₃: Individuals who receive principalship appointments gained their appointment either through sponsorship, contest, or political appointment.

In terms of this study, political appointment was done by the superintendent. It appears that the superintendent was not a part of the inner fraternity. The exact relationship of the superintendent to the inner fraternity deserves further exploration. The following hypotheses are offered:

- H₄: Superintendents identified as "cosmopolitan" are not members of the school district's inner fraternity.
- H₅: Superintendents identified as "locals" are members of the school district's inner fraternity.

The contestant groups who do not become sponsored or political appointments, that is, the benefit oriented suggests an area of concern for the individuals and the organization that should be investigated. The following hypothesis is offered:

- H₆: Individuals seeking the principalship who are identified as "contestants" and who fail to be appointed to the principalship within six years of becoming qualified become "benefit oriented."

The foregoing six hypotheses fulfill objective 6 of this study.

The present study was conducted in a large urban area. Some of the findings were similar to those of Griffiths in a large metropolitan area such as the use of GASing activities to gain upward mobility by development of a sponsor relationship. The implication is clearly that this type of behavior is common to the school organization. There have been no studies of this type conducted in small urban or rural areas. Such a study would shed much light on the generalization suggested by the evidence of Griffiths and the present study.

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