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A DESCRIPTIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL ETHOS OF THE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALSHIP

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A DESCRIPTIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL ETHOS OF THE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALSHIP

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

RICHARD A. McCULLOUGH, A.B., M.A.T.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University 1983

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This dissertation is dedicated to
The writer is grateful for the continuing support and inspiration of Professor Luvern L. Cunningham, adviser, mentor, colleague and friend. Professors Lonnie H. Wagstaff and Walter G. Hack gave direction to the organization and design of the study and have demonstrated patience and support throughout the project. Dr. Rodney T. Ogawa of the University of Utah and Dr. Dan C. Lortie of the University of Chicago have been of great assistance with their remarks and criticisms of parts of the study. Dorothy D. Pomeroy has been an invaluable editor, typist, proofreader, and assistant for the past three years.

Finally, those senior high school principals who shared their most basic orientations and sentiments with the writer are acknowledged with gratitude.
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1. Approach to the Description of the Occupational Ethos of the Senior High School Principalship
CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

It has been suggested that the high school is among the best known and least understood public institutions in America (Thomson, 1978). The same suggestion holds true as to knowledge and understanding of the work of some 15,000 people who are principals of public secondary schools in America. In the reporting of this study of the senior high school principalship, it will be demonstrated that descriptive information about the work life of high school principals is limited. The fundamental purpose of this study was to investigate in some detail and describe the occupational ethos of the American high school principal. A desired result of this effort is a contribution to knowledge and understanding of the senior high school principalship.

Background to the Problem

Americans in the Twentieth Century have looked at their public schools from many perspectives. Groups and individuals approach the schools with diverse expectations, reflecting the pluralist society in which
public education is imbedded. The senior high school in particular has been the focus of a great deal of attention. Most of those who have focused attention on the high school, whether critics or apologists, have been concerned with the effectiveness of the schools in meeting the needs of students and society.

Several recent studies have suggested that the key to a good school is a good principal (Abramowitz, et al., 1978; Byrne, Hynes and McCleary, 1978; Kean, et al., 1979; Ellett, et al., 1976; Wagstaff, et al., 1979). Ellett, Payne, and Perkins (1976) found a positive relationship between the level of principals' competencies and measures of school outcomes such as student achievement. In a 1979 study in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania city school district, Kean found that the role of the principal was critical in the implementation of effective reading programs in the schools. Byrne, Hynes, and McCleary (1978), in a study commissioned by Congress to examine the problems of violence and vandalism in the nation's schools, found one major difference between safe schools and violent schools to be a strong, dedicated principal. The conclusions of these and other studies reinforce the point of view that principals play a key role in the public schools and in the senior high school in particular. It should be noted that these findings and observations about the importance of the principal
are not rooted in a literature supportive of the status quo in the senior high school. Quite the contrary, the overall tone of such scholarship has been critical and suggestive of the need for change. The point to be made here is that principals play a pivotal role in effective schools, according to recent scholarship in this area. Unfortunately, there is a paucity of descriptive information on the principalship in general, and the senior high school principal in particular.

Scholars in recent years have lamented the limited amount of descriptive sociology in education (Lortie, 1976; Ogawa, 1979). While the senior high school principalship has been discussed, prescribed, studied, editorialized, criticized, improved, and even abolished in recent years, it has rarely been described empirically. The descriptive work that has been done on the principalship has involved either intensive description of a single individual (Wolcott, 1973; Jentz, 1977, 1978), or extensive normative surveys which provide descriptive information about the characteristics of those individuals who are principals (Byrne, Hynes and McCleary, 1978; Abramowitz, et al., 1978).

Those interested in increasing knowledge and improving practice of the profession have cause for concern about the consequences of the shortage of empirical description of the principalship. Common sense points to accurate
description of the principalship as a prerequisite to efforts to improve the performance of those who are or would be principals. In addition, reliable descriptive information is an invaluable and necessary tool for those institutions, groups, and individuals charged with responsibilities for training, recruiting, and selecting principals for American high schools.

There are other significant implications of limited knowledge in the area of focus for this study. Research on the nature of educational organizations has been restricted by a lack of understanding of key elements of those organizations, such as the high school principal. Increased descriptive information about key elements of educational organizations promises to contribute to overall understanding of such organizations.

The Senior High School Principalship as an Occupation

The theoretical framework for describing the ethos of the senior high school principalship evolved from a survey of a mixture of social scientific literature in education, sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and history. A specific, "organizing framework" (Cunningham, 1980, p. 21) is necessary to give focus to social scientific inquiry. Borrowing from occupational sociology, the senior high school principalship was viewed as an occupation.
Lortie (1975), in his study of the teaching occupation, and Ogawa, in his study of the superintendency, focused their works similarly. In the tradition of occupational sociology, the term occupation is inclusive of all work roles in society (Hughes, 1958; Krause, 1971; Pavalko, 1971).

Ogawa (1979, p. 5), suggests that occupation is a more neutral term than profession, and hence more useful for this type of study. Lortie (1975) discusses teaching as an occupation and makes no distinction between the terms occupation and profession. It has been suggested by Lortie that his study is in the tradition of the classic work of Willard Waller, _The Sociology of Teaching_ (1932). Waller consistently refers to teaching as an occupation.

As was stated earlier, the focus of this study is the senior high school principalship as an occupation. Hall's definition of an occupation has been adopted for this study. In the Ogawa study, Hall's definition of an occupation was also used. Hall defined an occupation as "the social role performed by adult members of society that directly and/or indirectly yields social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major focus in the life of an adult" (1969, pp. 5-6).

**The Concept of Occupational Ethos**

It is a basic tenet of occupational sociology that the description and analysis of occupations may be achieved
along any number of dimensions (Hughes, 1958; Krause, 1971; Pavalko, 1971; Ritzer, 1972). The focus of this study will be the occupational ethos of the senior high school principal. The study reported here is in the tradition of earlier studies of school-related occupations by Dan C. Lortie and Rodney T. Ogawa. While Lortie described the occupational ethos of the classroom teacher (1975), Ogawa's 1979 study was an effort to describe the occupational ethos of school superintendents.

The notion of occupational ethos has been defined by Lortie (1975) as it applies to public schoolteachers. It is:

The pattern of orientations and sentiments which is peculiar to teachers and which distinguishes them from members of other occupations.

In the lexicon of current English language, ethos is defined as:

The guiding beliefs, standards, or ideals that characterize or pervade a group, a community, a people, or an ideology . . . (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1966)

The Dictionary of Behavioral Sciences discusses ethos in terms of "characteristic outlooks" and "predominant dispositions" among members of groups. "Ethos" is broadly defined as:

. . . the underlying feeling or spirit associated with a particular outlook on life . . .
Several reviewers have expressed concern about the lack of specificity in Lortie's definition (Charters, 1976; Biddle, 1976; Ogawa, 1979). Actually, Lortie does provide a more specific definition in the approach he takes to his subjects and later in describing the themes which emerge from his findings. Ogawa concedes that a specified definition of "ethos" is implied in Lortie's approach. The suggestion here is that Lortie is sufficiently clear on what he means by occupational ethos, and this clarity is reflected in his analysis and conclusions relative to teachers' orientations and sentiments.

Lortie describes the occupational ethos from two key perspectives—orientations and sentiments. Orientations involve the attitudes teachers express and the meanings they attach to what Lortie calls "major processes of occupational perpetuation," that is:

Recruitment, socialization, and the distribution of career rewards.

Sentiments relate to attitudes toward "everyday tasks." Lortie's emphasis is on "the meanings teachers give to their tasks and the sentiments they generate while carrying them out."

While it is clear that teachers share many particular orientations and sentiments with other occupations, Lortie suggests that a unique, "integrated" ethos exists. The "special combination of orientations and sentiments" holds
the nature and content of the ethos of an occupation. The search for this ethos was the "unifying theme" of Schoolteacher, as well as of the Ogawa study and this investigation.

Ogawa borrowed from Lortie to define the ethos of a profession for the purposes of his study. In this investigation, the same definition was employed. The ethos of a profession was defined as follows:

Those general inclinations to act in a particular way which are shared by members of a profession as indicated in:

1. The attitudes expressed by members of a profession towards and resulting from their profession's recruitment and socialization processes and reward structures, and

2. The perceptions and attitudes expressed by members of a profession towards their day-to-day work.

In an effort to sharpen the definition of occupational ethos, Ogawa reviewed some of the broader social scientific conceptualizations from which the notion developed (1979). Ogawa suggests that the anthropologist, Gregory Bateson, is more explicit than Lortie in describing the relationship that exists between ethos and social behavior. Ogawa proposes that "for Bateson, the notion of ethos referred to a culture's standardized system(s) of affect which were, to a degree, the motives and values that accompany behavior" (1979, p. 7).
Ogawa (1979) blended Bateson's notion of ethos with the premises of Herbert Blumer's theory of "symbolic interaction," which emphasizes the meaning human beings derive from social interaction. An improved definition of occupational ethos is suggested by Ogawa from his examination of Bateson and Blumer. That definition is:

An occupationally standardized system which gives meaning to things based upon social interactions in relation to those things, a meaning which serves as a basis for occupation member's actions (Ogawa, 1979).

Approaches to the Description of the Occupational Ethos

How does one develop a description of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship? The approach taken in the Ogawa study and in this study was based on a conceptual framework derived from occupational sociology and social psychology. In his study, Ogawa (1979) states that he "borrowed heavily from Lortie's work on the classroom teacher". The same can be stated for the study reported here. In fact, the organizing framework for both this and the Ogawa study is essentially a replication of Lortie's in Schoolteacher.

The description reported here is the result of the analysis of two major dimensions of the occupation of the senior high school principalship: orientations engendered...
by occupational structures and meanings attached by principals to their work.

**Occupational Structures.** Dan C. Lortie analyzed particular structures in the teaching occupation for patterns or themes which point to more general orientations resulting from those particular structures. He describes this part of his approach to describing the classroom teachers' ethos as follows:

> It deals with recruitment, socialization, and the distribution of rewards. In each instance, I relate the ways these issues are resolved to their implications for orientations among teachers. (Lortie, 1975).

Much of the literature in occupational sociology focuses on the identification and discussion of occupational characteristics such as those discussed by Lortie (Ritzer, 1972; Pavalko, 1971; Hughes, 1958).

In this vein, one of Ogawa's approaches to describing the occupational ethos of school superintendents involved the analysis of the same three occupational structures studied by Lortie: recruitment, socialization, and rewards. As Ogawa (1979, p. 11) stated:

> This analysis was aimed at describing occupational orientations which could be expected to rise out of patterns identified in these structures.
Occupational Meanings. The second approach Lortie took to describe the occupational ethos of teachers was to analyze the way teachers describe their work, seeking to identify themes which indicate the meanings they attached to that work. This was also the approach utilized by Ogawa in his study of superintendents. This approach is supported as well by the conceptualizations of other scholars on the notion of meaning and the way people characterize experiences.

Herbert Blumer has proposed that the process by which humans attach meaning to phenomena is a transactional one between the individual mind and the stimulus (Blumer, 1956). In fact, Blumer suggests that this process is the essence of human life:

We can, and I think must, look upon human life as chiefly as a vast, interpretative process in which people, singly and collectively, guide themselves by defining the objects, events, and situations which they encounter . . . (Blumer, 1956).

This is essentially the same notion George Herbert Mead presented in his pioneering conceptualization of "mind" (Mead, 1934). Mead described a mental state in which human beings use language to create a relationship between themselves and something outside themselves (Mead, 1934). Ross Mooney has called this phenomenon man's "outer structure" or "outer circumstance" (Mooney, 1974). Other social scientists have referred to this process by which
individuals make meaning through verbal productions in terms such as: "ideology", "world-view", "perspective", "values", "understandings", and "definitions of the situation" (Lofland, 1970).

**Summary.** The description of the occupational ethos of the senior high principalship involved the same two approaches taken by Lortie and later Ogawa. The first involved the analysis of three occupational structures--recruitment, socialization, and rewards--in an effort to identify themes which indicate more general orientations. The second involved the analysis of high school principals' descriptions of their work, in an effort to identify themes which indicate meanings and sentiments they attach to that work.

Ogawa (1979) aptly characterized the total process of these two approaches as one of "analytic distillation." The accompanying chart (Figure 1) was made by Ogawa to depict his approach to the development of a description of the occupational ethos of school superintendents. It has been modified to depict the same approach to developing a description of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship.
FIGURE 1

Approach to the Description of the Occupational Ethos of the Senior High School Principalship

Phase I
Analyze occupational structures for themes which indicate orientations which they engender among occupation group members. The structures are:
1. Recruitment
2. Socialization
3. Reward

Orientations

Phase II
Analyze high school principals' descriptions of their work to identify themes which indicate meanings and sentiments they attach to that work.

Meanings and Sentiments

Phase III
Synthesize orientations, meanings, and sentiments to describe the basic elements of the ethos.

ETHOS

Problem Statement

The general purpose of this study was to describe the occupational ethos of the American senior high school principal by analyzing:

1. Those processes and structures which develop and perpetuate the occupation for general orientations which they engender among members; and

2. High school principals' descriptions of their work to identify themes which indicate meanings and sentiments they attach to that work.

The following three general research questions provided focus for the description of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principal. These general questions gave rise to specific sub-questions which delimited the scope of the study.

1. What attitudes do principals express toward those processes and structures which Lortie suggests perpetuate the occupation, and to what extent do their orientations toward their daily work reflect these processes and structures?
   a. What patterns exist in the recruitment of high school principals into the occupation?
      (1) What tendencies and/or characteristics of high school principals reflect the recruitment structures and processes?
      (2) What attitudes do high school principals express towards the recruitment process through which they moved?
b. What are the characteristics of the socialization processes undergone by high school principals?

(1) What general tendencies and characteristics of high school principals reflect their socialization in the profession?

(2) What attitudes do high school principals express towards the socialization process through which they moved?

(a) To what extent do high school principals view formal university training programs as useful in preparing for the principalship?

(b) To what extent do high school principals view on-the-job experience as useful in developing skills necessary to the principalship?

(c) To what extent do high school principals view their experience in other positions in educational organizations as useful in preparing for the principalship?

(d) To what extent do high school principals view the informal exchange of information among professional peers to be useful in developing skills for the principalship?

c. What is the reward structure for high school principals?

(1) What do high school principals view as rewarding about their professional work?

(2) How is the reward structure tied to career advancement?

(3) What general tendencies and characteristics of high school principals reflect their occupation's reward structure?
d. What personal and professional aspirations do high school principals have?

2. What meanings and attitudes do high school principals connect to their day-to-day work?
   a. What do high school principals see as their chief responsibilities?
   b. How do high school principals judge their professional performance?
   c. What activities particularly provide high school principals with feelings of satisfaction?
   d. What do high school principals view as the greatest impediments to their success?
   e. To whom do high school principals turn for advice in making important decisions?
   f. How do high school principals view their relationship to students in their schools?
   g. How do high school principals view their relationship to teachers in their schools?
   h. How do high school principals view their relationship to other administrators in their school districts?
   i. How do high school principals view their relationship to their community?
   j. To what extent are high school principals satisfied with their chosen occupation?
   k. What skills and/or personal attributes do high school principals view as most necessary to their success?

3. To what extent are the meanings and attitudes that high school principals attach to their work congruent with their attitudes
towards and resulting from the processes and structures that perpetuate the occupation?

Assumptions

To conduct this study, it was necessary to make the following assumptions:

1. The sample of high school principals who served as interview subjects is representative of the total population of senior high school principals, although the sampling procedure utilized does not lend itself to statistical verification.

2. The interviewees' responses reflect their actual perceptions and attitudes.

3. The ethos of an occupation can be inferred from the patterns which emerge in occupation members' characterizations of their work.

4. The questions to which interview subjects responded did focus upon important aspects of the work and occupation of the senior high school principalship.

Significance of the Problem

Owen B. Kiernan, the former Executive Director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, has suggested that the current nature of the high school principalship in America needs to be determined (1977). While successful efforts have been made to describe the modal
characteristics of those individuals who are practicing high school principals (Byrne, Hynes and McCleary, 1978), a review of the literature yields little information that is descriptive of the occupation or its role incumbents. A fundamental contribution of this study is that it contributes to knowledge of the American high school principal.

While this study was descriptive, not theoretical, findings hold the promise of having both practical and theoretical significance.

Professional educators have long debated the merits of various preparation programs for school administrators. Findings of this study should help identify positively perceived aspects of present pre-service programs, required skills as seen by practicing high school principals, and major problem areas as viewed by those on the "firing line".

Those responsible for recruitment and selection of high school principals may discover that aspects of the occupational ethos of the American high school principal reflect patterns established outside the profession itself. Those groups seeking to impact or change the established order in American education may find empirical information, such as that which is the focus of this study, of real value.

'Practicing high school principals as well as those who are inclined toward the occupation may well find use
for objective information about the ethos of the principalship, in their efforts at professional improvement or advancement.

In addition to the practical significance discussed above, a description of the occupational ethos of the high school principal should contribute to the development of knowledge in several areas. The research is responsive to the suggestion by several students of educational organizations as to the need for more descriptive information about various elements of those organizations (Lortie, 1975; Weick, 1976; Wolcott, 1973). Scholars interested in Leadership Theory are likely to be better informed in their approaches to assessing the leadership effectiveness of principals, in light of this study.

Recently, increased attention has been focused on theory and improvement of practice in middle management in industrial and educational organizations (Hack et al., 1979; Sweetland, 1978; Killen, 1977). The description of the occupational ethos of the high school principal should be a contribution to understanding of the structure of and sources of managerial behavior in middle management in public education.

In summary, this description of the occupational ethos of the American high school principal has both practical and theoretical significance. Findings should have
utility for those responsible for pre-service and in-service training of high school principals, those who recruit and select principals, educational policymakers, change agents, and practicing and prospective high school principals. Descriptive information on the high school principalship should contribute to knowledge production about educational organizations, leadership theory, and middle-management and mid-level managers in complex organizations.

A comment about the application of findings of a descriptive investigation such as this one is in order. Dan C. Lortie has suggested that studies of public schools have been "long on prescription, short on description" (1975). It is important to note that this study does not test hypotheses. Those practical applications which the findings of such a study may yield, are to be viewed as suggestive rather than prescriptive (Ogawa, 1979).

**Plan of the Study**

The following is the manner in which the findings of this investigation are presented:

Chapter Two is a **Review of Related Literature**. Emphasis is given to those works which provide insights to the occupational structures and meanings of the senior high school principalship.
Chapter Three presents the Design of the Study. This includes a description of the procedures employed to identify the sample of respondents, to collect data, and to analyze the data.

The following three chapters include the findings of the study. Chapter Four includes findings regarding recruitment, socialization, and reward structures. Orientations engendered by these occupational structures are described in the concluding section of this chapter.

Chapter Five includes findings which resulted from the analysis of principals' descriptions of their work. This chapter concludes with findings which indicate the nature of the meanings and sentiments which high school principals attach to their work.

Chapter Six includes the description of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship. Basic elements of the ethos are defined. An attempt to describe the relationship between these elements is reported. Findings of the study are compared to findings of previous research. In addition, Chapter Six includes summary, recommendations for future research, and conclusions.
CHAPTER II

THE LITERATURE ON THE PRINCIPALSHIP

The principalship has drawn the attention of a great many scholars and writers. An extensive body of literature exists consisting of books, dissertations, monographs, and journal articles. The results of a review of the literature on the principalship are reported in this chapter.

The Mechanized Information Center (MIS) of The Ohio State University Libraries was utilized for a computer search of the literature. All available data bases were scanned, including the Resources in Education (RIE) Bibliography of the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). Key words used in the title search were: principal, high school, secondary education, ethos, occupation, profession, manager, administrator, recruitment, socialization, reward, and work.

This review is organized in two parts. The first part consists of a brief overview of the literature on the principalship and some general comments about the relevance of specific types of scholarship to a description of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship.

The second part consists of a synthesis of those particular elements of the literature which provide some insight
into the ethos of senior high school principals. This synthesis is organized around the tripartite definition of the ethos adopted to guide this research. Those three elements of the ethos are: the occupational structures which perpetuate the occupation—recruitment, socialization, and rewards; the ways principals describe their work; and the meanings and sentiments which that work generates in principals.

An Overview

Much of the literature on the principalship—particularly the high school principalship—may not be classified as actual research. While the authors of these works are scholars and researchers in many cases, their materials consist for the most part of prescriptive treatises and practical, "How To Do It" volumes (Douglas, 1932; Cox and Langfitt, 1934; Edmondson et al., 1941; Jacobson et al., 1954, 1963; Corbally et al., 1961, 1965; McCleary and Hencley, 1965; Ovard, 1966; Lipham, 1974). This body of literature is extensive and reflects Lortie's observation, noted earlier, that literature on public schools is "long on prescription, short on description."

Few empirically-based descriptions of the high school principalship and those individuals who are principals exist. This review of the literature on the principalship helped in identifying some qualitative studies of the principalship.
Wolcott's work, *The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography* (1973) is an intensive, descriptive case study of the situations and behaviors of a suburban elementary school principal. Wolcott's frame of reference is essentially anthropological. While he focuses on the network of relationships in the school, he does attend to perceptions of the principal's behavior by those in the school.

In a recently published book, Blumberg and Greenfield (1980) report the results of a study of eight principals who "make a difference in their schools." The authors used a qualitative methodology. They selected eight principals whom they had come to know through their work as Professors of Educational Administration at Syracuse University. While much of the study focuses on principals talking about their "life in school," it was not, as the authors state, "a broad-based inquiry of school principals qua school principals" (Blumberg and Greenfield, 1980, p. 3).

Several studies have been conducted involving systematic observations of principals to assess and discriminate between effective and ineffective practitioners. Lipham and Francke (1966) observed non-verbal behavior of principals and characterized the behaviors of "promotables" and "non-promotables" in their sample. Goldhammer, Becker, Withycombe; Doyel, Miller, Morgan, DeLoretto, and Aldridge, in a study of elementary principals, discriminated between two
general kinds of principalships—"beacons of brilliance" and "potholes of pestilence" (1971, pp. 1-2).

The study by Goldhammer et al. (1971) also is a representative study of role definition in the principalship. The researchers found that a lack of role definition characterized those principalships which were "potholes of pestilence." Two other examples of role analysis applied to study of the principalship are Schmuck and Nelson's "The Principal As Convener of Organizational Problem-Solving" (1970) and Schmuck, Runkel, Saturen, Martel, and Derr's Handbook of Organization Development In Schools. Ogawa (1979) suggested that role analyses of the superintendency reveal little about recruitment and socialization of superintendents, and only cursory glimpses of attitudes toward salary.

As with other elements of the literature on the principalship, investigations in role analysis do not provide data-based descriptions of the occupation's main structures. Those cited above describe principals in terms of easily-identified characteristics, while most work of this type is strictly prescriptive (Corbally et al., 1965; Goldman, 1966; Jacobson et al., 1963).

An additional source of qualitative description of principals' behavior exists in journal articles or chapters
in books which are in effect "mini" case studies of incidents or brief time periods in schools. Several particularly rich descriptions give a flavor of what principals actually do (Cunningham, 1969; Jentz, 1977, 1978; Hentoff, 1966; Kaufman, 1964). In this same vein, biographers, novelists, and historians provide another source of description (Hentoff, 1966; Kaufman, 1964; Tyack, 1974).

Several national studies of the school principalship have been conducted during the past two decades. For the most part, these research efforts have produced compilations of several modal characteristics of principals or a summary of principals' duties (Hemphill, Richards, and Peterson, 1965; Mitchell and Hawley, 1972; McPherson, et al., 1974; Byrne, Hines, and McCleary, 1978). These studies do not address the problem of describing the ethos of the high school principal. However, the recently completed National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) national survey is a valuable, up-to-date source of descriptive data on high school principals in America. The sampling procedure and overall design of that study are particularly strong. Its findings have provided a solid basis from which to develop a description of the occupational ethos of the high school principal. It should be noted that Lortie (1975) and Ogawa (1979) employed similar data
bases as the foundations for their respective studies of teachers and superintendents.

Several works on the principalship consist of edited collections of essays and articles by students of the principalship. While these volumes tend to consist of loosely connected "think" pieces on the principalship, they do offer an overall impression of the way trained observers view the profession. It is interesting to note the particular points of view of professors of Educational Administration on the state of the art of being a principal (Kraft, 1971; Erickson and Reller, 1978).

The context of the high school is likely to be a strong determinant of the ethos of the high school principal. Several times since World War II, national reports have been prepared on American secondary education. Several of these reports have had an impact on the direction of high school education and those who manage the high schools. The findings and recommendations of such reports offer some clues to help explain orientations and sentiments of present high school principals (Conant, 1959; Kettering Foundation, 1973; N.I.E., 1977; Carnegie, 1979).

The student's view of the high school was studied by Cusick (1973) in an imaginative manner. The researcher, a young anthropologist, spent several months as a student in a large high school. Cusick's view of the high school
is an additional thread of information related to a description of the ethos of the high school principalship.

Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, and Ouston (1979) conducted a three-year, exhaustive study of a dozen secondary schools in a large urban area in the city of London. The title of the research report is descriptive of the focus of the study—"Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children." While the setting is in Great Britain, the study includes a discussion of the "ethos of a school" (Rutter, et al., 1978, pp. 55-56) and the concept of ethos as the authors see it. However, Rutter's findings about the ethos of the high school do not shed light on the high school principal's ethos.

Certain summary comments on this overview of the literature on the principalship are in order. Very few empirically based descriptions of the high school principalship or those who serve as principals exist. It was particularly relevant to this study that no work discovered addressed the problem of describing or identifying the occupational ethos of the high school principal. The national studies of the high school principalship conducted by NASSP (1965, 1978) lack detailed analysis and a conceptual framework.
The second part of this review includes particular elements of the literature which provide some insight into the ethos of senior high principals.

Literature Related to the Definition of Ethos

This synthesis is organized around the three basic themes of the definition of ethos: 1) the occupational structures which perpetuate the occupation—recruitment, socialization, and rewards; 2) the ways principals describe their work; and 3) the meanings and sentiments which that work generates in principals.

The Occupational Structures which Perpetuate the Occupation. Senior high school principals are former classroom teachers. This observation is rendered virtually certain as a result of a thorough review of the literature on the principalship. Ogawa (1979) suggests that this also holds true of school superintendents, and that the occupational processes that sustain the superintendency (i.e., recruitment, socialization, and rewards) are secondary processes. Senior high school principals, like
superintendents, experienced those processes first as members of another occupational group—classroom teachers.

It is clear that the findings of Dan Lortie's 1975 study of the classroom teachers' ethos are critical elements in an investigation of the high school principals' ethos.

Lortie found that entry into the ranks of the teaching occupation is, on the whole, neither selective nor limited to certain distinct types of individuals. The other major conclusion in *Schoolteacher*, concerning recruitment, is that the system is "canted to favor particular kinds of entrants" (Lortie, 1975, p. 53)—women and individuals who are inclined to be conservative.

The other major effort at description of the occupational ethos of a school-related occupation is Rodney T. Ogawa's 1979 study of school superintendents. Ogawa found that

the recruitment structure of the occupation of school superintendent is characterized by themes which emphasize: context, uncertainty and its accommodation, movement, and conservatism (1979, p. 95).

The socialization of teachers, according to Lortie is individualistic . . . supports the conservatism we observed in the record of the occupation and the recruitment system (1975, p. 81).

He concluded that "the lack of potency in the formal socialization system means that earlier conservative influences
are not systematically offset in the course of induction" (1975, p. 81). Lortie suggests that the individualism of teacher socialization has a negative impact on the status of teachers and poses a threat to the occupation (1975).

With regard to the socialization of school superintendents, Ogawa found the same themes which exist in the recruitment of occupational members (i.e. context, uncertainty and its accommodation, movement, and conservatism). He observed that

these general themes which emerge consistently across occupational structures suggest basic orientations which individuals are encouraged to sustain or develop as they are first recruited and then socialized for occupational membership (1979, p. 125).

The final occupational structure, reward, is described by Lortie (1975) as emphasizing "intrinsic rewards" (p. 101) and being "front-loaded" (p. 84) as to earnings and status. Lortie sees a "lack of staging" (p. 85) in the teaching occupation. Lortie concluded that the major occupational structures (i.e. recruitment, socialization, and rewards)

give rise to characteristic outlooks among teachers; the recurrent themes are conservatism, individualism, and presentism (p. 106).

Ogawa discovered recurring themes in his investigation of occupational rewards for school superintendents.

Like the recruitment and socialization structures, the patterns in superintendents'
descriptions of their occupation's reward structure reflect four basic themes: a sensitivity to context, an emphasis on movement, conservatism, and the accommodation of uncertainty (1979, pp. 142-143).

This study was in part an effort to identify and describe the recruitment, socialization, and reward structures of the occupation of senior high school principal. In this same vein, those orientations and sentiments which reflect these structures were sought.

While the review of the literature did not result in a description of these two elements of the ethos of the principalship, fragmentary clues and intimations of its nature were generated.

Wolcott, in his 1973 study, The Man in the Principal's Office, suggests that the school as a cultural system is perpetuated by structures similar to those which sustain an occupation. With regard to recruitment, Wolcott borrows from Turner (1960) to describe the processes by which teachers become principals. Turner suggests the concepts of "sponsored mobility" and "contest mobility" (1960, p. 855). Wolcott treats the two as complementary modes and casts them in the jargon of the literature of educational administration--"sponsorship" and "GASing" (i.e., Getting the Attention of Superiors, a term first used by Griffiths in a 1963 study of teacher mobility).
Wolcott (1973) found evidence of both "sponsorship" and "GASing" in the suburban school district where he conducted his study. However, he offers no evidence about the recruitment processes in the profession as a whole.

Mitchell and Hawley, in a 1972 study of public school principals, strike a negative tone in their conclusions about the recruitment of principals.

Generally, principals are selected and trained under the watchful eye of a patron in the central office of the school system. In the competition for administrative status and higher salaries, the kingmakers in the central office are able to choose people who are "right thinkers" according to their own values (p. 43).

The career route to the high school principalship changed significantly between the 1965 National Survey of senior high school principals sponsored by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (Hemphill, Richards, and Peterson) and the 1978 National Survey (Byrne, Hines, and McCleary). In the 1965 study most senior high school principals had served in an elementary school principalship (38 percent) or in a position as a guidance counselor (48 percent) in a school (Hemphill, et al.). The investigators in the 1978 study report that the career backgrounds of high school principals in 1977 were: high school assistant principal (54 percent), high school athletic director (35 percent), and junior high or middle
school principal or assistant principal (26 percent) (Byrne, et al.). It is notable that in 1977, only 14 percent of the high school principals had been elementary principals and only 18 percent had served as counselors (Byrne, et al.).

The senior high school principalship is a "white male dominated profession" (Byrne, et al., 1978, p. 18). Mitchell and Hawley (1972) found that the majority of principals grew up in small towns or rural areas. Principals in 1977 are better educated and entering the occupation at a later age in 1977 than their counterparts in 1965 (Byrne, et al.).

It is a recurrent theme in studies of modal characteristics of senior high school principals that they are "locals" rather than "cosmopolitans" (Mitchell and Hawley, 1972, pp. 40-41). Licata and Hack (1980), in a study involving all 28 principals in an innovative suburban school district, found that of 257 years accumulated administrative experience among district principals, 22 years were from outside of the district.

Research efforts indicate a great deal of homogeneity among senior high school principals. While no evidence is generated to point to a uniform system of recruiting, it is apparent that de facto such a system exists. In addition, there are no clues as to what orientations and
sentiments characterize the senior high school principalship as a result of the recruitment processes.

James G. March (1978) suggests that while career patterns in educational administration are orderly, they are also short, and very loosely structured. This mix of ambiguity and rigidity in educational administration may hold a clue to the outlooks which characterize high school principals.

As with the recruitment structure, the socialization process for new high school principals and the occupation's reward structure are not evident from a review of the literature.

Wolcott (1973) found that the socialization process for new principals begins long before they enter their first administrative position. He states that career decisions about becoming an administrator are made early and teachers who intend to "move up" exhibit different behaviors and a different orientation toward the authority system of a school and district from the very onset of their entry into teaching (p. 196).

Griffiths, et al. (1963), in a study of teacher mobility in New York City, and Blood (1966), in a study of recently appointed elementary principals in California, reached similar conclusions. For Griffiths, GASing behavior characterized this stage of the socialization process. Blood (1966) characterized the transition from the teaching
position into the principal position as a process of "anticipatory socialization," in which attitudes, behavior, and value systems are altered.

The period of socialization related to induction into the occupation is often the most intense and the results of several studies indicate that existing formal and informal structures contribute to the process. Wolcott (1973) sees periodic evaluation conferences for principals as direct and powerful means of socialization. Licata and Hack (1980) found that the process of principal selection and socialization was different for certain groups among principals. This differentiation in turn led to the establishment of separate formal groups and informal structures such as grapevines (Licata and Hack, 1980).

Cynthia Porter-Gehrie and others conducted an ethnographic study of school administration in Chicago beginning in 1977. The findings of that study indicate that the image of the principal as a "paper-pusher" is not supported. Beginning principals in the Porter-Gehrie study learn that the system operates much more from interpersonal interactions than from written directives. Much like the grapevine structures which Licata and Hack (1980) found, the Chicago study (1978) revealed principal-to-principal
networks which compensate for the structural isolation inherent in loosely coupled systems, where administration is only loosely connected to educational activities in the classroom (Weick, 1974; March, 1978).

Ogawa (1979) observed that most of the studies that address the socialization of school superintendents focus upon formal college training. Wolcott looked at the impact of formal academic preparation in his ethnographic study of the principalship. Going beyond the gross descriptions of training programs which most studies detail, Wolcott presents a different view of training programs as socialization agents.

Complaints about formal graduate studies in "ed-admin" are legion among practicing school administrators. Their complaints provide them with a common bond regardless of differences in the region of the country in which they work, where they pursued their administrative courses, or the types of schools or districts to which they are presently assigned (1973, p. 198).

In assessing the relationship between higher education and the principalship, Wolcott describes a paradox which may provide some hint as to orientations resulting from this part of the socialization process.

Thus in their process of becoming, principals learn to eschew the formal system of education even as they come to realize that in their chosen careers they can never escape its influence. At the same time, it is their steadfast belief in the importance of formal
education for others that gives them their highest professional purpose (p. 206).

Byrne, et al., in the 1978 NASSP study of the senior high school principalship, report that in 1977, more than eight in ten principals had completed formal education beyond a master's degree. The 1965 NASSP study showed that only five in ten principals had completed master's degrees (Hemphill, et al.). It is interesting to note that there has been a sizeable decrease in principals with an undergraduate major in humanities and a sizeable increase in principals with background in the social sciences since 1965 (1978, Byrne, et al.). Educational administration is the dominant major area of graduate study for senior high school principals (1978).

The reward structure is the third and final occupational structure examined in this study of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship. Lortie (1975) has proposed that the surrounding structure and culture of an occupation are likely to influence the emphasis on certain kinds of rewards rather than others. Lortie's main point about teachers' rewards is that they are intrinsic, with little emphasis on the acquisition of extrinsic rewards (1975). Ogawa (1979), in discussing the function of the reward structure, states that occupational "rewards serve to initially attract individuals
to a line of work, and contribute to retaining members in the occupation" (p. 32).

The review of the literature provided some fragmentary insights regarding high school principals' views about what is rewarding about their jobs.

Norton, writing in the School Executive magazine in 1956, presents an impressive view of the rewards and challenges of the secondary school principalship.

Ours is a profession of great scope and difficulty. Probably no other calling involves more complex elements—social, human and technical. Only persons of sound personality and superior preparations should enter this calling which successfully practiced is as rewarding as it is demanding (p. 84).

The literature on the principalship is rife with such platitudes, but short on descriptive information of occupational rewards.

In the Epilogue to The Man in the Principal's Office, Wolcott (1973) discussed those principals who find their work personally rewarding and satisfying. It is Wolcott's contention that these persons lean toward one or the other of two different (but not necessarily antithetical) styles: those who create a mini-technology of their own or those who are attracted by the potential for human development and human interaction in an elementary school. The former . . . serve the bureaucracy with special sensitivity to the expectations of those superior to them in its hierarchy.

The latter group work within the same institutional framework but find their purpose
in a commitment to the promise of education
and to the human aspects of the enterprise

It should be noted that Wolcott's views are singular and
reflect his work in intensive observation of one principal.

The NASSP surveys of high school principals in 1965
and 1977 do not include specific information about the
reward structure of the occupation. Data were collected
and aggregated as to salaries, satisfaction with career
choice, and prestige and self-fulfillment associated with
the principalship (1965, Hemphill, et al.; 1978, Byrne, et
al.). The median salary for high school principals has
increased since 1965, even after controlling for inflation.
Principals are "reasonably well satisfied" (1978, p. 18)
with their career choice, and are "less concerned in 1977
about public status and prestige than they were in 1965"
(p. 18).

In summary, there is little in the literature on the
principalship in the form of data based descriptions of the
processes and structures which develop and perpetuate the
high school principalship as an occupation. As Lortie
found with teachers and Ogawa discovered in searching the
literature on the superintendency, scholars and researchers
have for the most part described high school principals in
terms of easily identified and/or quantified characteris-
tics. As Ogawa (1979) has observed about superintendents,
of high school principals, "we know how old they are, how much they earn, where they were born and what jobs they have held; but we know little about how they are recruited, socialized and rewarded and know less about how they think about their work" (p. 35).

**Principals' Descriptions of Their Work.** The second element in this investigation of the occupational ethos of high school principals was to analyze the way principals describe their work.

A search of the literature did not reveal any specific studies of the way principals make sense of their work. Several studies of the principalship and the school as an organization contribute to an understanding of the nature of the work of principals. These studies have been classified for the purposes of this study into two fundamental types. The first are general compilations of the job functions of the principalship. Included with this classification are studies which describe principals' perceptions of various job functions. The second type are studies which include qualitative description of the day-to-day work of principaling.

Baehr, Burns, McPherson, and Salley (1974) conducted a national study to establish an "occupational analysis of the school principalship." They developed an instrument
for data gathering called the Job Functions Inventory for School Principals (1974). Participating principals were asked to rate 180 job functions on a scale of importance ranging from "outstanding" to "little or none." This ambitious effort generated a great deal of information about what principals do. However, the pre-determined response categories provided little insight into the ways principals characterize their work.

Byrne, et al. (1978) and Hemphill, et al. (1965) collected information about high school principals' job tasks and principals' perceptions of their scope of authority and obstacles to achievement of job objectives. This work provides accurate information which contributes to an understanding of the work of the principalship, but again does not get at the manner in which high school principals characterize that work.

In a 1977 survey of public secondary school principals, sponsored by the National Institute of Education, descriptive information was sought on the nature of high school programs, management, and organization (Abramowitz, Tenenbaum, Deal, and Stackhouse). The frequency of certain management activities and the importance principals attached to those activities are reported by Abramowitz, et al. (1977). These findings do not reveal principals' perceptions of their leadership behavior, but they do provide
some insight to the occupational orientations of high
school principals. In this same vein, Ovard (1966),
in his widely read book on secondary school administration,
includes a compilation of data on time spent by high school
principals on major categories of administrative duties.

Ogawa (1979) has suggested that certain themes recur
throughout the various accountings of the job functions of
the superintendency. This is also true (i.e. recurrent
themes) of the literature on job functions of the high
school principalship. One finds continual reference to
instructional improvement, school-community relations,
supervision, student discipline, finances, and facilities
throughout the literature. As Ogawa (1979) proposed, per­
haps these are roughly suggestive of elements of the ethos
of the occupation in focus--in this case, the senior high
school principalship.

The second type of study which contributes to an
understanding of the work of principals are those which
include qualitative description of the work of principals.
Included in this genre are case studies and studies in
which the activities of principals are observed.

Wolcott's (1973) ethnography of a suburban elementary
school principal is an intensive case study which provides
description and analysis of the behaviors of the principal
in focus for one school year. In essence, Wolcott described the ethos of a single principal.

Similarly, Blumberg and Greenfield (1980) conducted an inquiry into the behaviors of eight "highly effective" principals. In eight separate descriptive studies, the investigators sought to portray the individual principals' management style in a thematic way. Hence, the descriptors for the principals were as follows:

- The organizer: a whirling dervish;
- The value-based juggler: up front with kids' interests;
- The authentic helper: I am myself--and comfortable about it;
- The broker: the low-key service man who confronts;
- The humanist: the name of the game is "people--plus follow through";
- The catalyst: stirring the pot to create action;
- The rationalist: a new lady on the hill;
- The politician: "it really is a political game, you know" (pp. v-vi).

Henry Mintzberg popularized the research technique of structural observation in his study of the behavior of managers, *The Nature of Managerial Work* (1973). William J. Martin and Donald J. Willower (1980) applied Mintzberg's structural observation technique to a study of five high school principals. Martin and Willower concluded that the high school principal as a school manager:

- demonstrates little concern for affairs external to the school organization. Their hectic work environment displayed several cyclic phenomena. . . . principals appeared to have command of their work situations (1980, p. 1).
In their concluding comments, Martin and Willower (1980) make one qualification.

Structured observation does not lend itself to qualitative analysis, and therefore infrequently performed but vitally important tasks can be lost in a sea of numerical appraisal (p. 24).

Both Lortie (1975) and Ogawa (1979) suggest that research, which focuses on the observed behavior and the actual words of occupation group members, provides the clearest glimpse into the nature of an occupation's ethos available in the literature. The works of Lortie and Ogawa, and literature on the principalship reviewed up to this stage, all point to the observation that senior high school principals manifest common patterns in their work activities. Ogawa (1979) has asserted that:

The notion of an occupational ethos, an undergirding belief system common to occupation members, may indeed have social scientific utility (pp. 47-48).
The Meanings and Sentiments of Principals Toward Their Work. The third element utilized to describe the occupational ethos of the high school principalship involves the meanings and sentiments which principals attach to their work. This includes the feelings which high school principals have about the work they do.

In this research, the literature contains very little relevant research. Wolcott's principal, Ed Bell, expresses genuine sentiments about the principalship at various stages in the year-long ethnographic account. Much of the affect in Wolcott's description occurs in formal and informal encounters between Ed Bell and others. In a rare moment of resignation, Ed shares a sentiment about his work with a fellow principal.

Sometimes I ask myself, "I wonder just how important is all of this work I do?" It's not like bales of hay you can count, or sacks of oats. But I guess I've gotten used to it (Wolcott, 1973, p. 310).

Similarly, each of the eight principals studied by Blumberg and Greenfield (1980) expressed feelings toward their work. However, neither Wolcott or Blumberg and Greenfield ask principals directly about how they feel about their work.

Survey research among principals will often generate insights to principals' attitudes toward their work. Krajewsk (1978), in a survey of 1,127 Texas High School
principals found that principals ranking ten work roles, placed "administrator" first in their "real" ranking, but "instructional supervisor" first in their "ideal" ranking of the same ten work roles.

Responses to the level of aspiration section of the NASSP 1977 survey (Byrne, et al.) indicate a substantial increase in the percentage of principals who aspire to the superintendency or other central office positions over the 1965 survey (Hemphill, et al.) The NASSP 1977 survey (Byrne, et al.) ventured further into what Ogawa (1979) called "The Affective Terrain of an Occupation" (p. 49) in asking high school principals about constraints on their abilities to do their work. It is interesting to note that an overwhelming majority of principals estimated that desegregation/busing would not exercise any constraint on their schools (1978, Byrne, et al.). In fact, principals saw desegregation/busing as the least constraining of all factors surveyed.

Summary

The review of the literature on the principalship revealed that no study has been undertaken to describe the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship. The literature, however, does provide clues and fragmentary insights into the three elements which define
the ethos of the occupation: structures which perpetuate the occupation, principals' descriptions of their work, and the meanings and sentiments of principals toward their work.

It is clear that principals are former teachers. It is also clear that while access to the occupation appears to be fairly open, most high school principals share similar personal and social traits. This would indicate that some sort of selection process is occurring.

Little is known about recruitment, socialization, and reward structures. Less is known of the orientations which result from these structures. It is also clear that little attention has been focused on principals' descriptions of their own work.

Similarly, the literature provides few insights into the meanings and sentiments which high school principals attach to their work.

To conclude, the literature to date does not provide a description of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship. The clues that it does yield indicate that the notion of ethos, as developed by Lortie and refined by Ogawa, holds promise of being useful in improving understanding of the senior high school principalship as an important leadership role in education.
CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to describe the occupational ethos of the American senior high school principal. In the statement of the research problem and the review of the literature on the principalship, effort was made to develop and sharpen this purpose.

In Chapter One, discussion focused on both the lack of and the need for descriptive study of the senior high school principalship. In addition, emphasis was placed on developing the conceptual bases for this and further such investigations. A definition of ethos was adopted for the purposes of this study. It was a definition developed by Dan Lortie (1975), who described the ethos of schoolteachers, and utilized by Rodney Ogawa (1979), who described the ethos of the school superintendent. The occupational ethos was defined as follows:

Those general inclinations to act in a particular way which are shared by members of a profession as indicated in:

1. The attitudes expressed by members of a profession towards and resulting from their
profession's recruitment and socialization processes and reward structures, and

2. The perceptions and attitudes expressed by members of a profession towards their day-to-day work.

This definition of the occupational ethos of senior high school principals involves two dimensions of the occupation—structures and meanings. The bases for the descriptive approach applied in this study came from the work of Lortie (1975) on the ethos of teachers, Ogawa's efforts to describe the superintendent's ethos, the overall work of occupational sociology, and conceptualizations of meaning developed by Blumer (1956), Mooney (1974), Mead (1934), and Lofland (1971).

Lortie (1975) has suggested that major orientations found among members of the teaching occupation are repeatedly reinforced by the structure of the occupation. Occupational sociologists have traditionally described occupations on a continuum of occupational dimensions such as recruitment, socialization and rewards (Ritzer, 1972; Pavalko, 1971; Hughes, 1958). Ogawa (1979) found that the nature of an occupation's structure would provide insights to its ethos.

It was inferred that the second dimension of the occupational ethos explored here—meanings high school principals attached to their work—would indicate themes which
would be descriptive of common sentiments on the part of principals in their work descriptions. Blumer (1956), in describing the process by which humans attach meaning to phenomena, proposed that people guide themselves by defining the objects, events, and situations which they encounter (1956). It was inferred that common themes among high school principals in this process of "defining" would point to general sentiments shared by members of the occupation. Further, in this same vein, George Herbert Mead (1934) concluded that meanings and sentiments can be identified through analysis of the verbal productions of human beings.

As a result of the examination of the problem and the development of a conceptual framework, it was determined that the description of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship would be approached along the same dimensions taken by Lortie (1975) and later Ogawa (1979)—i.e., structures and meanings.

The review of the literature on the principalship was reported in Chapter Two. In addition to a broad overview of writings and studies focusing on the principalship and high schools, the review centered on particular elements of the literature which provided some insight into the two dimensions of the ethos. It was clear from an examination of several research reports, that high school principals
share similar personal and social traits. This would indicate that some sort of selection process was occurring. However, general knowledge about the recruitment, socialization, and reward structures of the occupation is limited.

In the same manner, a search of the related literature revealed little about the meanings and sentiments which high school principals attach to their work.

The review of the literature on the principalship revealed that no study had been undertaken to describe the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship. It did however yield clues and fragmentary insights into the elements which define the ethos of the occupation—structures and meanings.

Two approaches were taken in this description of the occupational ethos of the high school principalship. Both are based on the conceptual groundwork developed in Chapter One and the findings of the literature search reported in Chapter Two. In addition, these approaches replicated those taken by Lortie (1975) on schoolteachers and Ogawa (1979) on the superintendency. To repeat, these two approaches were: first, the analysis of three occupational structures—recruitment, socialization, and rewards—for patterns revealing general orientations; and second, the analysis of high school principals' descriptions of their
work for patterns which indicated the order with which they saw that work and the sentiments they attached to it.

The balance of this chapter on the design of the study consists of description and discussion of the research methods applied in regard to data collection, selection of samples of respondents, and data analysis.

**Data Collection**

Up to this point the research problem has been identified and stated in detail. Mooney referred to this activity as a process of "sensing" the problem, "focusing" on it, and then "centering" on it (Mooney, 1979). Mooney called the next stage of inquiry the "engaging" of the problem, or in research parlance, the collection of data (Mooney, 1979). Kerlinger pointed to data collection as the initial step in the conduct of descriptive research in the field (Kerlinger, 1973).

Collection of data for this study occurred in two phases. The first phase involved the collection and compilation of data from the national survey of senior high school principals conducted by the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1977-78 (Byrne, et al.), which included measures of the recruitment, socialization and reward structures of the occupation of high school principal. The second phase involved interviews with a sample of persons serving as high school principals. In
the tradition of Lortie (1975) and Ogawa (1979), this phase was an effort to capture the respondent's personal characterizations of the high school principalship.

NASSP Survey Data

Kerlinger (1973) defines survey research as that branch of social scientific research which studies large and small populations by selecting and studying samples chosen from the populations to discover the relative incidence, distribution, and interrelations of sociological and psychological variables (p. 410).

Data were collected using survey methods. Those data concerning the occupational structures of the high school principalship were drawn from the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) 1977-78 national survey of senior high school principals (Byrne, et al.). Data concerning the following specific characteristics were taken from the total NASSP survey:

1. Distribution of principals by sex.
2. Distribution of principals by age.
4. Formal education completed.
5. Distribution of undergraduate majors.
6. Age at initial appointment.
7. Years in the principalship
8. Number of principalships.
9. Professional activities.
12. Average work week of principals.
13. Allocation of time for a typical work week.
14. Principals' ratings of job characteristics.
15. Administrative roadblocks.
17. Principals' ranking of educational tasks.
18. Principals' beliefs about broad educational issues.
19. Constraints of the principal in fulfilling responsibilities of his job.
20. Responses to "would you make the same career choice?"

Characteristics 1-3 and 6 were examined as measures of the recruitment structure of the principalship. Characteristics 4, 5, 9 and 11 were studied as evidence of the occupation's socialization structures. Characteristics 7, 8, 16, and 20 were analyzed as measures of the occupation's reward structure. The last set of characteristics (10, 12-15, 17-19), were utilized as part of the data on the work of the senior high school principalship.
In the second stage of data collection, data were gathered through interviews of fifteen persons serving as senior high school principals in Ohio public schools during the 1979-80 school year. The specialized nature of this study and the knowledgeability of those to be interviewed suggested the need for what Dexter characterized as an "elite interview." He defined such an approach as:

An interview with any interviewee—a stress should be placed on the word "any"—who in terms of the current purposes of the interviewer is given special, non-standardized treatment. By special, non-standardized treatment I mean

1. stressing the interviewee’s definition of the situation,
2. encouraging the interviewee to structure the account of the situation,
3. letting the interviewee introduce to a considerable extent (an extent which will of course vary from project to project and interviewer to interviewer) his notions of what he regards as relevant, instead of relying upon the investigator’s notions of relevance. (Dexter, 1970)

The "intensive", "elite" interview was particularly appropriate for this study. Previous efforts at describing the ethos of an occupation employed such a strategy (Lortie, 1975; Ogawa, 1979). It was clear that this approach involved less prospect for the generalizability of findings associated with large samples employed in survey research. However, the approach afforded greater accuracy of description and richness of detail than a written survey would
have produced. Webb, et al., pointed out that the interviewer's power to introduce and reintroduce topics allows a greater "density" of relevant data (Webb, et al., 1966).

Lofland made the distinction between an interview "guide" and an interview "schedule." While the schedule is essentially a questionnaire, the guide is more a "list of things to be asked about when talking to the person interviewed" (Lofland, 1971). An interview guide (see Appendix A) was developed for use in the semi-structured interviews with high school principals. The bases for this guide were the general research questions outlined earlier in Chapter One, a preliminary analysis of the NASSP survey data, and pilot interviews conducted with two high school principals not included in the study sample. Lofland suggested the need for "neutrality" in the wording of questions (Lofland, 1971). This helps preserve the free-flowing and probing character of intensive interviewing (Lofland, 1971). As such, questions were general and open-ended in nature. Interviews were conducted in person, by the researcher, in the principal's own school. Each interview was taperecorded and later transcribed. None of the interviewees objected to a request to taperecord the interview. All respondents were informed that their identities would remain confidential in any and all reporting of data or analysis of data.
Prior to contacting any respondent, a letter was sent to the Executive Director of the Ohio Association of Secondary School Administrators, outlining the study and requesting an appointment with this individual to discuss the study (see Appendix D). A subsequent meeting was held with the Associate Executive Director of OASSA (the Executive Director was called away prior to the meeting by an emergency). This meeting was held prior to any of the interviews with principals. The purpose of the meeting was twofold. The first was to enable the researcher to indicate to principals that the proposal had been reviewed with the chief executive of their state professional association. Secondly, the executive's comments were viewed as a valuable source of information about the high school principalship in Ohio.

All interviews were conducted in April, 1980. Each person to be interviewed was sent a letter, outlining the study and requesting an interview (see Appendix B). The introductory letter was accompanied by a letter of support from the major faculty adviser at The Ohio State University (see Appendix C). The purpose of this letter of support was to comment on the significance of the study and to place it in the context of areas of inquiry being pursued in related research at Ohio State. A phone contact followed to set up an interview appointment and to
respond to questions or concerns the person might have about the study.

At this point, a comment about the reliability of interview data is in order. A potential source of distortion lies in the informant's reporting in the interview situation. It was important to facilitate an objective performance in the interview. However, in seeking to describe the ethos of an occupation, it was necessary to focus on more than whether the informant had given an accurate account of some particular event (McCall and Simmons, 1969). Dean and Whyte suggested a particular research point of view in assessing the reliability of the intensive interview. That is:

The informant's statements represent merely the perception of the informant, filtered and modified by his cognitive and emotional reactions and reported through his personal verbal usages (Dean and Whyte, 1958).

In addition, it should be pointed out that the attitudes and sentiments expressed in the interview were only those which the informant was willing to articulate in that "particular interview situation" (Dean and Whyte, 1958).

As was stated earlier, this interview approach to data collection, if used as the single source of field data, clearly limits the generalizability of findings of the research project. Other factors, such as the abilities and motivations of the interviewer and interviewee,
influence the quality of the interview data. Certain qualitative researchers suggest that genuine interest in the aims of the research is the most efficacious motive for honest, accurate responses in an interview situation (McCall and Simmons, 1969). The suggestion here is that the high school principals who were the subjects of this study were likely to provide data that had those limitations ordinarily expected of interviews. Thus, an additional check on the accuracy of inferences to be drawn from the interview data was made. The researcher spent at least four hours with each principal to be interviewed. A portion of the day was devoted to the formal interview. The shortest interview was one hour and five minutes while the longest was two hours and twenty minutes. The other thirteen interviews were each approximately two hours in length. The remainder of the researcher's time was spent in the role of a non-participant observer in the conduct of the principal's day-to-day work. A log was kept of these observations. The data recorded in the log was an ancillary data source. They were scanned for information that reinforced or contradicted the data acquired through the interviews.
Sampling Procedure

Survey Sample

A random sample of 1600 high school principals was identified as the survey population for the NASSP survey (Byrne, et al., 1978). Of the 1600 in the random sample of senior high school principals nationwide, 1,131 returned usable questionnaires within the established time limit. This represented a 70.6 percent return rate.

Data were stratified by geographical region, type of community, size of school, type of school, and per pupil expenditure. In each case, all stratifications of the sample were judged to be representative.

Interview Sample

Persons to be interviewed were selected from the total population of those individuals serving as senior high school principals in Central Ohio, that is, in the seventeen counties that are within a 75 mile radius of the City of Columbus. The use of a small sample of respondents was dictated by the data collection technique (intensive interviewing), and the limited financial and time resources at the disposal of the investigator. It was understood that this placed severe limitations on the generalizability of findings. It also limited the relative stability of responses and the possibility of analysis of subgroups within
the target population. Ogawa (1979) suggested that these limitations are offset by the depth of understanding which interviews provide. In the same vein, Lortie noted that the "benefits of intensity are purchased at the cost of scope" with the methodology employed here (Lortie, 1975).

A total of fifteen high school principals were interviewed. The sampling frame consisted of a list of the 106 high schools in the "universe" of the 17 counties in Central Ohio, which offer programs in grades 9 through 12 or grades 10 through 12. Schools which had any other grade grouping and regional joint vocational schools were not included in the frame. This "purposive" or "judgemental" approach was applied because it was determined that a population and sample consisting entirely of comprehensive 9 through 12 and 10 through 12 senior high schools was desirable. Thus, atypical elements of the universe were not included in the frame, and a probability sample was selected.

First, counties were listed alphabetically (e.g., Champaign to Union). Second, school districts were listed alphabetically (e.g., in Champaign County: Bellefontaine to West Liberty-Salem), within each county, with city districts first, exempted villages second, and local districts third.
Third, high schools were listed alphabetically within each of the three types of school districts (e.g., in Franklin County, Columbus City: Beechcroft to Whetstone). Thus the first high school on the list is Bellefontaine High School in Champaign County, Bellefontaine City School District. Likewise, the last school on the list of 106 is North Union High School in Union County, North Union Local School District.

A systematic sample was selected with a selection interval of 7. This interval was obtained by dividing the population size (106) by the desired sample size (15). This type of probability sampling was carried out until selections were made from 1 to 105. In fact, 14 of the initial 15 respondents selected participated in the study and the next subject in the selection process replaced the one non-participant. The individual who declined to be interviewed stated a lack of time as the reason he could not participate.

In the final sample selection, there were 7 city district high schools, 7 local district high schools, and 1 exempted village district high school. The actual ratio of city to local to exempted village high schools in the frame was 9.4:10.8:1.0. This indicates a representative sample by district type.
Analysis of Data

The analysis of data involved various methods aimed at achieving a description of the nature and content of the high school principals' ethos.

Quantitative Summary of Data

The initial stage of analysis consisted of organizing and summarizing the mass of data gathered in the 1978 NASSP National Survey of high school principals. Data reflecting the 20 characteristics drawn from the NASSP survey were summarized by determining proportions of the whole in percentages. These figures were then placed in tabular form (see Appendix E, Table 1 - 5).

The first stage of analyzing the interview data involved a detailed content analysis. Scott referred to "determining the frequency of various occurrences" as one of the purposes of a descriptive study (Scott, 1965). Effort was made to note the frequency of particular responses on the part of those principals who were interviewed. Response categories were not pre-determined, but emerged from the content analysis of the interview data themselves.

Qualitative Analysis

The second stage of data analysis involved a search for what Scott called the "unitary character" and Lofland
referred to as the "structure, order, and patterns" among the objects of inquiry (Scott, 1965; Lofland, 1971). In this study, the interview and survey data were analyzed for common patterns in the recruitment, socialization and rewards of the high school principalship, and in the ways that high school principals characterized their work. Mooney referred to this process as "fitting" (Mooney, 1979). From these patterns, the general orientations which characterize the principalship and the personal sentiments of principals for their work were construed.

The procedure in this final step was referred to by Merton as "post factum sociological interpretation" (Merton, 1957). Merton contended that such explanation

remains at the level of "plausibility" (low evidential value) rather than leading to "compelling evidence" (a high degree of confirmation). (Merton, 1957)

This procedure did not yield those "enduring theoretical structures" often associated with quantitative sociological analysis (Rist, 1979). However, "merely plausible" explanations of human behavior were found in the description of the occupational ethos of the high school principalship (Liebow, 1967).

Operating within the conceptual framework described earlier, the "unitary" character of the occupational ethos
of American high school principals was described.

Analysis of Interview Data

Earlier in this chapter, the procedures for the collection of interview data were discussed. In addition to the sound tapes of formal interviews, a log was kept of field notes and recorded observations. These notes covered the period which the researcher spent as a non-participant observer "shadowing" the principal. As was stated above, this information served as an ancillary data source to check the consistency of the interview data. In addition, these notes were a valuable "recall prompt" in the analysis of the interview tape transcripts.

The initial step in the analysis of interview data was to listen to the tapes. Next, the tapes were transcribed verbatim. After editing out irrelevant material from these verbatim transcripts, responses were organized into files according to the twenty-seven questions in the interview guide (see Appendix A).

At this point, key words and phrases began to emerge to form response categories. As these categories were developed, a detailed content analysis was done to determine the frequency of particular responses. The "distilled" or "refined" transcripts were next organized according to the four categories of recruitment, socialization, reward, and attitudes toward work—the dimensions of the ethos.
which give focus to this study. The NASSP survey data were already organized in this manner. The interview and survey data were combined according to the four categories. Recruitment, socialization, reward, and work themes followed the further analysis of the mix of data. It is important to note that the development of common themes was an evolutionary process. Many apparent themes in the initial stages of data analysis were not sustained by the complete process.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this work are rooted in the nature of the overall purpose and in research methods employed to achieve that purpose.

The theoretical concept of "ethos" is both broad and vague. As with many other social scientific theories, its essential qualities are a matter of speculation. Certainly, the characteristics of ethos which emerged were to some degree determined by the research questions asked and the theoretical perspective derived from Lortie and Ogawa. A problem inherent in the research process is the likelihood that elements of the problem will be overlooked. In this case, some dimensions of the ethos of the high school principal possibly went undetected. The complexity of identifying and describing those elements of the ethos which give direction to this study, precluded purely
empirical observation. This insured the need for some inference in observations made.

Research methods employed allowed for the collection of a wide array of attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs. However, the cost of such methods precluded the use of a large sample of high school principals. This in turn prevents the kind of statistical assessment which leads to generalizability of findings.

Summary

Following in the tradition of earlier studies of occupations, the senior high school principalship was viewed through the structures of the occupation and through the meanings which members derive from their work. Through a process which Ogawa (1979) referred to as analytic distillation, these two dimensions of the senior high school principalship yielded a description of its ethos.

Extensive survey data were utilized to obtain the basic characteristics of the recruitment, socialization, and reward structures of the occupation of the high school principal. Intensive interviews were conducted with a sample of fifteen senior high school principals, in an effort to record their characterizations of the work of the principalship. The survey and interview data were then analyzed for patterns from which basic orientations and sentiments of high school principals could be inferred. Thus, the
occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship was described.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY - PART ONE
OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURES AND ORIENTATIONS

A description of the occupational ethos of senior high school principals was the object of this inquiry. The description reported here is the result of the analysis of two major dimensions of the occupation of the senior high school principalship: orientations engendered by occupational structures and meanings attached by principals to their work. Research findings are reported in three chapters.

Findings presented in this chapter include patterns found in the interview and NASSP survey data that relate to the recruitment, socialization, and reward structures of the occupation. In addition, orientations engendered by these structures are described. Chapter Five includes patterns identified in high school principals' descriptions of their work and the meanings and sentiments they attach to that work. In Chapter Six, insights attained in studying the principalship along these two dimensions
are synthesized to describe the occupational ethos of senior high school principals.

Introduction

The high school principalship is perpetuated as an occupation by the processes of recruiting, socializing and rewarding of its members. These are major dimensions of the ethos of the high school principalship. Each of these structures is interrelated and no clear distinction among them exists. However, arbitrary distinctions must be made and each structure will be discussed separately. In previous efforts at describing the ethos of an occupation, this strategy was employed (Lortie, 1975; Ogawa, 1979). Such an organizing framework sharpens data analysis and makes for clearer exposition of each element of the ethos prior to synthesis.

Occupational Recruitment

The occupational recruitment structure of the senior high school principalship is characterized by elements common to many other occupations and factors unique to the principalship. Occupational sociologists describe recruitment as qualities and processes of an occupation which determine who will become members (Pavalko, 1971; Krause, 1971). It should be noted that recruitment in this context does not refer to the personnel management function in formal
organizations. Lortie borrowed from Park (1924) in describing recruitment as an ecological process which operates without deliberate formulation or control (1975, p. 26).

Lortie identified two major types of recruitment resources: attractors and facilitators. Attractors refer to benefits and facilitators include patterns which accommodate the movement of individuals into the occupation. These recruitment resources were identified in the interview and survey data. Patterns identified were analyzed for general themes which characterize the recruitment structure.

Attractors To The Principalship

What is it about the high school principalship that attracts people to it as an occupation? These attractions are likely to be indicative of certain orientations toward the occupation.

The Attractor of Service. The opportunity to be of service to society is characteristic of educational occupations. Lortie presented evidence of this notion in his study of teachers (1975). Ogawa found that superintendent's were also attracted by the opportunities their occupation provided for public service (1979).

Senior high school principals express similar attitudes about the service dimension. The following comments are illustrative of the commitment to community service
repeatedly expressed in interviews with principals:

I wanted the opportunity to influence more students. I wanted to spread my success with youngsters to more of them and make this community a better place to live in. (Principal 5)

I became a principal in the late 60's and the authority structure was under fire. It was my mind that it was going to take strong leadership to get through the 70's. I saw a challenge and wanted to be a part of it. (Principal 6)

The general notion of public service in educational occupations has more specific application for high school principals when combined with other occupational attractors.

The Attractor of Leadership For Improvement. Each of the senior high school principals interviewed was attracted to the authority and control the position of principal would give. It was clear from their talk that they were attracted by the leadership role within a particular school, working with a particular staff and student body. Many high school principals were attracted by the opportunity to improve a particular high school program. Principals spoke of wanting to "change things for the better", "do things for youngsters." Principal 13 taught under a "poor" principal and entered the occupation to "create an atmosphere where teachers could teach and students could learn." Most principals had high expectations about what
an effective principal could accomplish. Principal 3's comment is representative: "The principal was the fellow who put everything together and made the thing go."

Ogawa indicated that superintendents consistently spoke of providing leadership for program improvement. High school principals talk most often of improving individual teacher performance and student behavior. An analysis of the NASSP survey indicates that about 96 percent of respondent high school principals indicated a strong need for the "opportunity to help others" in rating "job characteristics" (NASSP, 1978).

Senior high school principals consistently combined the attractor of service with the opportunity to provide leadership for improvement in a school, a staff, and a student body.

The Attractor Of Salary. Principals clearly stated that salary was an initial attraction for them to the occupation. This attraction was rooted more in salary differences between teachers and principals than in a view that the principalship was a particularly high paying job.

Principal 7 states that "upward mobility, money, and challenge lured me" to the occupation. Other principals referred to the principalship as "a chance to get ahead", "a more prestigious job than teaching". While it was clear that principals were attracted by the salary and prestige
associated with the occupation, other attractions appeared to be more fundamental to the group as a whole. In explaining their occupational choices, high school principals placed greater emphasis on service and leadership as attractors than on salary. Principal 9's comments are representative.

Sure the money was attractive - who wants to be poor. But there is more to it than that. I get a lot of satisfaction out of making this place benefit kids. I like to see students excel. I know I'm indirectly a part of it.

In the NASSP survey, principals were not asked to rate salary separately as an attraction. However, analysis of the data indicates that high school principals are well-satisfied with their career choice (NASSP, 1978). This, coupled with the high rating of "opportunity to help others" as a job characteristic, suggest that salary is not the primary occupational attractor.

Summary. Three major occupational attractors were identified by senior high school principals. The first was the attractor of service. Principals, like members of other education occupations, have a strong commitment to public service. Secondly, principals were attracted by the opportunity to provide leadership for the improvement of a particular school and individual staff and students of that school. Service was an overall attraction of that occupation, while directing improvement in a school was a
specific attractor. The third major attractor was the salary of the high school principalship. Principals talked of salary in relation to teaching salaries only. Thus, salary was not viewed as a powerful attractor, but only as it related to others in educational work.

Facilitators In The Recruitment Process

In his 1979 study of school superintendents, Ogawa found that certain patterns characterized the process by which superintendents were recruited and selected. In fact, Ogawa's findings suggest that these patterns are present when individuals are initially selected to be school administrators - i.e. principals. All but one of Ogawa's interview subjects were former principals, and 70.6% of the A.A.S.A. national survey population had served as principals.

Ogawa identified four general patterns in the recruitment of school superintendents: the constrained pool from which superintendents were recruited, the deferred occupational decision, the element of chance, and the subjectivity of selection (1979). It is not surprising that these same four general facilitators emerge from the interview and survey data in this study of senior high school principals. In addition, one other significant facilitator is evident from the data on high school principals - the role of sponsor. Each of these five
facilitators will be discussed as they developed from interview and survey data. While particular elements of the ethos of the high school principal may resemble those of other occupations, it is what Lortie calls "the particular constellation" of orientations and sentiments unique to the high school principal which was sought.

The Constrained Pool Of Candidates. Senior high school principals were recruited from the ranks of classroom teachers. The entire sample of interview subjects for this study were former teachers. Respondent principals in the NASSP national survey were almost exclusively former classroom teachers.

It is significant that high school principals are virtually all former teachers. Principals are drawn from an occupation with its own peculiar pattern of orientations and sentiments - its own ethos. This is important in that it helps to further explain similarities in the attractors identified by Lortie (1975) among teachers, by Ogawa (1979) among superintendents, and those attractors identified in this study.

The Deferred Occupational Decision. Senior high school principals for the most part do not aspire to the principalship until they become classroom teachers. Evidence for this suggestion is that thirteen of the fifteen
interviewed considered the principalship for the first time as teachers. The NASSP survey did not address this issue, which severely limits generalization here. One of Ogawa's findings was that individuals do not pursue the superintendency as an occupational goal until they are already educators (1979). There is reason to suggest that senior high school principals are aspiring to the superintendency more so than in the past. The 1965 NASSP national survey indicated that 14% of American high school principals aspired to be superintendents, while the 1978 survey placed that number at 33%. Even more compelling evidence of this is the finding in Cunningham and Hentges' 1982 study of superintendents that 55 percent of American superintendents were high school principals.

Increased aspirations by a minority of high school principals may be explained by the fact that principals today are more highly trained and better educated than they were fifteen years ago.

The Element Of Chance. While all the principals aspired to the principalship as classroom teachers, their entry into administration was often a chance occurrence. Principals were most candid about the role luck played in many of their rises to the principalship.

My first job came by accident one summer when they needed someone and I was available. (Principal 2)
The previous superintendent offered me the job without warning. (Principal 13)

Being drafted into the job was a key event for me. (Principal 15)

An important factor in my becoming a principal was that none of the people available when I got my first job were acceptable. That made them turn to me because my teaching was very successful. (Principal 16)

Timing and chance were clearly seen by principals as having a powerful influence on their prospects of fulfilling their career goals. A principal of an urban high school in a large city school district discusses his expectations prior to entering the principalship:

I wanted to be a high school principal. However, I knew that the first black secondary principal in _______ was in 1921 and the next was 1960. Based on those 40 years I had no idea that I would get a chance. (Principal 5)

The Subjectivity Of Selection. High school principals were hard pressed to explain why they as individuals were recruited and selected as school administrators. Ogawa (1978) found similar results in his work with superintendents. However, when asked for their own criteria for selecting high school principals, interview subjects in this study gave detailed responses. It is interesting to note this in contrast to Ogawa's superintendents who found it difficult to describe their own standards for selecting administrators. Cunningham and Hentges (1982) more
recently have found that 66.6 percent of the superintendents in the A.A.S.A. national survey believe their hiring was based on "personal characteristics and qualifications."

The one criterion high school principals consistently mentioned was the need for highly developed human relations skills. Each principal was asked to describe "What it takes to be able to work as a high school principal." High school principals for the most part spoke of requisite skills, attributes, and knowledge in terms of "people."

...the ability to create harmony among people is the key. (Principal 4)

The key is to be a manager of conflict and a solver of problems. I resolve six to ten conflict situations a day. (Principal 7)

...the ability to accommodate interest groups and keep their initiative without having them take over. (Principal 9)

You have to be able to create an awareness in people of your concern for their roles in the school. (Principal 10)

...to get people to do what needs to be done and make them feel good about it. I guess it comes down to manipulation. (Principal 12)

You need an uncanny sense of when to push people and when to back off. (Principal 16)

Thus, it would appear that high school principals do not place a premium on knowledge of teaching for effectiveness in the work of "principaling." This would suggest that high school principals are recruited from the teach-
ing profession based more on their skills in human relations than on their competence as instructors.

The Role Of A Sponsor. Each of the principals in the interview sample discussed events and people that were key to his becoming a high school principal. Sponsorship was a recurring topic in their talk. Being "tapped" by a mentor or patron is a common story. Principal 10 spoke of the man who gave him his first vice-principalship.

My old principal took the time to compliment, praise and mentor me. It was an absolute break to work and learn under such a principal at such a young age.

That "absolute break" is an important key to the recruitment structure of the high school principalship. More often than not, principals recruit principals. Twelve of the fifteen principals interviewed expressed the view that a principal they worked under was pivotal in their becoming principals.

Many were reluctant to suggest that there was actual sponsorship. They preferred to focus on the inspiration and motivation provided by this key individual.

...he helped me a lot... But mostly he had confidence in me. (Principal 9)

The former principal here told me, "You're a leader and you should pursue this profession..." (Principal 12)

While sponsorship is part of the jargon of the literature of educational administration, it is a delicate
area to pursue in an interview. The NASSP survey did not address this element of recruitment at all. Daniel E. Griffiths (1963) described an orientation of upwardly mobile teachers by using the term "GASing"-i.e., getting the attention of superiors. High school principals for the most part appear to have been "GASers" as classroom teachers. Cunningham and Hentges (1982) found that 68.2 percent of the superintendents in a national survey considered themselves to be mentors. It is likely that high school principals are among the beneficiaries of such sponsorship.

Summary. Five major occupational facilitators were identified by senior high school principals. First was the restrained pool of candidates from which the principalship draws its members. High school principals are drawn from the ranks of a single occupation - classroom teaching. Secondly, the recruitment of senior high school principals is characterized by the deferment of occupational decision. Principals do not aspire to the principalship until they are teachers. The third facilitator was the element of chance. For principals, entry into the occupation was often a chance occurrence. Fourth, it would appear that many individuals are first selected as principals according to subjective and sometimes unclear standards. One specific
criterion which principals themselves often suggest is skill in human relations. The final recruitment facilitator is the role of sponsor. High school principals are "brought in" to the occupation regularly by the principals they work under as classroom teachers.

The occupational recruitment structure of the senior high school principalship is characterized by two types of recruitment resources: attractors and facilitators. Principals are attracted by the opportunity to be of service, the prospect of providing leadership for school improvement, and the salary of the principalship. Entry into the occupation was facilitated by the constrained candidate pool, the deferment of occupational decision, the element of chance, subjective selection, and sponsorship.

These attractors and facilitators together provide a clearer view of the occupation's recruitment structure.

General Themes Which Characterize The Recruitment Structure

The patterns found in the recruitment resources of the principalship are descriptive of the recruitment structure of the occupation. As Lortie (1975) has proposed, recruitment structures determine, to a great extent, the orientations of occupation members.
Four general themes characterize the recruitment of senior high school principals: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school.

The Insular Theme. Senior high school principals have an insular view of the high school social system. Principals talk like "ship captains". They spice their comments with metaphors like "keeping afloat", "staying on course", and "weathering the storm". Most principals are recruited from within the high school.

Patterns in the recruitment structure encourage principals to attend more to their own organizations than to the larger context of school district or community. The attraction of providing leadership for school or individual improvement reflects this theme of insularity. In addition, high school principals consistently describe their attraction to the service dimension of the occupation in terms of their singular school and the individuals in that particular school environment.

Certain of the facilitators among recruitment resources described above reflect the insular theme. The subjectivity of selection and the awareness of the role of a sponsor lead many high school principals to be attentive to their own
schools much more so than to the external environment. Principal 11's words reflect a prevailing point of view:

You don't really become the principal of the school when the board and superintendent hire you. You're not the principal of a high school until the teachers and students recognize you as the principal.

In brief, patterns in the occupational recruitment structure encourage high school principals to be most attentive to the context of their own schools and lacking in sensitivity to the external environment.

The Style Theme. The second theme which emerges from analysis of patterns in the recruitment structure is the emphasis on style. In looking at their occupation and the high school as an organization, principals are inclined to focus on individual manners and actions rather than organizational structures. In discussing factors which influence success in their high schools, principals place major emphasis on leadership style. Most high school principals indicate that they were recruited into the principalship because of such things as "personality", "ability to make decisions", "guts", "moxie", or "knowing how to get along with people." Knowledge of educational administration or instructional expertise was rarely mentioned in this vein. Most principals echoed the sentiment that "how" you do things is often more important than "what" you do. Longer experience in the principalship seems further to reinforce
Thus the recruitment structure encourages principals to place greater emphasis on administrative behavior than on the science of administration. This theme is consistent with patterns in the recruitment structure. Sponsorship and the subjectivity of selection as described by principals reflects this emphasis on style.

The Process Theme. The third theme evident in the attractors and facilitators of the recruitment structure of the principalship is a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product. Each of the principals interviewed expressed concern for student achievement and the need for results in the instructional program. However, in detailed, probing discussions of their day to day work, things like "saving" a wayward student or teacher or "turning someone around" were seen as more gratifying than more dramatic success stories. This type of attitude was also described as the kind that was attractive in prospective principals.

The attractor of leadership for school improvement reflects the process theme. High school principals most often first caught the attention of their sponsors by their suc-
cess with student discipline and supervision, rather than their effectiveness in bringing about student achievement. The subjective nature of the selection process makes it likely that principals and former principals in the central office will select process-oriented people like themselves rather than those who focus on results.

The Control Theme. The final theme which characterizes the recruitment structure of the high school principalship is a sense of control over the domain of the high school. Principals exhibit in their words and actions an attitude that they are on top of things within their own organizations. Several patterns in the recruitment structure reflect this theme. The attractor of leadership for improvement emphasizes control and authority. There is a sense of control reflected in being the highest paid person in the school.

Teachers who demonstrate substantial control over their area of responsibility are likely to stand out in the constrained candidate pool of the recruitment structure. Sponsoring principals are likely to tap prospective principals who reflect their own sense of control over their domain.
A final pattern which reflects the control theme is the subjectivity of selection. The only specific criterion principals identified for the selection of high school principals was skill in human relations. This facilitator in the recruitment structure is likely to encourage the emphasis on control - particularly of people - on the part of high school principals.

In summary, it has been suggested that high school principals see themselves as a buffer between their school and the outside world. Their orientation is toward the high school as a closed social system. Principals are not particularly sensitive to the external environment of the school. Leadership style occupies the attention of high school principals more than organizational structure. The attitudes and feelings of teachers and students are attended to more than their performances in their roles. Finally, high school principals see themselves as very much "in control" and "on top of" their schools.

The occupational recruitment structure of the senior high school principalship is characterized by four basic themes which stress: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school.
**Occupational Socialization**

Occupational sociologists and other students of work roles have observed two dimensions of occupational socialization—training programs and on-the-job experience (Pavalko, 1971; Lortie, 1975; Ogawa, 1979). Principals' comments were analyzed for patterns in occupational socialization. Formal and informal levels of socialization within each dimension were probed in interviews. In addition, the NASSP survey data was examined for socialization patterns, at both the formal and informal levels within each dimension.

Other sources of occupational socialization which emerged from the data were identified and analyzed for patterns which characterize the socialization structure.

**Training Programs**

Each of the fifteen high school principals interviewed held a master's degree plus additional graduate course work in educational administration. None held earned doctorates. An analysis of the NASSP survey data indicates that 99% of American high school principals held master's degrees. Only 9% of the nationwide sample held doctorates. (See Appendix E, Table 1.) Formal training programs for high
school principals are college or university-based graduate programs.

The nature of the course work taken by high school principals in their preparation programs reveals important characteristics of formal level socialization. In the NASSP survey, respondent principals were asked to rate 25 topics frequently offered as pre-service courses for utility to the beginning principal. Five courses which were considered highly "essential" by principals were School Law, Curriculum, School Management, Supervision of Instruction, and Human Relations. Ten other courses were viewed as important by at least 70% of those practitioners surveyed: Secondary School Principalship, School Finance and Budgeting, Personnel Administration, Leadership, Community Relations, Internship and Field Experience, Child and Adolescent Development, Psychology of Learning, Counseling and Guidance, and Negotiations.

There is a clear pattern evident in this list. High school principals favor and receive substantial training in knowledge and skills directly related to school building management.

This pattern indicates little emphasis by principals on courses which treat administration in a broad theoretical sense. In fact, only 32% rated Administrative Theory and Practice as essential. Similarly, Philosophy of
Education was viewed as essential by 21%, while just 5% identified History of Education as being essential to the beginning principal.

A less distinct, but significant pattern is that formal training programs for high school principals do in fact emphasize the instructional aspects of a school's operation. It is interesting to note that in his study of school superintendents, Rodney Ogawa did not find such an emphasis in the formal training of superintendents. This implies that the shift away from the concept of the superintendent as an instructional leader does not suggest as strong a shift in the high school principal's role as an instructional leader.

In their analysis of the NASSP survey data, Byrne, Hynes, and McCleary observed that those who suggest that the concept of the principal as instructional leader is relatively unimportant today are taking "an intuitive leap" (1978).

Analysis of the data from intensive interviews with high school principals reveals another view of formal level socialization in administrative training programs. High school principals do not tend to view formal training programs as the sources of attributes, skills, and knowledge necessary in the occupation. This is a general response. Principal 8's remark is representative.

I got very little out of university courses that was practical. Courses and books don't do it. Theory doesn't help me on the job.
It is important to note that widespread complaints about formal graduate studies in education were findings in previous studies of the ethos of educational occupations. (Lortie, 1975; Ogawa, 1979). In assessing the relationship between higher education and the principalship, Harry Wolcott (1973) described a paradox which may provide some hint as to orientations resulting from this part of the socialization process.

Thus in their process of becoming, principals learn to eschew the formal system of education even as they come to realize that in their chosen careers they can never escape its influence. At the same time, it is their steadfast belief in the importance of formal education for others that gives them their highest professional purpose (p. 206).

It is clear in the interview data that most high school principals, like members of other education occupations, say that their formal university-based experiences were irrelevant or unimportant. However, there are threads in the data that tend to temper this. These may provide further insight into the paradox described by Wolcott and its impact on the occupational orientations of high school principals.

Principals spoke positively of informal experiences in their "Ed. Admin." course work. In pursuing their administrative credentials, principals developed bonds with many colleagues who shared the experience. Principal 14's
observation was echoed several times:

University training in administration has not been very helpful. It is really valuable though, as a forum.

Another interesting pattern emerged from principals' talk about university training. Principals for the most part, believe they know the way things "ought to be" in training programs. They view the training of prospective principals as a manageable task and they have specific ideas of how it ought to be done. The following excerpts are illustrative of this point:

If I were in a college and wanted to train some administrators to take over some high schools, I'd cut course work in half and add some extended field experience and then require a course and a paper to pull it all together. (Principal 11)

The curriculum to train a high school principal should be heavy on the time management, conflict resolution, public relations, human relations, and the ability to delegate things to people. (Principal 7)

Training programs are awakening to the fact that we need less technical knowledge... We need more about how to communicate with people... Training needs to make you more self-analytical so you don't fail too much... You're not able to get away with many mistakes in this job. (Principal 10)

Two patterns which Ogawa (1979) identified in the formal level socialization of superintendents were that graduate training was usually part-time and led directly to
occupational certification. Each of these patterns also characterized the socialization of high school principals. They are most obvious and easily taken for granted. Together, these patterns give further insight into the way principals view their coursework.

**Summary.** Several patterns characterize the occupational socialization of senior high school principals in formal training programs. High school principals receive their formal training in graduate school course work in colleges or universities. In addition, an analysis of principals' views and attitudes expressed toward this course work reveals five distinct patterns.

First, high school principals favor and receive substantial training in knowledge and skills directly related to school building management. Secondly, formal training programs do in fact emphasize the instructional aspects of a school's operation. A third pattern is that high school principals do not tend to view formal training programs as the sources of attributes, skills, and knowledge necessary in the occupation. Fourth, principals express positive views of informal socialization in graduate study. Finally, most principals view the training of prospective principals as a manageable task and they have specific ideas of how to do it.
Two less significant patterns were identified in the training dimension of occupational socialization. First, high school principals for the most part are trained part-time. Secondly, most training programs are structured to result in administrative certification for those involved.

**On-The-Job Experience**

It was clear throughout this inquiry that high school principals viewed on-the-job experience as the most important part of their occupational training. Most did qualify their comments by stating that ability was a given prerequisite. One principal observed that "A weak person can get all of the training in the world and you still know he'll be worthless as a principal" (Principal 5).

Principals use phrases like "make it or break it", "do or die", "baptism by fire", and "sink or swim" to characterize their on-the-job training. One veteran principal said the experience made him "smart enough to not get in where I'm not smart enough to operate" (Principal 9).

It was a prevailing view among those high school principals interviewed that they "became" high school principals by their experiences in their own high schools. The nature of that experience was probed in the interviews, in an effort to identify what they learned and how they learned it.

Two distinct patterns emerged from the analysis of comments by principals about their on-the-job training.
First, subordinate staff members are viewed as critical sources of expertise and information about the particular school's program and organization. The following comments are representative of this particular pattern:

You have many experts in your building in areas your authority doesn't automatically make you an expert in. You need to see that they get their jobs done to the best of their abilities because they're the ones who know what's going on in that school. (Principal 6)

I got this school running like clockwork by observing successful people in the building and emulating their habits. (Principal 14)

Secondly, high school principals believe that specific knowledge and skills applicable to the local situation have more to do with success in the principalship than general knowledge and skill in high school management. Principal 4's comments were echoed by several of his colleagues.

You can't retire on the job. You must constantly stay on top of things in your building. I do a good job because I know my people and my school, not because I've read a lot or taken a bunch of courses.

Additional Sources of Socialization

This inquiry was initially focused on the two major dimensions of occupational socialization - training programs and on-the-job experience. Three additional important sources of socialization were consistently mentioned by those high school principals interviewed. These included teaching experiences, life experiences, and personal qualities.
**Teaching Experiences.** Senior high school principals are by definition former teachers. The NASSP survey demonstrated this and all fifteen of the principals in the interview sample had taught prior to becoming administrators. Thus, prior to entering the occupation, principals have the opportunity to closely observe and become familiar with the principalship. It is an important element in the occupational socialization of senior high school principals.

Most principals characterized teaching experience as an essential part of their development as principals. Several suggested that they could not have been effective high school principals without having been teachers.

> I can't understand a teacher unless I've taught... Like the old Indian said - "you can't make decisions for me until you walk a mile in my mocassins." (Principal 11)

> Being a superior classroom teacher is the key to being a good principal. (Principal 3)

> The combined role of teacher and coach is the best preparation for the demands of the principalship. (Principal 10)

**Life Experiences.** While principals went into detail describing experiences in the principalship as important training, they also emphasized life experiences outside education as key sources of skills. Principals place a high value on breadth of experience and diversity of background. They speak positively of "the school of hard knocks", 

"factory work with common men", "having been poor", "the service", and "knowing how the other half lives".

Principal 1 was quite candid in assessing formative experiences in his preparation for the principalship.

I've been at this job a long time and practical, real-world experience is a whole lot more important than theory.

This view was echoed by several principals. Specific examples of significant life experiences were quite different among those interviewed. However, diversity and breadth characterized the list of examples given. The following are representative comments.

My own background has many elements that help me to function - Marine Corps, dorm director in college, coach, professional athlete... (Principal 6)

I learned a lot about people coaching and believe it or not - as a factory worker. That kind of experience requires you to get along with people. (Principal 15)

My folks always forced me to make decisions... Four years in the Navy taught me even more... Those are the kinds of things that make me an effective principal. (Principal 6)

**Personal Qualities.** Each principal in the interview group expressed clear notions about "what it takes" to be able to work as a high school principal. Again and again, principals suggested that personal qualities cannot be separated from knowledge, skills, and experience in this discussion.
There is a curious similarity in principal's comments about the personal qualities essential to the high school principalship. Such a distinct pattern reflects the importance of teasing out and indentifying those additional dimensions of occupational socialization which emerge from the interview data.

High school principals place a high premium on a positive disposition toward people. In each case, principals suggested that successful principals like working with people, particularly as the leader. Principal 15's words illustrate this especially well.

I'll tell you what it really takes to do this job well... You have to have empathy for the teachers, because they have the hardest job in the world... The other thing that stands out is tolerance... What I mean by that is a genuine concern for kids, no matter who they are or what their problems are.

It is significant the people principals seek to get along with are teachers and students.

A second desirable personal quality which principals repeatedly identified was decisiveness. Principals speak of "being predictable", "no surprises", and "letting people know where I stand." Other remarks in this vein are characteristic.

Principals have to be able to say yes or no - not maybe. They have to be very secure people. "Maybe" principals just don't make it.. You don't always have to be right, but you've got to be able to make decisions. (Principal 5)
...Decisions made too quickly are trouble, but decisions not made will kill you... You can stay in control and not let others force your hand, but you've got to be able to make rapid decisions without second-guessing yourself. (Principal 9)

Summary

Significant patterns found in the occupational socialization of high school principals are descriptive of the socialization structure of the occupation.

Several patterns characterize training programs for high school principals. Formal training occurs in graduate course work. Five distinct patterns emerge from analysis of principal's comments about preparation programs. First, principals value and receive course work which emphasizes school building management. Secondly, training programs emphasize instructional leadership. Third, training programs are not viewed by principals as being important in preparing for the occupation. Fourth, informal experiences in preparation programs are viewed as important by principals. The fifth pattern is that principals see the training of principals as practicable.

Two distinct but less important patterns in the training dimension of occupational socialization are that training is mostly part-time and leads to necessary occupational credentialing.
High school principals view on-the-job experience as the most important part of the training for the occupation. Two significant patterns were identified in this dimension. First, critical expertise and information is seen as coming from within the school staff. Secondly, principals equate success with knowledge of the particular school not knowledge of the principalship in general.

The occupational socialization of high school principals is characterized by a final pattern beyond training programs and on-the-job experience. Principals attach great significance to their experiences in teaching, the breadth and diversity of their life experiences, and to their personal qualities.

General Themes Which Characterize The Socialization Structure

Ogawa (1979) and other students of work roles have proposed that socialization clearly contributes to the development of orientations of occupation members. Patterns found in the socialization structure of the high school principalship suggest orientations held by principals.

The four general themes which characterize the occupational socialization of high school principals are essentially the same as those orientations described previously in the recruitment themes. Recruitment resources, which Lortie (1975) referred to as attractors and facilitators, largely determine that individuals with similar orientations
will become occupation members. Socialization engenders and develops these same orientations. Again, those themes are: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, a sense of control over the domain of the high school.

The Insular Theme. The insular theme refers to the way principals view their high schools. Principals attend more to their own schools than to the larger context of the school district or community. This narrow view is fostered by a number of significant patterns in the socialization structure of the occupation.

It is a clear pattern in training programs for principals that the primary focus is on knowledge and skills directly related to school building management. In addition, principals are for the most part trained part-time, while working full-time in their own schools. Such part-time, focused preparation facilitates an insular view of the high school social system.

Another indication of this view is the tendency on the part of principals to minimize the importance of preparation programs as sources of skills and knowledge.

The manner in which principals characterize on-the-job experience clearly reflects the theme of insularity. High school principals view on-the-job training as the most
important part of their occupational preparation. In addition, the view that school staff members are the critical sources of expertise and information about the school program and organization is consistent with this theme.

Another pattern in the comments of high school principals is the view that knowledge of the local school situation is the key to success, rather than general knowledge and skill in the principalship. This leads to an attentiveness to the school setting and a corresponding insensitivity to the external environment.

Two of the additional sources of socialization identified in the interviews reflect the insular theme. Among those personal qualities described as essential to success was a positive disposition toward people, in particular, teachers and students. In addition, principals are former teachers, who view teaching experience as an essential part of their development as principals. It appears that principals rely heavily on their own teaching experience and their ability to work with teachers and others in the school to insure success in their work.

In brief, high school principals are socialized in training programs, on-the-job experiences, and in their personal development to focus their attention on their individual schools and to a great extent to disregard the broader social system in which the school lies.
The Style Theme. The second theme evident in patterns in the socialization of high school principals is the emphasis on style. Principals see leadership style as more critical to success than particular strategies or planning. Patterns in the socialization structure encourage principals to emphasize administrative behavior over the science of administration.

The socialization of high school principals in training programs appears to reinforce the tendency to minimize the value of course work in educational administration. Closely related to this pattern are those which lead principals to speak very positively of informal socialization in graduate study, and the pervasive view that the training of prospective principals can be done well if principals were asked to do it. These patterns are consistent with the development of an orientation that "how" you do things is often more important than "what" you do.

High school principals identified broad, diverse life experiences and a refined ability to get along with people as critical elements for success in the occupation. These patterns also contribute to an orientation emphasizing style in the occupation.

The Process Theme. A concern for the process of schooling rather than the product is also a theme which characterizes the socialization of high school principals.
This lack of emphasis on results is reflected in several patterns in the occupational socialization of principals.

On-the-job experience for principals socializes them to attend more to processes going on in their own schools than to measurable results of their programs. In addition, principals characterize informal, vicarious experiences in training programs as being more valuable than knowledge and skills acquired there.

Thus, high school principals are socialized in training programs and on-the-job experience to attend more to the manners and attitudes of staff and students than to more objective measures of their performances in their roles.

The Control Theme. A sense of control over the domain of the high school is the final theme evident in the socialization structure of the high school principalship.

Experiences in formal training programs reinforce the view among high school principals that they know more about high school management than the "experts." This pattern is also consistent with the common view among principals that they know the way things "ought to be" in preparation programs. The occupational socialization of high school principals encourages occupation members to see their job as manageable and their task domain as one that can be controlled.

High school principals identified a positive disposition toward people and decisiveness as essential qualities
in an effective principal. These qualities are an indication of the orientation among principals that they are very much "in control" and "on top of" their schools.

In summary, the occupational socialization structure of the senior high school principalship is characterized by four basic themes which stress: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school.

These same themes are present in the occupational recruitment of high school principals. Such general themes, which are consistently evident in different structures of the occupation, point to fundamental orientations engendered and cultivated in individuals as they are selected and inducted into the occupation.

**Occupational Rewards**

The reward structure is the third and final of the occupational structures examined in the occupational ethos of the senior high school principalship. Dan C. Lortie (1975) has proposed that the surrounding structure and culture of an occupation are likely to influence the emphasis on certain kinds of rewards rather than others. Both Lortie and Ogawa (1979) have demonstrated the importance of reviewing both monetary and non-monetary rewards which occupation members acquire through working.
Similarly, this description of the occupational reward structure of the high school principalship will gauge both monetary and non-monetary rewards.

**Monetary Rewards**

Most principals were quite candid about the importance of monetary rewards in their occupation. In discussing what is rewarding about working as a high school principal, salary was often mentioned but rarely discussed at length. It appears to be a given for members of the occupation. It was stated earlier that the attractor of salary was not a powerful element in the recruitment structure of the occupation. However, high school principals for the most part do find their jobs financially rewarding.

Patterns found in the NASSP (1978) survey data reveal that high school principals have made substantial salary gains in terms of "real dollars" between 1965 and 1977. When 1965 salary ranges are converted to corresponding salary ranges for prices and cost-of-living factors in 1977, the evidence is significant (See Appendix E, Table 2). The median salary of the survey sample was about $25,600 in 1977, as compared to the adjusted median salary of $15,750 in 1965 (NASSP, 1978). Byrne, Hynes, and McCleary (1978) suggest caution be used in assessing this gain because of the increased training of principals and the increase in the size of high schools since 1965.
Principals in the interview sample expressed similar views on the subject of salary as a reward. It was clear in their remarks that salary is a rewarding aspect of working as a high school principal. The following remarks exemplify this point:

The money is one thing. . . Thirty-two thousand versus twenty thousand in teaching. . . A lot of that talk about low pay is a bunch of crap—we've got it better than a lot of people think. (Principal 9)

Monetary rewards are last, but I do make good money. (Principal 1)

The pay is good. (Principal 6)

. . . Money is also a motive. (Principal 12)

The issue of monetary rewards was probed further in interviews, with interesting results. When asked about the "least rewarding" aspects of the job, none of the principals mentioned salary. In addition, when asked to list important considerations in reviewing job offers, none of the fifteen principals mentioned salary. In a similar vein, principals were asked the following questions: What do you lose by being a high school principal and not a member of another occupation? It was apparent in their responses that high school principals do recognize that their salaries may not compare well with salaries in occupations outside of public education. Yet, there is little ambivalence created by this in their views on salary as an occupational reward. This is illustrated in the following remarks.
Yes, financially you could do better. But working with youngsters is worth it. You never get rich, but I have no sense of loss whatsoever. (Principal 2)

Maybe I could have made more money, but I don't know. (Principal 3)

I don't get paid what I'm worth but I'm not very excited about that. (Principal 10)

Thus it appears that monetary rewards are significant but not primary in the occupational reward structure of high school principals.

**Non-Monetary Rewards**

In discussing rewards, high school principals focus on the attitudes and feelings of students and teachers, rather than measurable achievements. While teachers speak of individual student growth and superintendents discuss test scores and merit scholars, principals talk in terms of "harmony", "teacher satisfaction", "resolving conflict", and "good staff and student morale." While high school principals talk of organizational effectiveness, the results they seek from their efforts are spoken of in terms of individuals.

Dan Lortie (1975) and Rodney Ogawa (1979) both found that an important pattern in the occupational reward structure of education occupations is that primary rewards are intrinsic in nature. Based on interview accounts, this
holds true of high school principals. Principal 9's remarks are representative of a predominant view.

You know—I get a whole lot of satisfaction out of making this place benefit kids. I know I'm a part of it when students excel. . . I'm happy when I can make parents, kids, and teachers feel good about themselves.

One important pattern in the reward structure of high school principals differs clearly from work rewards among teachers and superintendents. In discussing rewards, principals rarely mention measurable achievements or specific evidence of recognition for individual or organizational successes. Those things which are particularly rewarding about working as a high school principal are not easily measured or quantified. Three important and recurring elements were present in principals' remarks about non-monetary work rewards: school climate, teacher/student satisfaction, and unfettered authority.

High school principals want their schools to be good places for people to work and learn. They derive particular satisfaction when the climate is "right" in their buildings. However, they are hard-pressed to define that good climate which is the source of such primary rewards for them. Interview subjects also had difficulty describing the structure which produces a rewarding atmosphere in the work place of the senior high school. While principals had difficulty prescribing and objectively defining school climate, their
words on this subject were rich in descriptive terms. In addition, each principal was confident in his ability to recognize that climate which was most rewarding to him in his own school. The following comments are representative:

You can tell when the ship is running smooth. You can feel the friendly tenor in the building . . . People are having a good time and being productive . . . There is an "educational buzz" - it sounds like things are happening. (Principal 1)

It involves students and staff being "up" - outgoing, friendly, in touch with you . . . It's the things people do . . . You can tell kids are happy and proud of their school . . . You go down the hall and they're feeling good about the school and themselves. (Principal 3)

I've been at this so long that I can tell a good day from a bad one by watching people's eyes and non-verbal behavior . . . I feel for vibrations. (Principal 10)

When the school is running well, learning is taking place in those classrooms . . . It has to do with attitude, not circumstances or structure. (Principal 9)

The second recurring element in principals' remarks about work rewards is the relative satisfaction of teachers and students. Again and again, principals reported that the satisfaction enjoyed by their subordinates is a key gauge of success for themselves.

The main thing I do is contribute to a structure which creates good staff and student morale . . . I can tell by the way students and teachers respond to me whether I'm getting the job done. (Principal 10)
A good day for me is when I've seen a young person grow or achieve something. Or I've seen a teacher grow. (Principal 5)

Principals emphasized the same things when asked to discuss the least rewarding aspects of the job and the "bad days."

I hate those win-lose situations, where somebody goes away from here saying "they screwed me"... I just wish I had better skill in dealing with individual situations where people feel lousy... I want people to feel positive about their contact with me and vice versa. (Principal 16)

... When things go wrong and the fallout affects my relationship with teachers and students - that bothers me a great deal. (Principal 2)

It is interesting to note that high school principals continually expressed the view that job satisfaction for teachers is achievable and is the responsibility of the principal. The same holds true for the satisfaction felt by students in the school. This may help to explain why principals find this area so rewarding. Analysis of the NASSP (1978) survey data reveals that high school principals themselves enjoy a high degree of job satisfaction. Only 3 percent of respondent principals indicated that they would definitely not make the same career choice. In fact, this figure is down from 17 percent in the 1965 survey. Slightly more than two-thirds of the national survey respondents would have made the career choice of the high school principalship again.
Unfettered authority is the third and final recurring element in principals' remarks about work rewards. High school principals want to be in charge of their own buildings. One after another, principals reported a need for sufficient authority to do their jobs effectively. In addition, principals are opposed to outside interference with the authority of the principalship. Superintendents and school boards were the most commonly mentioned sources of inhibition, while the board and superintendent were also viewed as the key facilitators for effective control by the principal.

...You've got to have backing from the superintendent and board... Community support - you can earn.(Principal 12)

Central office "nit-picking" really gets in the way... When I lose my autonomy, I'm not as successful... (Principal 5)

My ability to communicate with the "power people" in the system keeps me in control around here... And that has a lot to do with our success in this school. (Principal 12)

Attitudes can block you - especially the COSOB's - you know, those Central Office Sons of B's... (Principal 9)

Principals in the NASSP survey (1978) were asked to rate the opportunities for independent thought and action in their jobs. While 50 percent of respondent principals indicated a considerable amount of autonomy in their jobs, 100 percent felt they should have at least a moderate amount
of independent thought and action in the high school (See Appendix E, Table 3).

**Summary**

The occupational reward structure of the senior high school principalship includes both monetary and non-monetary rewards. Significant patterns found among work rewards acquired by principals are descriptive of this structure.

Two important patterns were identified in the monetary dimension. First, high school principals made substantial gains in salary between 1965 and 1978. A second and corollary pattern is that principals view salary as a rewarding aspect of working as a high school principal. Detailed probing of the issue of monetary rewards in interviews revealed that monetary rewards are significant but not primary in the occupational reward structure of high school principals.

Primary rewards for high school principals are intrinsic in nature. In discussing non-monetary rewards, principals focused on the affective behavior of students and teachers, rather than measurable achievements. Three important and recurring elements were evident in principals remarks about non-monetary rewards: school climate, teacher/student satisfaction, and unfettered authority.
General Themes Which Characterize The Reward Structure

The four general themes which characterize the occupational reward structure of the senior high school principalship are essentially the same as those reflected in the patterns of the recruitment and socialization structures. Again, those themes are: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, a sense of control over the domain of the high school.

The Insular Theme. An insular view of the high school is a pervasive theme reflected in each of the patterns identified in the occupational reward structure. High school principals were queried about those aspects of their work which are "most rewarding", "least rewarding", "sources of satisfaction", "roadblocks to success", and "evidence of success." It was evident from their responses that high school principals look within their schools for that which is rewarding and satisfying, and for evidence of success or reason for lack thereof.

The substantial improvement in salaries for high school principals since 1965 reinforces the narrow, "ship captain" mentality found among occupation members. Likewise, the clear pattern of satisfaction with monetary rewards among principals encourages them to attend more to their own
schools than to the larger context of the school district or community.

The insular theme is obvious in the reward pattern which emphasizes the intrinsic nature of primary rewards for principals. Each recurring non-monetary reward pattern reflects the insular theme. School climate, teacher/student satisfaction, and the need for unfettered authority are all elements in which the insular theme is apparent.

The Style Theme. An emphasis on style is a theme which emerges most clearly in principals' discussions of rewards associated with school climate. High school principals find greater rewards in the manner with which their people behave than in measurable achievements. Just as principals are socialized to emphasize administrative behavior over the science of administration, the reward structure engenders a valuing of leadership style over organizational structure as key to job satisfaction and success.

The style theme is reflected in the difficulty which interviewed principals had in describing the structure and planning which produce a rewarding school climate. This point is consistent with the preoccupation with leadership style which was evident in the words of high school principals. In addition, the emphasis on style is reflected in the confidence principals expresses in their abilities to
recognize the elements of a rewarding and satisfying school climate.

**The Process Theme.** A concern for the process of schooling rather than the product is the third theme which characterizes the occupational reward structure of the senior high school principalship. This lack of emphasis on results is particularly evident in elements of non-monetary rewards which also reflect the style theme. It is sharpest in principals' remarks about teacher/student satisfaction and school climate.

High school principals find substantial rewards in high levels of student and teacher morale. In addition, the on-going mood or tenor in the building is attended to as a key measure of success by principals. Specific achievements and objective measures of performance are not emphasized by principals in discussions of occupational rewards. This seeming paradox is reflective of the process theme.

**The Control Theme.** A sense of control over the domain of the high school is the final theme evident in the reward structure of the high school principalship. Principals, like members of other educational occupations, continually decry their loss of control over their domain. Subject principals expressed similar views initially. However in protracted discussions and in the two to four hour visits
with the interviewer, none of the principals gave evidence of not being in control of their respective situations. The prevailing image of the high school principals interviewed was of people who felt they had control over their organizations.

The need for unfettered authority was an important and recurring element in principals' remarks about work rewards. In addition, results of the NASSP survey indicate that independent thought and action are critical to job satisfaction for principals. Thus, the control theme is reflected in principals views on occupational rewards.

Certainly the clear pattern of satisfaction with monetary rewards among principals suggests a sense of control. A final element of the reward structure which gives evidence of the control theme is the major focus given to school climate by principals. High school principals see a positive school climate as a clear reflection of their own sense of control over the domain of the high school.

In summary, the occupational reward structure of the senior high school principalship is characterized by four basic themes which stress: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school. These general themes are consistently evident in each of
the structures of the occupation-recruitment, socialization, and reward. These persistent themes point to fundamental orientations developed in occupation members as they are selected, inducted, and rewarded as senior high school principals.

**Occupational Orientations**

Research findings presented in this chapter include patterns found in interview and NASSP survey data that relate to three occupational structures - recruitment, socialization, and reward. The following description of the basic orientations engendered by these structures completes the analysis of this first of two major dimensions of the occupation of the senior high school principalship.

Four general themes characterize patterns found in the recruitment, socialization, and reward structures: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school. These persistent themes point to fundamental orientations developed in occupation members. Such was a finding of prior studies in this vein of other educational occupations (Lortie, 1975; Ogawa, 1979).

Insular, style, process, and control orientations are the dominant orientations of the senior high school principalship. This is a primary finding of this study.
It has been suggested that high school principals see themselves as a buffer between their school and the outside world. Their orientation is toward the high school as a closed social system. Principals are not particularly sensitive to the external environment of the school. Leadership style occupies the attention of high school principals more than organizational structure and characterizes the second occupational orientation of high school principals.

The third general orientation of high school principals is a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product. The attitudes and feelings of teachers and students are attended to more than their performance in their roles.

A sense of control over the domain of the high school is the fourth orientation which characterizes the high school principalship as an occupation. High school principals see themselves as very much "in control" and "on top of" their schools.

These orientations engendered by the recruitment, socialization, and reward structures reflect basic elements of the occupational ethos of the high school principalship. The second and final dimension of the occupation of the senior high school principalship to be analyzed for such basic elements - the meanings attached by principals to their work - is described in Chapter Five, which follows.
CHAPTER V

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY - PART TWO
WORK MEANINGS AND SENTIMENTS

...Work...It is a search for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor...There are of course, the happy few who find a savor in their daily job...There is a common attribute here: A meaning to their work. (Studs Terkel, 1972, p. xi)

The object of this study was to describe the occupational ethos of senior high school principals through the analysis of two major dimensions of the occupation: orientations engendered by occupational structures and meanings attached by principals to their work. In Chapter IV, findings were presented which resulted from an analysis of interview and survey data that related to three occupational structures. This approach yielded themes which pointed to fundamental orientations developed in occupation members.

The second dimension of the occupation, meanings and sentiments high school principals attach to their work, will be analyzed in this chapter. A strategy used in previous efforts at describing the ethos of an occupation (Lortie, 1975; Ogawa, 1979) was employed. Data analysis was focused on four aspects of principals' work: occupational tasks and
roles; occupational skills, knowledge, and attributes; occupational assessment; and occupational satisfaction. Initially, each aspect of the work of the high school principalship was probed. Patterns which emerged from relevant interview responses and survey summaries are reported. Next, general themes which characterize these patterns found in school principals' descriptions of their work are described.

In the final segment of this chapter, findings will be blended into a unitary description of the work meanings and sentiments of the high school principalship.

**Occupational Tasks and Roles**

There is a combination of tasks of the senior high school principalship which is singularly characteristic of the occupation. While it is clear that principals share many particular tasks with other occupations, it is that special combination of tasks unique to the work of principals which was sought.

As in the Lortie (1975) and Ogawa (1979) studies of education occupations, two levels of principals' work were probed. First, principals' descriptions of their day-to-day work were analyzed for general patterns. Second, roles which characterize the principalship were gleaned from principals' descriptions of the general responsibilities of the job.
High school principals' descriptions of their day-to-day tasks and activities were probed for a dominant pattern or patterns. Certain tasks were recurring in the remarks of principals about various aspects of their work. These recurrent tasks were analyzed and revealed three significant patterns. Tasks of the high school principalship are, for the most part, rapid in pace, random in occurrence, and reliant on the actions of others for significant effect. These "3 R's" of the task dimension of principals' work - rapid, random, and reliant - are dominant themes in the words of principals.

Rapid pace. High school principals often perform their occupational tasks in high gear. When principals were asked to discuss how they spend their time on an average day, they described a fast paced routine. In addition, many individual tasks are completed quickly and in a short time span. There is a particular density to principals' work. The pace does not appear to let up for tasks which are more time-consuming.

All fifteen interview accounts are of principals who work in excess of 50 hours a week. In fact, each of the "average" days described included at least 12 hours on the job. Eighty-three percent of the NASSP survey principals exceeded 50 hours in an average work week. (NASSP, 1978). Analysis of data from both the interview and survey groups
confirms that senior high school principals work long hours, perform many separate tasks in the workday, and move at a rapid pace through their duties. These findings are not unique and reflect a similarity between high school principals and other administrators and managers (Mintzberg, 1973; Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1979; Lortie, 1981; Cunningham and Hentges, 1972).

It is important to consider the accuracy of principals' characterizations of their occupational tasks. In strictly observational studies of elementary school principals, it has been found that tasks are short, numerous, and disconnected (Morris, Crowson, Hurwitz, and Porter-Gehrie, 1981; Peterson, 1978). The fact that principals and observers describe occupational tasks similarly contributes to our understanding of the work of the principal. However, differences between the elementary school and high school settings may prove to be more significant as more descriptive information is available.

A final comment on the work pace of the high school principal is in order. While there are other types of managers who perform short, numerous, and disconnected tasks in their daily work, the pace dictated by the structure of the modern senior high school adds a singular flavor to the task dimension of the high school principalship.
Random occurrence. The second significant pattern in the task dimension of principals' work is the haphazard sequence with which tasks occur. Principals refer to their work schedules with words such as "unplanned," "patchwork," "unexpected," "unpredictable," "forced," and "flexible." Principal 14 is representative when he states that

The only structured parts of my day are appointments and meetings.

The tasks of the principal are not sequential like those of a classroom teacher. Principals do not lament this fact. They are resigned to the unpredictable nature of their day-to-day work. Most principals indicated that they have an "open door, no appointment necessary" policy for teachers and students. Principal 3 expressed a prevailing point of view:

There are continual interruptions, but they are necessary. Teachers and students need to feel comfortable interrupting me at any time. We need that or we get buried in minutiae. I'd lose contact. If I can't finish my tasks, I come back when no one is here.
In a similar vein, Principal 5 says

No two days are the same. The routines have to come second to that which arises. The agenda evolves. I'm not the guy who decides what I do. That's the way it has to be. That is the challenge of the principalship.

All of this would suggest that high school principals are harried professionals who have little or no control over the allocation of their time, energy and resources.

However, principals exhibit a definite sense of control over their time and attention through their actions. Each of the principals in the interview sample followed a schedule and gave the appearance of being in control of his individual situation. This would suggest that principals often describe their work in terms of the impressions they seek to convey as much as in terms of the details of their tasks and responsibilities. It has been suggested elsewhere that principals use the pattern of random occurrence to shape the job to their interests or needs (Morris, et al, 1981).

Many of the tasks of high school principals in the interview sample were initiated by others. Prior research in this vein yielded similar findings (March, 1978; Lipham and Hoeh, 1974; Peterson, 1978). This may suggest an explanation for the desultory nature of task occurrence and the comfort
principals exhibit with such variability.

Principals in the NASSP survey were asked to describe their typical work week by ranking nine areas according to the amount of time spent in each area (NASSP, 1978). Principals were also asked to rank the same areas according to the time they "should" spend on each (see Appendix E, Table 4). Of particular note is that high school principals rank "program development" highest on their "should spend time" list, but fifth of nine on their "do spend time" list. This is partially indicative of the limited control principals exercise over the pattern of occurrence of discreet tasks in their daily work. The third and final pattern in the task dimension of principals' work deals with the role of others in the task performance of the principal.

Reliant on the actions of others for significant effect.
Principal 5 commented during the interview that

I'm never any stronger than those 55 teachers - that's where it counts.

Other principals echoed his words in a tone which was more realistic than humble. Each principal in the interview group acknowledged a dependence on the actions of others for significant results from the principal's actions. The following remarks illustrate this point.

Mainly, I make sure that all bases are covered and people are getting the job done with kids. (Principal 6)
...It's being the person behind those staff who bring about improvement in kids.  
(Principal 11)

I assist the experts in doing their jobs...  
(Principal 12)

Other than time constraints, high school principals in the NASSP survey mentioned "variations in the ability of teachers" most frequently when describing "roadblocks" in the achievement of their job objectives (NASSP, 1978). In this same vein, principals in the interview group used similar words in describing their most "crucial" responsibilities - linking, intervening, mediating, motivating, monitoring, checking, organizing, coordinating, facilitating, and supporting. Recent studies of principals' work reinforce this notion of job tasks initiated by and for others in the school (Peterson, 1978; Lortie, 1982).

A key finding in Lortie's work on the ethos of teachers was a pattern of low task interdependence among occupation members (1975). In contrast, it is interesting to note the high level of dependence on each teacher in a school by the principal, in coordinating and organizing the instructional program.

Principals did not report a heavy reliance on the superintendent or central office staff in the successful performance of their day-to-day work. This evidence in the interview data is consistent with the views expressed by principals in the NASSP survey (NASSP, 1978). In ranking
alternative factors interfering with successful job performance, "superintendent or central office staff" were ranked fifteenth out of eighteen (see Appendix E, Table 5). In fact, only 38 per cent of respondent principals ranked the superintendent or central office as an obstacle in any way.

In summary, recurring tasks mentioned in the remarks of high school principals about various aspects of their day-to-day work were analyzed and revealed three significant patterns. Tasks of the high school principalship are rapid in pace, random in occurrence, and reliant on the actions of others for significant effect.

**Principals' Occupational Roles**

Senior high school principals were asked to describe their chief job responsibilities. Their descriptions were analyzed for major occupational roles which characterize the principalship. That analysis yielded three general occupational roles: the principal as instructional leader, the principal as broker, and the principal as director.

The principal as instructional leader. High school principals clearly view themselves as instructional leaders. Most of the job responsibilities identified by principals directly involved the instruction of students in the high school. Each of the fifteen principals in the interview
group indicated that the "most crucial" of their job responsibilities involved the instructional process. The following remarks are representative of this perspective:

My school needs to train students in those skills and attitudes for success...That's what I hold myself accountable for... (Principal 3)

...To help teachers to teach and students to learn, that's why I'm here...If I had ten extra hours a week, I'd spend five with teachers and five with students. (Principal 5)

...Organizing, planning, and running the academic program...You have to constantly prioritize your time in order to do that. (Principal 9)

If I can do a good job building that master schedule of instruction and can make it run well over the year...I'm doing my job. (Principal 10)

Principals in the NASSP survey were asked how they allocate time during a typical work week. The major role of instructional leader is reflected in the way a typical high school principal allocates time (see Appendix E, Table 4). School program, personnel, and students consume most of the principal's time. District office, community, and professional development were lowest in time allocation.

In their statements about instructional leadership, high school principals reported a special kinship with teachers in the teaching/learning process. While principals are not the ones who do the teaching and learning in the school, they
are intensely aware of their pivotal role in the process. Principals see themselves as a powerful influence over the learning climate in their schools. Principal 5's remarks capture this point of view.

While I never achieve it, my job is to make all the teachers and students happy ...I'm the key person behind the staff.

Dan Lortie (1982) has suggested that this kinship between the occupations of teacher and principal stems partly from the fact that the modern principalship grew out of direct instruction. In addition, Lortie (1981) has noted that the teacher part of the principal is reinforced daily in the school.

The principal as broker. A broker is defined as an agent between two parties. (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1959). Many of the work responsibilities described by high school principals in interview responses suggest the role of broker. The distinction is made here between the clear leadership role described above, and the distinct pattern in the interview data which characterizes the principal as a sort of middleman.

Principals see themselves as brokers between and among the school staff, students, parents, and the district hierarchy. Successful transactions occur when each party sees the principal as an unbiased broker. Examples of this include resolution of student fights, assigning teaching
duties, distributing supplies, mediating disputes between students and teachers, and resolving conflict created by district office mandates. It is interesting to note some of the words principals use in describing their brokering role - "sounding board", "shoulder to cry on", "utility man", "facilitator", and "mediator".

Several principals suggested that they are often brokers in situations because they lack power or authority to assert direct leadership. Ogawa (1979) portrayed superintendents as resource managers. Principals present themselves as brokers of limited resources rather than managers.

There's only so much time, people and money to go around...I'm constantly talking to people...Asking questions, listening...Trying to meet everyone's needs. (Principal 5)

One trait which many principals described as essential to successful brokering is accessibility. Certain strategies were mentioned often in this vein.

I try to make some sort of contact in the first hour of the day with everyone who works here. (Principal 12)

I spend a lot of time out in the building...I like a high profile - especially while kids are in the halls. (Principal 3)

The principal as director. Director is defined as one who gives orders or directions. (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1959). The roles of instructional leader and broker emerged as a strong pattern in principals'
descriptions of their job responsibilities. A third pattern, the role of director, fits into instructional leadership, but emerged separately in the words of principals.

Principals are in the role of director often during on-the-spot, face-to-face encounters with people and situations in the normal school day. Often, orders must be given and decisions made by the principal alone with little or no time for reflection. While the role of director can be controlled and limited, it "goes with the territory of the high school", according to principal 5. Some of the names used by principals to describe this role include: "foreman", "captain", "head Honcho", "boss", and "supervisor."

High school principals in the NASSP survey indicated that "school management" took more of their time than any other single area of responsibility. Likewise, principals in the interview group spoke of the role of director:

...I still spend a lot of time making sure my people are doing their jobs. (Principal 1)

...You always have to make sure that classes are covered, facilities are working, and this little world of ours is functioning. (Principal 6)

Unfortunately, I spend a lot of my time with unruly students...Kids with the most problems get more than their share of my attention. (Principal 15)
Summary

High school principals' descriptions of their day-to-day work tasks were analyzed and revealed three significant patterns. Tasks are rapid in pace, random in occurrence, and reliant on the actions of others for significant effect.

Principals' descriptions of their chief job responsibilities were also analyzed. This analysis revealed three general occupational roles: the principal as instructional leader, the principal as broker, and the principal as director.

As instructional leaders, high school principals focus the major portion of their energies on the instructional processes within their schools. In the broker role, the principal acts as an unbiased agent between and among various groups and individuals in the school and its environment. Finally, as directors, principals perform many of the mundane tasks of day-to-day school management.

Patterns found in the task dimension are consistent with the roles of instructional leader, broker, and director. In each role, the principal is faced with tasks which are rapid in pace, random in occurrence, and reliant on the actions of others for significant effect.

Up to this point the first major aspect of principals' work - tasks they say they perform and roles they are expected to fulfill - has been the focus.
The second major aspect of principals' work includes those necessary occupational skills, knowledge, and attributes identified by high school principals. These elements are the focus of the next section.

**Occupational Skills, Knowledge, and Attributes**

High school principals were asked to respond to the following question: What does it take to be able to work as a high school principal? Members of the interview group were queried about their views on the personal attributes, skills, and knowledge necessary to their work.

Patterns found in this dimension of the work of the high school principalship fit with those revealed in principals' descriptions of tasks and roles of the occupation.

**Problem Solving Skills**

...More than anything else, a high school principal has to be able to solve people's problems... (Principal 7)

This emerged as a dominant theme in principals' descriptions of occupational skills and characteristics. The general ability to resolve problem situations was identified as a most important part of a high school principals' repertoire.

Analysis of principals' remarks about problem solving skills led to the identification of three key elements of this general ability: dispute resolution, anticipation, and crisis management.
Dispute resolution. It was clear from the interview data that principals spend a great deal of time and energy resolving conflicts in their schools. That principals place a high premium on the ability to resolve disputes was also very clear in their remarks. Various principals referred to themselves as needing to be: "diplomat", "mediator", "arbitrator", "referee", and "judge."

There is a detachment from the issues in disputes that principals mentioned as contributing to their effectiveness.

...You have to avoid choosing sides...You're trying to keep friction down...My ability to create harmony is the key. (Principal 4)

Seventy-one percent of the NASSP survey principals rated coursework in human relations, including dispute resolution, as "essential" in their training as high school principals.

Anticipation. Several principals referred to an almost illusory quality which helped them to anticipate problems before they occurred. Most felt it was critical for principals to have a refined ability to "read" situations and anticipate the possible consequences if action is not taken.

If you have a good sense of what's on the horizon, you'll be able to know when to yield, and not overdo either. (Principal 4)

...That kind of ability comes only from experience...It keeps you ahead of problems for the most part. (Principal 16)
Crisis management. The third key element in principals' observations about problem solving skills involves the ability to defuse crisis situations. Principals were cautious about the suggestion that effective crisis management always leads to the solution of problems. Many of the crisis situations in high schools involved problems beyond the immediate control of the principal, including racial conflict, labor disputes, violence, and various other social problems.

However, there was a general feeling expressed by principals that the ability to "manage" crises was critical to doing the work of the principalship.

Sometimes, it's a matter of putting on your fireman's hat and dousing the flames. (Principal 11)

...It's frustrating to deal with problems not of my making...I don't create the real crises, but I have to meet them head on...And I'm the first one to know when I blow it. (Principal 9)

Thus, high school principals indicate that occupation members must have problem solving skills. Key elements of this general ability include skills in dispute resolution, anticipation, and crisis management.

Empathy

A second major theme emerged from high school principals' descriptions of requisite occupational skills,
knowledge, and personal attributes. Again and again, they stated that an individual must clearly demonstrate an empathy for people to be able to work as a high school principal. This involves the attitude of the individual principal and the perceptions of others, in addition to the actual behavior of the principal.

Empathy here is defined as:

Imaginative projection of one's own consciousness into another. (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1959, P. 269)

While only one principal used the word "empathy" as such, it emerged as a general tendency in the interview responses of high school principals. Principal 10's remarks illustrate this:

I've always felt leadership was the ability to get across concern and care for individuals...You need to create an awareness in people of your concern for their roles in the school...You've got to be willing to do and share what others do in the school.

The haphazard sequence of tasks of the principalship was discussed above. Certainly, the accessibility which many principals associated with empathy contributes to this characteristic of the work of the high school principalship. Principals indicated that they deal with just about any problem brought to their attention.

...That door is always open, and everyone gets served - even if I have to take work home. (Principal 7)
You've always got to be accessible to teachers and students. (Principal 2)

Another example of high school principals exhibiting empathy for people is evident in their approaches to decision-making. Several discussed situations in which they had tough decisions to make.

...Those closest to the situation usually tell it like it is if they know you're listening. (Principal 4)

I'm looking for advice and counsel. I really want to involve people and get their advice. It influences me. I have to have people's input...It doesn't dilute my authority at all. (Principal 10)

I'm looking for other people's thoughts to check if my head is screwed on straight. (Principal 5)

So, high school principals indicate that occupation members must demonstrate an empathy for people. They are referring to a combination of attitude, skill and accessibility.

Local Expertise

A third theme was evident in principals' views on the personal attributes, skills, and knowledge necessary to their work. They repeatedly referred to the critical need for knowledge of their individual schools in carrying out the work of the principalship. Skills in this area are rooted in the problem solving skills and empathy described above. In addition, "local expertise" involves accurate
information and knowledge about the work environment - the high school.

Most principals suggested that specific knowledge of their own school was more critical than the craft knowledge associated with expertise in the principalship in general. They discussed the need for a continuing effort to keep themselves current, once they became informed initially.

You must understand who and what you're dealing with...You have to know that faculty and community before you make any changes. That research has to be done. You have to know your people and their needs before you can convince them of your views. (Principal 4)

Principals referred to a whole range of sources of local expertise: "tradition", "grapevine", "rumor mill", "inside info", "skeletons", "intelligence", "power structure", "opinion leaders", and "the old guard."

Several principals spoke directly to the principal's need to know where power and influence resided in and around the school. Principal 6 expressed a prevailing point of view.

I'd better know where the power structure is - in the staff, in the student body, and in the community.

The roles of trusted advisor and key informant are key elements in the principal's repertoire in the area of local expertise. It is interesting to note the variety of individuals who fit this role for different principals.

...I go to my secretary. She is my right arm. (Principal 1)
One of my assistants is a good thinker and knows how to handle pressure. He's usually pretty accurate. (Principal 2)

My assistants who aren't yes-men...
Also, reliable teachers who tell it like it is. (Principal 5)

The situation dictates who I gather info from. (Principal 9)

Routinely, my assistant...But occasionally I go to individual staff or students. (Principal 10)

Data from the NASSP survey reinforce the importance high school principals attach to local expertise. Respondent principals were asked to identify "pressure or interest groups" and their impact on the operation of the school. The three most frequently reported groups were "athletic-minded persons", "state teachers' organizations", and "citizen or parent groups". Two of these groups are local and the third ("state teachers' organizations") is represented at the local level.

In a similar vein, NASSP principals were surveyed about the degree to which they may be constrained in fulfilling job responsibilities by various sources and factors. NASSP researchers found that principals anticipate greater constraints coming from their local community and in-school publics than they do from more external publics.

Thus, high school principals report that local expertise is a critical element in the skills, knowledge, and attributes of members of the occupation.
Summary

High school principals descriptions of their occupation's essential skills, knowledge, and personal attributes were analyzed and revealed three significant patterns. Principals emphasized that members of their occupation must possess problem solving skills, an empathy for people, and local expertise.

Problem-solving skills, as a general ability, were reported to include: dispute resolution, anticipation, and crisis management.

Empathy for people was described by principals as a combination of attitude, skill, and accessibility.

Principals also observed that local expertise, including accurate information and knowledge of their particular school, was essential to individuals carrying out the work of the principalship.

Occupational Assessment

So far, the first two dimensions of principals' work have been reported - their tasks and roles, and requisite occupational skills, knowledge, and attributes. This section includes a description of how high school principals assess their personal job performance, and how they assess the operation of their own schools.

Distinct patterns emerged from the analysis of high school principals' responses to questions about their
assessment of themselves and their schools. It is significant that principals did not tend to make distinctions between the assessment of their own performance and that of the high school. Superintendents responded similarly in an earlier study in this vein (Ogawa, 1979). Principals indicated three general areas they attend to in assessing personal and organizational performance: staff morale, student behavior, and feedback from teachers, students, and parents.

**Staff Morale**

For high school principals, a primary measure of their personal and organizational success or failure was the morale of the staff under them. They spoke of a prevailing mood or spirit which led to willing and dependable performance. Principals assess staff morale on two levels. One involves the principal's own general sense of whether morale was good "among the troops." A second level for measuring morale involved equally subjective but specific indicators that individual principals adopted as barometers.

Each of the principals in the interview group expressed confidence in being able to recognize the level of morale in the building. In addition, principals indicated that their own subjective perceptions would be the basis for feelings of success or motivation to take corrective steps.

Sure, I set the tone, motivate the teachers and let them know whether or not they're doing the job...But
when things are going well and morale is high, I get out of the way and let the school run. (Principal 5)

...I'm not alone...Most guys can tell whether their staff is in good spirits. He's only as important as those he works with and those who work for him...But I can influence that mood...I turn the lights up and down. I'm like a rheostat, I can turn it up or turn it down. I do the fine-tuning. (Principal 11)

Most principals mentioned specific indicators of staff morale that they relied on in their individual schools. While many of these were idiosyncratic to particular principals, two were recurring and are representative. Several principals spoke of gauging staff morale by the relative enthusiasm with which people did their jobs.

You can see that spark in people... There is an enthusiasm with which teachers accept what you're doing. (Principal 1)

When the teachers are eager, they get along with students and respect each other. (Principal 9)

It is interesting to note that principals in the NASSP survey referred to a lack of teacher enthusiasm as a major administrative roadblock (See Appendix E, Table 5).

Principals in the interview group made observations about those to whom they had to be accountable for their professional performance. They focused on building level staffs as the most accurate evaluators of the principal's performance. Each principal accepted the collective wisdom
of the faculty as being an accurate measure of school effectiveness. These remarks are representative:

My faculty...If I have their respect, I can perform. (Principal 1)

I'm all right if my staff thinks I'm doing the job. (Principal 9)

I can tell how good a job I'm doing overall by surveying the staff in my school. (Principal 12)

Student Behavior

Student behavior was a second key element in personal and organizational performance assessment, according to high school principals. Most indicated that positive, constructive student behavior was a direct measure of success for the principal. They reported specific examples of the types of behavior they attended to in this vein.

A really good day for me is when a problem kid suddenly sees the light... When I see change and growth in that kid's attitude and actions. (Principal 14)

When this school is successful, you can go down the hall and kids are feeling good about the school and themselves...And it shows in their behavior - very few discipline problems. (Principal 3)

...Once during a strike, this place was up for grabs...Thirty student leaders, myself, and my assistant held the fort for two days and no incidents occurred...Nobody had to tell me what kind of a job we were doing. (Principal 2)
In assessing their own performance, principals rarely spoke of disruptive, alienated student behavior. It was clear that the presence of good citizenship is viewed as a more reliable measure than negative behavior. Principals viewed "good" behavior as more reliable evidence of effectiveness than "bad" behavior.

Feedback From Teachers, Students, and Parents

A third general area of principals' attention in the assessment of their personal performance is the feedback they received from teachers, students, and parents. Several principals reported that when communication was direct from people in these groups, it was particularly reliable.

There is marked respect for the views of teachers in the comments of principals about performance assessment.

My people let me know right away... Especially if I'm being successful. Their remarks are an accurate gauge... Last year I had all of them evaluate me and it was the most scary thing I ever went through. (Principal 1)

My teachers don't wait for the feedback instrument in the spring... I know right away whether I'm getting things done. (Principal 12)

Principals reported that student feedback was most helpful to them in determining how effective student discipline measures were in the school. In this vein, principals seek positive assessment of their motives rather than approval
of their specific actions.

I want kids to say "He made an effort to get me to learn...That I try to help kids to succeed." (Principal 4)

Students let you know if you're being strict enough to handle situations...What is critical is for them to see you as compassionate enough to listen to what they have to say. (Principal 13)

Feedback from parents is generally viewed as reliable assessment information by high school principals. It is interesting to note that principals attend more closely to negative feedback from parents than the same from teachers and students. Their responses indicate that student and teacher feedback is dependable only when it is positive. Whereas, parent feedback is attended to whether it is positive or negative.

...When I get those strokes from the parents about how well the school is running... (Principal 16)

When I've got lots of complaints and phone calls from parents, something is wrong. (Principal 15)

Principals also reported that the extent of parental support that they had was not only a measure of success, but it was a source of security for the principal. Principal 5's remark was echoed by several of his colleagues:

When you get right down to it, my final authority comes from parents...If they're satisfied, nobody from downtown will mess with you.
Consistent with this tone of respect for parental influence, 70 per cent of the principals in the NASSP survey described "apathetic or irresponsible parents" as an important factor blocking them in the successful performance of their jobs (see Appendix E, Table 5).

Summary

High school principals reported that they do not make distinctions between the assessment of their own performance and that of the high school. An analysis of patterns in principals' remarks about their assessment of themselves and their schools revealed three general areas they attend to: staff morale, student behavior, and feedback from teachers, students, and parents.

Staff morale as a measure of personal and organizational success is assessed by principals on two levels. The first level was the principal's own general sense of the quality of morale. The second involved specific indicators that individual principals adopted as barometers.

Student behavior was described by principals as a direct measure of their performance. Positive, constructive behavior was viewed as a more reliable measure than negative behavior.

The third measure which principals used in the assessment of their personal performance was the direct feedback they received from teachers, students, and parents.
Teachers' remarks are particularly valued for their accuracy and promptness. Student feedback is used by principals to measure perceptions of the principals' motives rather than as a gauge of the effectiveness of particular actions. Parent feedback is attended to whether it is positive or negative.

**Occupational Satisfaction**

Three dimensions of high school principals' work have been reported thus far: occupational tasks and roles, requisite skills, and performance assessment. The fourth and final aspect of principals' work which was studied was occupational satisfaction. This line of inquiry was an effort to discover what occurrences in their work particularly provide high school principals with feelings of satisfaction.

**Positive School Climate**

One consistent pattern emerged from the analysis of high school principals' accounts of the sources of greatest satisfaction in their work. A positive climate in their schools was reported by principals as cause for their highest level of satisfaction.

Principals describe that most satisfying climate with phrases like "running smooth", "clear sailing", "everything fits", "things fall into place", and "people are up."
The finding that positive school climate is a prime source of satisfaction for principals issued from an analysis of principals' accounts of "a good day" on the job. The following comments are illustrative:

Nothing makes me happier than those days when we're "hitting on all eight cylinders"...No teachers are absent, buses are on time, the cooks come up with a good meal, I accomplish what's on my calendar...There is generally a good atmosphere in the building. (Principal 2)

The overall tenor in the building is just right...Not many discipline problems, no vandalism on the lots, all the teachers are happy, kids are happy...No snafues or hitches. (Principal 6)

Principals also expressed strong sentiments about "bad" days and negative climate in their schools. On the whole, principals made it clear that job satisfaction was particularly low in these circumstances. Principal 1's description is representative of this finding.

I can see it coming...Teachers start the day bitching and complaining...Something is planned and not going right...The kids - "the natives" - are restless and you can tell it. It puts you on edge. There are a lot of discipline problems, fights, angry phone calls from parents...Topsy turvy...You can't wait till 3:10.

It was clear that high school principals view positive school climate as an organizational rather than personal achievement. However, as a group they tended to identify the principal in particular as the key to that climate
associated with greatest job satisfaction. This is reflected in principals' remarks about the importance of the principal to the high school.

I think the principal sets the tone. In that sense, he's very important. If you want to know what makes a school tick, find out what makes the principal tick. (Principal 10)

The whole tone and feel of the school depends on the principal. A shaky principal will eventually be reflected in the school. (Principal 6)

The principal equals the way the school runs—dictatorial principal equals dictatorial teachers...People in the school tend to march to the beat of the principal. (Principal 1)

Comments From Staff and Students

A second pattern was identified in the analysis of high school principals' descriptions of sources of work satisfaction. Principals derive a great deal of satisfaction from specific remarks by staff and students about the way the school is being run. Several principals indicated that comments from teachers and students are particularly satisfying because they come from "those in the know."

I've been complimented when I screwed up and criticized when I've done a great job, by the superintendent and the community... That's why I don't get too excited...The kids and the adults in the building know... And when they tell me I'm all right, I'm a happy man. (Principal 2)

It doesn't happen often enough, but when teachers and kids recognize that I am firm but fair...That I am trying to help people
succeed... And they tell me about it. (Principal 4)

Principals expressed similar sentiments about the satisfaction derived from comments by staff and students when they described "bad" days on the job.

I must admit that I get pretty upset when my people in the building are confronting in their remarks. (Principal 15)

When I get hit with a broadside by a teacher or student leader, it bothers me a great deal. (Principal 3)

On the bad days, I deal with a disproportionate amount of conflict from teachers and kids aimed at me as the principal. (Principal 7)

Summary

An analysis of high school principals' descriptions of the sources of greatest satisfaction in their work indicated two particularly satisfying elements - a positive climate in their schools, and commentary from staff and students about the operation of the school.

General Themes In Principals' Descriptions Of Their Work

Four general themes characterize the patterns found in high school principals' descriptions of their occupation's tasks and roles, requisite skills, performance assessment, and sources of satisfaction. The first theme is the inclination among high school principals to have an insular view
of the high school workplace. The second theme is the special emphasis on work style among high school principals. The third theme is a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product. The fourth and final theme is the sense of control over the workplace exhibited by high school principals.

The High School As An Island

An insular view of the high school is a pervasive theme evident in each of the four aspects of principals' work focused on in this study.

The task dimension of principals' work is characterized by an almost random sequence with which tasks occur. It was found that principals' descriptions of occupational tasks suggest that the high school is a closed and separate social system.

In each of their basic roles - instructional leader, broker, and director - it was found that high school principals attend more to their own schools than to the larger arenas of the school district or community.

Similarly, the skills, knowledge, and attributes which principals described as essential reflect the theme of insularity. Principals emphasized school level examples in depicting "what it takes to be able to work as a high school principal" - problem solving skills, an empathy for people, and local expertise.
In assessing personal and organizational performance, high school principals focus their attention on their individual schools and to a large degree disregard the broader social system in which the school lies. Those primary measures of performance described by principals - staff morale, student behavior, and feedback from teachers, students and parents - reflect a particular attentiveness to elements in the school setting.

The final dimension of high school principals' work, occupational satisfaction, reflects an insular orientation on the part of occupation members. Principals find particular satisfaction in positive school climate and complimentary remarks from staff and students.

In brief, patterns found in principals' descriptions of their work are characterized by the general theme of an insular view of the work environment.

The Emphasis On Work Style Among Principals

The second theme in principals' descriptions of their work is the special emphasis placed on work style by high school principals. Principals clearly emphasize leadership style over organizational structure in their day-to-day work.

The style theme is reflected in two of the occupational roles which characterize the high school principalship: broker and director. As brokers, principals act as middlemen between and among various individuals and groups associated
with the high school. It was found that an unbiased manner in carrying out the role of broker contributed to successful results. Most principals echoed the sentiment that "how" they perform in the brokering role is frequently more important than "what" they actually do.

An emphasis on style is also evident in the role of director. High school principals indicated that leadership style can be a determining factor in those on-the-spot, face-to-face encounters associated with the director work role.

A pattern in principals' descriptions of requisite occupational skills reveals some of the same preoccupation with leadership style. High school principals indicated that a visible empathy for people was necessary to work effectively in the occupation. There is a clear tendency on the part of principals to describe empathy in terms of visible behavior rather than in measurable achievements.

Patterns in principals' remarks about their assessment of themselves and their schools are consistent with the style theme. High school principals described staff morale as a primary measure in this vein. They described two equally subjective levels of assessment: the principal's general sense of staff morale, and specific indicators adopted as barometers. The manner with which their people performed was mentioned most often in examples related to performance assessment.
A final reflection of the style theme in high school principals' descriptions of their work is in the high level of satisfaction principals find in a positive school climate. In discussing climate specifically, principals tended to focus on the manners and actions of individuals rather than organizational structures.

The Process Theme

A third theme which emerged from patterns found in high school principals' descriptions of their work is a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product.

The rapid pace which characterizes tasks of the principalship reinforces principals' tendency to pay more attention to processes going on in their schools than to specific and measurable results of school programs.

The process theme is also evident in the brokering role of high school principals. High school principals emphasized that success in the broker role occurs when all parties see the principal as unbiased and accessible. In addition, principals suggested that they are often brokers because they do not control the resources necessary to produce results.

The empathy for people which principals describe as a requisite occupational skill reflects the process theme. High school principals refer to empathy as a combination of attitude, skill, and accessibility. They indicate that it is demonstrated in the behavior of the principal rather than as
a product of a particular work effort.

One of the primary assessment criteria described by high school principals—student behavior—is consistent with a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product. Principals attend to positive, constructive student behavior as a reliable measure of effectiveness much more so than to specific student accomplishments.

Finally, the process theme is reflected in high school principals' descriptions of primary sources of work satisfaction. Principals derive particular satisfaction from the day-to-day commentary of staff and students about the way the school is being run.

Principals In Control of Their Workplaces

The final theme which is characteristic of patterns identified in high school principals' descriptions of their work is the sense of control over the workplace exhibited by high school principals. This theme is reflected in several dimensions of the work of the high school principalship.

The control theme is reflected in the almost random sequence with which day-to-day tasks occur in high school principals' work. It was found in this inquiry and elsewhere (Morris, et. al., 1981) that principals use the pattern of random task occurrence to control and shape their jobs and schools.
A sense of control over the domain of the high school is evident in the high school principal's basic occupational role of director. Principals in the interview group generally characterized themselves as being very much in control or "on top of" their schools, particularly when they were in the role of director.

Several patterns in principals' descriptions of requisite occupational skills reflect the control theme. The general ability to solve problems was a dominant pattern in high school principals' comments in this vein. One element of problem solving skill is dispute resolution. Principals indicated that they were most effective when they maintained strong influence over all parties to a particular dispute. Similarly, the illusory quality of anticipation in problem solving situations was described by principals as contributing to their ability to control the outcome of those situations.

The final element of this general ability is crisis management. While principals suggested that many crises are rooted in problems beyond their control, they expressed the general view that managing crises effectively enhanced their authority.

Occupational Meanings and Sentiments

General themes which characterize high school principals' descriptions of their work are indicative of the
meanings they attach to that work. Lortie (1975) found this to be the case in his study of teachers, as did Ogawa (1979) in his investigation of the work meanings of superintendents. This approach is supported as well by the conceptualizations of other scholars on the notion of meaning and the way people characterize experience (Blumer, 1956, Mead, 1934; Mooney, 1974). Sentiments relate to attitudes toward "everyday tasks", which are generated while carrying them out. As with work meanings, sentiments should be revealed in principals' descriptions of their work.

Again, four general themes were found to characterize the patterns identified in high school principals' descriptions of major aspects of their work. These themes indicate the nature of the meanings and sentiments which high school principals attach to their work.

The insular view of the high school. The high school itself is the most significant entity to high school principals. Time, energy, and attention are focused within the school, with limited concern given by principals to the broader arenas of community or school district. They express strongest feelings about events and individuals within the school setting. Sources of job satisfaction are found primarily at the school building level.
Work style. The emphasis on style in high school principals' descriptions of their work reveals the significance they attach to leadership behavior and the limited attention given to structural aspects of the high school environment. Principals emphasize the importance of the perceptions of others in the school. There is a definite preoccupation among high school principals with leadership style as a determinant of effective day-to-day job performance.

Process. The process theme suggests that high school principals see day-to-day activity in the school as a most significant aspect of their work. There is limited emphasis on results or goal attainment in principals' discussions of job satisfaction and work rewards. They view their work in contributing to a positive school climate as most important. Principals derive particular satisfaction from smooth operations at the building level.

A sense of control. The fourth and final theme is a sense of control by the principal over the workplace of the high school. High school principals see themselves as being in control of their schools. They view their work as manageable. They attach special meaning to work events in which they exercise strong influence over all parties to the situation. They also derive particular
satisfaction from day-to-day occurrences which enhance their mastery of the domain of the high school.

Summary. Analysis has been focused on four aspects of high school principals' work: occupational tasks and roles; requisite occupational skills; occupational assessment; and sources of occupational satisfaction. Four themes were identified in this analysis and they indicate that high school principals attach meanings and sentiments to: the high school as an insular workplace, leadership style, attention to on-going processes in the school, and a sense of control over the school.

In Chapter Six, these meanings and sentiments which high school principals attach to their work and the orientations engendered by occupational structures, as described in Chapter Four, will be synthesized to describe the occupational ethos of senior high school principals.
CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY - PART THREE
THE OCCUPATIONAL ETHOS OF SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS;
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

In this investigation, occupational ethos was defined as follows:

Those general inclinations to act in a particular way which are shared by members of an occupation as indicated in:

1. The attitudes expressed by members of an occupation towards and resulting from their occupation's recruitment and socialization processes and reward structures, and

2. The perceptions and attitudes expressed by members of an occupation towards their day-to-day work.

Thus, the description reported here is the result of the analysis of two major dimensions of the occupation of the senior high school principalship: orientations engendered by occupational structures and meanings attached by principals to their work. In Chapter IV, inquiry was focused on those structures of the occupation which provide insights to its ethos - the occupational structures of recruitment, socialization, and reward. This resulted in the identification of themes which pointed to fundamental orientations developed in occupation members. In Chapter V,
four aspects of principals' work were studied: occupational tasks and roles; occupational skills, knowledge, and attributes; occupational assessment; and occupational satisfaction. This approach yielded themes which indicated the nature of meanings and sentiments that high school principals attach to their work.

In this chapter, orientations engendered by occupational structures, and meanings and sentiments which principals attach to their work will be synthesized to describe the occupational ethos of senior high school principals. In addition, the description of the high school principals' occupational ethos will be compared to findings of previous research on the high school principalship and previous efforts at describing the ethos of an occupation. The final sections include a summary of findings and conclusions, recommendations for future research, and suggested implications for the preparation of senior high school principals.

The Occupational Ethos

The ethos of an occupation is a standardized system of emotions which gives meaning to things and serves as a basis for actions. Analysis of high school principals' orientations, meanings, and sentiments reveals a description of the occupation's ethos.

Four dominant orientations of the senior high school
principalship are engendered by the occupation's recruitment, socialization, and reward structures. An insular orientation leads high school principals to view the high school as a closed social system. Principals have a tendency to be less than sensitive to the external environment of the school. A style orientation reflects the preoccupation principals have with leadership style. A process orientation concerns the tendency of high school principals to attend more to the processes of schooling than to measurable results. A sense of control over the domain of the high school is the fourth orientation which characterizes the high school principalship as an occupation.

The meanings and sentiments which high school principals connect to their work are congruent with the orientations engendered by occupational structures. High school principals attach meanings and sentiments to: the high school as an insular workplace, leadership style, attention to on-going processes in the school, and a sense of control over the school.

Both major dimensions of the occupation-orientations stemming from occupational structures and work meanings and sentiments - are characterized by similar themes. Each reflects an insular view of the senior high school environment. Both are characterized by a particular emphasis on style. A concern for the process of schooling rather than the product is a theme common to both dimensions. Finally, both point
to a theme which emphasizes a sense of control over the high school by the principal. Hence, what Lortie called "processes of occupational perpetuation" (1975) in the high school principalship fit well with the ways occupation members regard their work.

**Basic Elements Of The Ethos**

The consonance between the general themes found in both major dimensions of the occupation is indicative of the four basic elements of the occupational ethos of senior high school principals: 1. An insular view of the high school social system, 2. An emphasis on style, 3. A concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and 4. A sense of control over the domain of the high school.

Distinctions among elements of the ethos have been made and each has been described separately. However, it is important to note that elements are interrelated and are descriptive of the nature and content of the ethos of the high school principalship. While particular elements of the ethos of the high school principal may resemble those of other occupations, the particular pattern of orientations and sentiments is unique to the high school principal.

**An Insular View Of The High School Social System.**

High school principals talk like "ship captains". They spiced their comments with metaphors like "keeping afloat", 
"staying on course," and "weathering the storm." Most principals were recruited from within high schools. It was a prevailing view that they learned the skills of the high school principalship on the job. In addition, it was clear that many of the work attitudes of principals were shaped by their experiences in their own high schools. High school principals were queried about those aspects of their work which are "most rewarding" and "least rewarding." It was evident from their responses that high school principals look within their schools for that which is rewarding.

Patterns in principals' descriptions of their work reflect the notion of the high school as an island. In their basic work roles--instructional leader, broker, and director--high school principals attend primarily to their own schools, and pay limited attention to the larger arenas of the school district or community.

In describing "what it takes to be able to work as a high school principal," principals emphasized building level examples. High school principals focus on their individual schools in assessing individual and organizational performance. Those primary measures of performance reflect a particular attentiveness to the school setting, and to a large degree disregard the broader social system in which the school lies.
An Emphasis On Style. In discussing factors which influence success in their occupation, principals placed major emphasis on leadership style. Most high school principals indicated that they were recruited into the principalship because of such things as "personality", "ability to make decisions", "guts", "moxie", or "knowing how to get along with people." Knowledge of educational administration or instructional expertise was rarely mentioned in this vein. Most principals echoed the sentiment that "how" you do things is often more important than "what" you do. Longer experience in the principalship seems further to reinforce this view.

High school principals indicated that leadership style is a determining factor in those on-the-spot, face-to-face encounters associated with the director work role described in Chapter V. Principals revealed a similar preoccupation with style in reporting that empathy for people, a requisite occupational skill, must be visible and obvious to others.

The manner with which people performed was mentioned most often by principals in their remarks about performance assessment. Similarly, high school principals had a tendency to focus on the manners and actions of individuals rather than organizational structures, in describing sources of satisfaction in their day-to-day work.
A Concern For The Process Of Schooling Rather Than The Product. This element of the occupational ethos of high school principals is closely related to the style element. The tendency to attend more to on-going activities in the school than to specific results of school programs reflects both process and style orientations.

The process element manifests itself as prospective principals catch the attention of prospective sponsors, as principals encounter the subjectivity of occupational selection, and as they are fully socialized in training programs and on-the-job experience.

The rapid pace of the task dimension of principals' work reinforces a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product. The comfort level principals expressed in the role of broker was related to the fact that principals do not always control the resources necessary to produce actual results. The process element is evident in the particular satisfaction principals derive from day-to-day commentary from those in the building about the way the school is running.

A Sense Of Control Over The Domain Of The High School. The control element is the fourth element of the occupational ethos of high school principals. It is intertwined with the insular, style, and process elements. High school principals enter the occupation seeking the authority and
control the position gives. There is also a sense of control reflected in being the highest paid person in the school. The important role sponsorship plays in entry to the occupation is another manifestation of the control theme. Sponsoring principals are likely to tap prospective principals who reflect a sense of control over their domain.

Experiences in preparation programs tend to reinforce the expressed view among high school principals that they know more about high school administration than the "experts." Such attitudes encourage occupation members to see their job as manageable and their task domain as one that can be controlled.

High school principals indicate that they use the almost random sequence with which day-to-day tasks occur in their work to control and shape their jobs and schools. Similarly, the general ability to solve problems was a dominant pattern in principals' descriptions of requisite occupational skills. In this vein, principals indicated that their ability to control the outcome of problem situations was critical.

**Summary And Synthesis.** The occupational ethos of senior high school principals consists of four elements, which in aggregate are a pattern of orientations and sentiments unique to the occupation and its work.

The insular view which characterizes the occupational
ethos of high school principals permeates both dimensions of the occupation. Each of the occupational structures examined was found to sustain and reinforce this element. Also, those aspects of their work which principals attach meaning to reflect insular sentiments.

Consistent with the insular orientation is the particular emphasis on style which illustrates the second element of the high school principals' ethos. The third element, the principals' concern for on-going processes in the high school is congruous with the insular and style elements.

Principals emphasize a sense of control over their domain as a balancing element to the ambiguity that accompanies the insular, style, and process elements of the ethos.

Relation Of Findings To Findings Of Other Studies

Comparisons will be made in this final section between findings of this study and findings of previous studies. First, findings will be related to results of previous research on the principalship. Second, the description of the high school principals' ethos will be compared to the findings of investigations of the ethos of the teacher, the school superintendent, and the community college president.
Studies Of The Principalship

This comparison is focused on studies which include empirically based descriptions of the principalship.

Harry Wolcott's work, *The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography* (1973) is an intensive descriptive case study of the situations and behaviors of a suburban elementary school principal. Wolcott found that the principal he studied demonstrated a "problem-centered orientation" and operated in "fireman-like fashion" much of the time. Wolcott also found that this behavior brought the principal more into line with the expectations of those in the school. In addition, the resulting notion that "every problem is important" gave Wolcott's subject principal a standard for measuring his administrative success and influence over his school. Another conclusion of Wolcott's study is that the role of the principal is a "stability-maintaining" one. Wolcott found that the principal is a "monitor for continuity."

While Wolcott studied a single principal in the elementary school setting, the consistency between his findings and the description of the occupational ethos of the high school principal reported here is significant. A basic element of the ethos is an emphasis on style, which suggests that high school principals are particularly concerned with how they appear to others in their job performance.
The "fireman-like fashion" which Wolcott described and the way this type of behavior lined up with the expectations of others in the school is clearly consistent with the style element of the high school principal's ethos.

A concern for the process of schooling rather than the product is a basic element of the ethos and is reflected in the "problem-centered orientation" revealed in Wolcott's ethnography. Similarly, the sense of control over the domain of the high school element of the ethos is consistent with the "stability-maintaining" role described by Wolcott.

Morris, Crowson, Hurwitz, and Porter-Gehrie (1978) conducted an ethnographic study of sixteen Chicago school principals, focusing on the activities that comprise the principal's work day. The investigators found that high school principals spend up to 70 percent of the work day in interchanges with staff and students in the building, with most exchanges initiated by the principal. In a process which Morris, et al. characterized as "shaping the job to suit," principals used their control over their schedule to spend most of their time doing the parts of the job they liked and found satisfying. Morris, et al. also found that principals were semi-autonomous within the larger context of the school district. In addition, principals were found to use their discretion to maintain "equilibrium" in the school despite an "unpredictable clientele."
Three of the basic elements of the occupational ethos of high school principals are reflected in the Morris, et al. findings. The insular view of the high school is evident in the findings of semi-autonomy on the part of principals and the amount of time principals spend engaged by staff and students. The element of the ethos which indicates a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product is consistent with Morris, et al.'s finding that principals give significant attention to maintaining "equilibrium" in the building. Finally, the control element of the ethos is reflected in the findings in the Chicago study of principals "shaping the job to suit" and in their apparent control over the initiation of most exchanges with staff and students in the school.

Martin and Willower (1980) applied Henry Mintzberg's structural observation technique to a study of five high school principals. They concluded that high school principals show minimal concern for that which occurs outside of the high school. Martin and Willower also found that high school principals appear to be very much in command of their work environment.

Two basic elements of the high school principals' occupational ethos are consistent with Martin and Willower's findings. First, the insular view of the high school is clearly reflected in Martin and Willower's findings that high school principals show little concern for the arena
beyond their own schools. Second, the element of the principals' ethos which indicates a sense of control over the domain of the high school squares with Martin and Willower's conclusion that high school principals appear to have the upper hand in managing their work situations.

Licata and Hack (1980) conducted a study of a particular school principals' informal social structure in a school district. The investigators focused on beliefs and norms of the principal subculture. Licata and Hack found an "internal loyalty" norm in the principal subculture. This norm fosters loyalty on the part of principals to those who work in their buildings and strongly inhibits public criticism of faculty and students by their own principal. Another finding of Licata and Hack was that there is a belief among principals that there is a danger in sharing difficulties with others. The particular liability is the possibility of being viewed as less than competent. Licata and Hack also reported that principals view their work environment as unique, and see knowledge of their particular school as more useful than outside expertise.

These findings are consistent with two of the elements of the occupational ethos of senior high school principals. The element of the ethos which indicates an insular view of the high school is reflected in Licata and Hack's "internal loyalty norm." Similarly, the principals' belief in
"contextual idiosyncracy," as reported by Licata and Hack, is consistent with the insular element of the ethos. Further, the element of the ethos which points to an emphasis on style is reflected in Licata and Hack's description of principals' beliefs about the "misperception of incompetence."

In summary, the description of the occupational ethos of senior high school principals identified by the present study is supported by the findings of studies conducted by Wolcott, Morris, et al., Martin and Willower, and Licata and Hack.

Other Studies Of The Occupational Ethos

The organizing framework for the present study was essentially a replication of one developed by Lortie (1975) in his study of school teachers. Lortie developed the concept of occupational ethos and is responsible for the two-dimension approach to the description of the occupational ethos of senior high school principals taken in this study. Ogawa (1979) modified Lortie's definition in his study of the ethos of school superintendents. The approach taken in this work is rooted in the Lortie and Ogawa studies. In addition, Hooker (1982) analyzed the occupational ethos of community college presidents using a similar approach. A comparison of the findings of this study with those of Lortie, Ogawa, and Hooker adds to the accumulation of
knowledge about the notion of occupational ethos and its application to the study of educational organizations.

There is a congruence between the orientations which high school principals derive from recruitment, socialization, and reward structures and the ways they characterize their tasks and the sentiments they attach to them. This consistency between occupational orientations and work meanings was indicated by Lortie's findings and those of Ogawa and Hooker.

The basic elements of the occupational ethos of teachers were found by Lortie (1975) to be: conservatism, individualism, and presentism. The findings of the present study indicate that the basic elements of the ethos of high school principals: an insular view of the high school, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the high school.

Lortie found that teachers tend to be conservative. High school principals demonstrate conservatism in their insular view of the high school and their strong sense of control over the workplace. However, the element of the high school principal's ethos which indicates a concern for process over product is in sharp contrast to the orientation toward results Lortie found imbedded in teachers' conservatism.
Individualism is a component of the schoolteacher's ethos. In contrast, high school principals are concerned with the overall group process in the school, and pay limited attention to the achievement of individuals. In addition, a basic element of the principal's ethos is a definite sense of control over the high school and individuals within the organization. A tendency among high school principals which does reflect a focus on the individual is their emphasis on leadership style.

Lortie found that teachers emphasize the present, a tendency which is also reflected in the ethos of high school principals. Presentism is clearly reflected in the high school principals' ethos vis-a-vis a concern for the process or present state over the product or future state. Also, in the case of high school principals, the element which emphasizes control is rooted in orientations and sentiments which suggest commitment to the status quo in the organization.

Ogawa (1979) identified four basic elements of the occupational ethos of school superintendents: concern for the total social system of which school systems are a part, uncertainty and its management, movement, and structure.

The contextual orientation of school superintendents, which Ogawa identified, concerns the tendency of superintendents to be sensitive to both organizational and environmental conditions. This element is in contrast to at least
two elements of the ethos of high school principals. First, there is a view of the high school as a closed social system reflected in the insular element of the principal's ethos. In addition, the sense of control over the domain of the high school is an element of the principal's ethos which suggests limited concern with the broader context of the social system in which the high school is nested.

School superintendents are concerned with uncertainty and its management, and demonstrate what Ogawa referred to as a "quasi-fatalistic" orientation as a consequence. The tendency among high school principals largely to disregard the broader social system within which the school lies is partially a method of coping with uncertainty. Similarly, both the style and process elements of the high school principal's ethos reflect a similar tendency to respond to chance opportunities in an uncertain environment. However this element of the superintendent's ethos is countered by the element of the principal's ethos which suggests a definite sense of control over the domain of the high school.

Movement is the third element of the superintendent's ethos identified by Ogawa. The key finding in this vein of the Ogawa study is a "penschant for changing existing conditions" by school superintendents. This finding stands in striking contrast to the insular element of the ethos of high school principals. As superintendents seek to change
existing conditions, high school principals tend to seek preservation of the status quo. Also, the element of the principal's ethos which indicates a strong sense of control over the work environment is in sharp contrast to the lack of control implied by the movement orientation among superintendents.

A conservative disposition toward the existing structure in the organization is the final element of the superintendent's ethos. This tendency is reflected in two components of the principal's ethos - the insular element and the control element. The insular view among principals clearly suggests a commitment to existing structures. Similarly, the sense of control over the high school emphasized by principals indicates a positive inclination toward extant social and organizational forms.

At this point a comment is in order on limitations inherent in the comparison of findings of different studies. This is particularly important in this comparison of various investigations applying the theoretical concept of ethos to educational organizations. Lortie (1981) has suggested that orientations of teachers and principals may be similar because they function within the same organization. In addition, Lortie points out that the principal's organization is "nested" in the superintendent's organization, an issue which should be noted in occupational comparisons.
Ogawa's 1979 finding that superintendents are for the most part former teachers and the finding reported here that high school principals are by definition former teachers facilitates comparisons among findings from this study and those of Lortie and Ogawa. Also, each of the occupations studied (teacher, principal, superintendent) is a part of the broad context of the public school district.

The fact that Hooker's 1982 study of community college presidents focused on a different organizational context limits comparison somewhat. However, relating Hooker's findings with those of the present study can be instructive. It should be noted that Hooker's research was initiated and completed while the study reported here was in progress. Hooker (1982) described the occupational ethos of community college presidents in terms of four dominant themes: concern for human relations, concern for systemic relations, concern for rationality, and orientation to the future. Community college presidents focus on the individual, a tendency reflected in all four elements of the ethos of high school principals: insular, style, process, and control. In contrast, the community college presidents' concern for systemic relations or an "open system" orientation is contrasted by the principal's view of the high school as a closed social system.

Community college presidents are concerned with ration-
ality, which manifests itself in the preoccupation among presidents with planning and evaluation systems. None of the elements of the ethos of high school principals indicate a similar concern for rationality. The element of the principal's ethos which indicates a strong emphasis on leadership style may suggest limited interest in planning and evaluation. In addition, the results orientation implied by the president's ethos is in distinct contrast to the principal's concern with the process of schooling rather than the product.

The final element of the community college president's ethos is an orientation to the future. In variance, principals emphasize the present in their insular view of the high school, and in their concern with process over product in their work.

Summary. The comparison of the findings of this study with those of Lortie, Ogawa, and Hooker revealed both similarities and marked differences. The review of these findings on the occupational ethos of other occupations suggests that high school principals' orientations and sentiments coalesce to form a unique, integrated occupational ethos. However, many particular orientations and sentiments are shared with other occupations. Some of the differences identified in this comparison of findings indicate a need for future research in this vein, and will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter.
Summary Of Findings And Conclusions

The general purpose of this study was to describe the occupational ethos of the American senior high school principal by analyzing:

1. Those processes and structures which develop and perpetuate the occupation for general orientations which they engender among members; and

2. High school principals' descriptions of their work to identify themes which indicate meanings and sentiments which they attach to that work.

General research questions provided focus for the description of the occupational ethos of the senior high school principal. These general questions gave rise to specific sub-questions which delimited the scope of the study.

The limitations of this work were discussed in Chapter III. At this point of summary of findings and conclusions, a brief review of those limitations is in order. The theoretical concept of ethos is broad and vague. It was necessary to determine to some degree the characteristics of the ethos which emerged by the particular nature of the research questions and the theoretical perspective. Thus, some dimensions of the ethos possibly went undetected.

This investigation produced descriptive information, not scientific proof. The research methods employed
prevent the kind of statistical assessment which leads to generalizability of findings.

The following summary of findings and conclusions is organized by the research questions included in the Problem Statement developed in Chapter One.

1. What patterns exist in the recruitment of high school principals into the occupation?

Two major types of recruitment resources, attractors and facilitators, were analyzed for characteristic patterns. Attractors refer to benefits and facilitators include patterns which accommodate the movement of individuals into the occupation. These recruitment resources were identified in the interview and survey data. Patterns found were analyzed for general themes which characterize the recruitment structure.

Attractors. Three major occupational attractors were identified by senior high school principals. The first was service. Principals, like members of other education occupations, have a strong commitment to public service. Secondly, principals were attracted by the opportunity to provide leadership for the improvement of a particular school and the staff and students of that school. Service was an overall attraction of the occupation, while directing improvement in a school was a specific attractor. The third major attractor was the salary of the high school principalship. Principals talked of salary in relation to teaching salaries
only. Thus, salary was not viewed as a powerful attractor, except as it related to others in educational work.

Facilitators. Five major occupational facilitators were identified. First was the restrained pool of candidates from which the principalship draws its members. High school principals are drawn from the ranks of a single occupation—classroom teaching. Secondly, the recruitment of senior high school principals is characterized by the deferment of occupational decision. Principals do not aspire to the principalship until they are teachers. The third facilitator was the element of chance. For principals, entry into the occupation was often a chance occurrence. Fourth, it would appear that many individuals are first selected as principals according to subjective and sometimes unclear standards. One specific criterion which principals themselves often suggest is skill in human relations. The final recruitment facilitator is the role of sponsor. High school principals are "brought in" to the occupation regularly by the principals they work under as classroom teachers.

Themes. Four general themes characterize the recruitment of senior high school principals: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school.

In brief, these themes suggest that high school principals see themselves as a buffer between their school and
the outside world. Their orientation is toward the high school as a closed social system. Principals are not particularly sensitive to the external environment of the school. Leadership style occupies the attention of high school principals more than organizational structure. The attitudes and feelings of teachers and students are attended to more than their performances in their roles. Finally, high school principals see themselves as very much "in control" and "on top of" their schools.

2. What patterns exist in the occupational socialization process described by high school principals?

Occupational sociologists and other students of work roles have observed two dimensions of occupational socialization-training programs and on-the-job experience (Pavalko, 1971; Lortie, 1975; Ogawa, 1979). Formal and informal levels of socialization within each dimension were probed in interviews. In addition, the NASSP survey data were examined for socialization patterns, at both the formal and informal levels within each dimension.

Other sources of occupational socialization which emerged from the data were identified and analyzed for patterns which characterize the socialization structure.

Training programs. Five distinct patterns emerged from analysis of principal's comments about preparation programs. First, principals value and receive course work which emphasizes school building management. Secondly, training pro-
grams emphasize instructional leadership. Third, over-all training programs are not viewed by principals as being important in preparing for the occupation. Fourth, informal experiences in preparation programs are viewed as important by principals, possibly more important than those that are formal. The fifth pattern is that principals see the training of principals as practiceable.

Two distinct but less important patterns regarding training and occupational socialization are that training is mostly part-time and leads to necessary occupational credentialing.

On-the-job experience. High school principals view on-the-job experience as the most important part of their training for the occupation. Two significant patterns were identified in this regard. First, critical expertise and information are seen as coming from within the school staff. Secondly, principals equate success with knowledge of the particular school not knowledge of the principalship in general.

The occupational socialization of high school principals is characterized by a final pattern beyond training programs and on-the-job experience. Principals attach great significance to their experiences in teaching, the breadth and diversity of their life experiences, and to their personal qualities.
Themes. The four general themes which characterize the occupational socialization of high school principals are essentially the same as those which characterize the recruitment structure. Again, those themes are: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school.

3. What patterns characterize the reward structure for high school principals?

Both Lortie (1975) and Ogawa (1979) have demonstrated the importance of reviewing both monetary and non-monetary rewards which occupation members acquire through working. Similarly, this analysis of the occupational reward structure of the high school principalship gauges both monetary and non-monetary rewards.

Monetary rewards. Two important patterns were identified in the monetary dimension. First, high school principals made substantial gains in salary between 1965 and 1978. A second and corollary pattern is that principals view salary as a rewarding aspect of work as a high school principal. Detailed probing of the issue of monetary rewards in interviews revealed that although monetary rewards are significant, they are not primary in the occupational reward structure of high school principals.
Non-monetary rewards. Primary rewards for high school principals are intrinsic in nature. In discussing non-monetary rewards, principals focused on the affective behavior of students and teachers, rather than measurable achievements. Three important and recurring elements were evident in principals remarks about non-monetary rewards: school climate, teacher/student satisfaction, and unfettered authority.

Themes. The four general themes which characterize the occupational reward structure of the senior high school principalship are essentially the same as those reflected in the recruitment and socialization structures. Again, those themes are: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school.

4. What are the basic orientations high school principals obtain from occupational structures?

Four general themes characterize patterns found in the recruitment, socialization, and reward structures: an insular view of the high school social system, an emphasis on style, a concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and a sense of control over the domain of the high school. These persistent themes point to fundamental orientations developed in occupation members, similar to those findings of prior studies in this vein of other educational occupations (Lortie, 1975; Ogawa, 1979).
Insular, style, process, and control orientations are the dominant orientations of senior high school principals. This is a primary finding of this study.

5. How do high school principals characterize their chief tasks and responsibilities?

Tasks. High school principals' descriptions of their day-to-day work tasks were analyzed and revealed three significant patterns. Tasks are rapid in pace, random in occurrence, and reliant on the actions of others for significant effect.

Responsibilities. The analysis of principals' descriptions of their chief job responsibilities revealed three general occupational roles: the principal as instructional leader, the principal as broker, and the principal as director.

As instructional leaders, high school principals focus the major portion of their energies on the instructional processes within their schools. In the broker role, the principal acts as an unbiased agent between and among various groups and individuals in the school and its environment. Finally, as directors, principals perform many of the mundane tasks of day-to-day school management.
6. What do high school principals view as the skills, knowledge, and personal attributes necessary for success in their occupation?

Principals emphasized that members of their occupation must possess problem solving skills, an empathy for people, and local expertise.

Problem-solving skills, as a general ability, were reported to include: dispute resolution, anticipation, and crisis management.

Empathy for people was described by principals as a combination of attitude, skill, and accessibility.

Principals also observed that local expertise, including accurate information and knowledge of their particular school, was essential to individuals carrying out the work of the principalship.

7. How do high school principals judge their professional performance?

High school principals reported that they do not make distinctions between the assessment of their own performance and that of the high school. An analysis of patterns in principals' remarks about their assessment of themselves and their schools revealed three general areas they attend to: staff morale, student behavior, and feedback from teachers, students, and parents.

Staff morale as a measure of personal and organizational success is assessed by principals on two levels. The first level was the principal's own general sense of the quality
of morale. The second involved specific indicators that individual principals adopted as barometers.

Student behavior was described by principals as a direct measure of their performance. Positive, constructive behavior was viewed as a more reliable measure than negative behavior.

The third measure which principals used in the assessment of their personal performance was the direct feedback they received from teachers, students, and parents. Teachers' remarks are particularly valued for their accuracy and promptness. Student feedback is used by principals to measure perceptions of the principal's motives rather than as a gauge of the effectiveness of particular actions. Parent feedback is attended to whether it is positive or negative.

8. What activities particularly provide high school principals with feelings of satisfaction?

An analysis of high school principals' descriptions of the sources of greatest satisfaction in their work indicated two particularly satisfying elements - a positive climate in their schools, and commentary from staff and students about the operation of the school.

9. What meanings and sentiments do high school principals attach to their day-to-day work?

Four general themes characterize the patterns found in high school principals' descriptions of their occupation's tasks and roles, requisite skills, performance assessment,
and sources of satisfaction. General themes are indicative of the nature of the meanings high school principals attach to their work. Lortie (1975) found this to be the case in his study of teachers, as did Ogawa (1979) in his investigation of the work meanings of superintendents. This approach is supported as well by the conceptualizations of other scholars on the notion of meaning and the way people characterize experience (Blumer, 1956; Mead, 1934; Mooney, 1974).

A primary finding of this study is that high school principals attach meanings and sentiments to: the high school as an insular workplace, leadership style, attention to on-going processes in the school, and a sense of control over the school.

10. What is the occupational ethos of senior high school principals and to what extent are the meanings and sentiments that high school principals attach to their work congruent with their occupational orientations?

Both major dimensions of the occupation - orientations stemming from occupational structures and work meanings and sentiments - are characterized by similar themes. Each dimension: 1. reflects an insular view of the senior high school environment; 2. is characterized by a particular emphasis on style; 3. indicates concern for the process of schooling rather than the product; and 4. emphasizes a sense of control over the high school by the principal.

Hence, the four basic elements of the occupational ethos of senior high school principals are: 1. An insular view
of the high school social system, 2. An emphasis on style, 3. A concern for the process of schooling rather than the product, and 4. A sense of control over the domain of the high school.

Recommendations

This description of the occupational ethos of senior high school principals leads to recommendations for future research and has implications for the preparation of high school principals and the practice of the principalship.

Recommendations For Future Research

Findings of this study lead to the following recommendations as to areas where future research would be of particular value.

1. Research to test further the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of occupational ethos is needed.

2. A replication of Harry Wolcott's (1973) ethnographic study of a single elementary school principal should be conducted with a senior high school principal as the subject.

3. Intensive, descriptive case studies of the occupational recruitment, socialization, and reward structures of the high school principalship are needed.

4. More detailed studies of the activities that comprise the high school principal's work day are needed.

5. Research to test the accuracy of the description of the occupational ethos of high school principals with sub-groups in the occupation is needed. For example, a descriptive investigation of the occupational ethos of elementary school principals would be helpful.
Implications for the Preparation of High School Principals

Several issues about training have been raised in the findings. These issues should be considered by professors of educational administration and others who are responsible for the preparation of individuals for the high school principalship.

1. The work of high school principals is directly related to the instruction of students.

2. High school principals need knowledge and understanding of the structure of educational organizations beyond the local school building level.

3. High school principals need training in the development of goals against which individual and organizational effectiveness can be measured.

4. Findings and conclusions from the studies of occupational ethos (principals, teachers, superintendents) should be included in the content of preparation programs for educational administrators at all levels. For example, superintendents may benefit from knowledge of findings in regard to recruitment and selection of principals as described in this research.

Implications For Practice

1. Because there is an inherent conflict between the process orientation of high school principals and the occupational role of instructional leader, care should be taken by practitioners to achieve balance between the process orientation and the instructional leadership role.

2. Because the insular orientation of high school principals may be an inhibitor, practitioners must be vigilant to insure the efficient and effective development of team management and kindergarten through twelfth grade curriculum articulation in school districts.

3. Because the control orientation of high school principals may be a source of stability as high schools adapt to major pressures for change in the next decade,
the control orientation also may inhibit the capacity of practitioners to respond to needed changes. Thus, care must be exercised to insure that the system remains reasonably open to necessary adaptations.

4. Because the style orientation of high school principals may limit their ability to accommodate outcome-based measures of program and personnel evaluation, practitioners must continually assess their own style to avoid the loss of opportunity for productive appraisal of institutional outcomes.
APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE
INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. When did you first begin to seriously consider the high school principalship as a career? Why?

2. What was it about being a high school principal that attracted you?
   a. Can you recall what you expected life to be like as a high school principal? What particular kinds of things were you going to do?
   b. How has it differed? Better or for worst?

3. Looking back, were there key events or people that were key to your becoming a high school principal? How were they important? A sponsor of mentor?

4. What does it take to be able to work as a high school principal? Probes for this question:
   a. Personal attributes c. Knowledge
   b. Skills d. Other

5. How did you gain the attributes, skills, and knowledge necessary to be a high school principal? Probes for this question:
   a. Formal university training programs
   b. Experience in other educational positions
   c. Experience in jobs outside of schools
   d. Experience on the job as high school principal
   e. Exchange of information with other high school principals
   f. Professional reading
   g. In-service training programs

6. What is rewarding about working as a high school principal? Of these, which are most important?

7. What aspects of the job are least rewarding?

8. Let's imagine that you have been offered several job offers to work as principal of other high schools. What considerations would you make in deciding which, if any, of the offers you would accept?

9. The work of what other occupation is most like the high school principal? Why?
10. What do you lose by being a high school principal and not a member of another occupation?

11. Can you think of a high school principal whom you have known that you consider to be particularly successful? What does she/he do? What is she/he like?

12. Describe for me what your job entails.
   a. What are your chief responsibilities? Of these, which are the most crucial? Why?
   b. How do you spend your time on an average day?
   c. How much time would you say you spend on the job during the average week? At home?
   d. How would you compare this with other high school principals?
   e. If you were given a gift of ten hours a week extra, how would you use it?

13. If it doesn't come out in response to question twelve, above... Who do you spend time with on the job? What activities are you involved in with each of these individuals or groups?

14. When you have a tough decision to make, or face a serious problem in your school, to whom do you turn? What is it that you're seeking from these people?

15. When you're trying to get a new program or some other activity off the ground, what strategies do you use?

16. What specific event or type of event has been most satisfying to you as high school principal? Why?

17. Describe a "really good day" for you as a high school principal.

18. Describe a "really bad day" for you as a high school principal.

19. What changes would you make in your job to make it more satisfying to you?

20. How do you know if you are successful as a high school principal?

21. If you were to call on someone to assist you in assessing your work, who would you ask?
22. What are the major road blocks to success?

23. How do you know if your school is operating successfully?

24. To whom do you have to answer for your professional performance?

25. What kind of reputation would you like to have?

26. What aspirations do you have for yourself, now?

27. How important is the principal to a high school? Why?
APPENDIX B

SAMPLE LETTER
Dear Mr.

As a graduate student of Educational Administration at The Ohio State University, I am conducting a study of patterns which exist in the way high school principals describe their work and profession.

Some of the data for my study will come from the national study of the senior high school principalship, conducted by the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1977-78. In addition, I will interview Ohio high school principals, in order to develop deeper understandings of high school principals' professional insights, aspirations, perceptions, and attitudes.

You and fourteen of your colleagues were selected through a random process as the high school principals I hope to interview. Would you meet with me for an hour or two to share your professional insights and experiences? In addition, I would need to spend an equal amount of time observing you in your daily work. Your knowledge of the profession is essential to my research.

While it may not be of great concern to you, your anonymity will be protected in any and all reporting of the study.

Enclosed is a brief letter to you from my adviser, Luvern L. Cunningham, explaining the relationship of my work to other research underway within Educational Administration at O.S.U.

I will be contacting you by phone in the next several days to seek an appointment and to answer any questions you might have concerning my work. I look forward to meeting with you and hearing your views on our profession. Your help in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Richard A. McCullough

RAM/mjg
Enclosure
APPENDIX C

LETTER OF SUPPORT FROM

PROFESSOR LUVERN L. CUNNINGHAM
March 18, 1980

Dear Principal:

My purpose in writing this brief letter to you is to comment about the significance of the work that Richard McCullough is undertaking. He is opening up an important new area of inquiry relative to the ethos of the principalship. He is searching for the significance that you feel resides in this position, the basic values that secondary school principals possess, their reasons for seeking the principalship, their sense of its saliency for American education.

The department has been developing an interest in the ethos of administrative positions. A study of the superintendency has been completed and we intend to extend the work to include others in higher education. We have tended to neglect some of the most fundamental dimensions of professionalization in recent years. Thus we are pleased that this research helps us return to a fundamental focus on some of the enduring dimensions of the education professions.

Thank you for taking valuable time to read this letter. If you are able to meet with Mr. McCullough, I know you will enjoy that experience. If you have questions, please call me at 614-422-7700.

Most cordially yours,

Luvern L. Cunningham
Novice G. Fawcett Professor
of Educational Administration

LLC:mp
APPENDIX D

LETTER TO

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OHIO ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
March 9, 1980

Mr. Ross Fleming
Executive Director
Ohio Association of Secondary School Administrators
750 Brookside Boulevard
Westerville, Ohio 43081

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As a graduate student of Educational Administration at The Ohio State University, I am conducting a study of patterns which exist in the way high school principals describe their work and profession.

Some of the data for my study will come from the national study of the senior high school principalship, conducted by the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1977-78. In addition, I will interview Ohio high school principals, in order to develop deeper understandings of high school principals' professional insights, aspirations, perceptions, and attitudes.

I would like to meet with you to discuss my study. I believe that my work can be a positive contribution to knowledge of the principalship. The professional expertise of practicing high school principals is essential to my research.

My purpose in contacting you prior to initiating contact with high school principals in Ohio is twofold. First, I wish to be able to indicate to principals that I reviewed the proposal with the Executive Director of their state professional association. Secondly, I believe such action is appropriate and my work will benefit from your suggestions.

I will be contacting you by phone in the next several days to request an appointment with you. I look forward to the opportunity to meet with you. Your help in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Richard A. McCullough

RAM/mJg
Table 1

Educational Attainment of Secondary School Principals

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<th>Highest Degree</th>
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Note: These data are from the NASSP Survey, 1978. Numbers are percentages of the survey respondents.
Table 2

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<th>Salary Range</th>
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<td></td>
<td>($23,438 to $28,125)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Salary range approximated in terms of 1977 dollars.

Note: These data are from the NASSP Survey, 1978.
Table 3
Secondary School Principals' Ratings
Of Job Opportunities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Ideal %</th>
<th>Actual %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDEPENDENT THOUGHT AND ACTION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. (Little)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (Moderate)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (Considerable)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These data are from the NASSP Survey, 1978. Numbers are percentages of the survey respondents.
Table 4
Work Time Allocation of Secondary School Principals, Rank Ordered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Responsibility</th>
<th>Do Spend Time</th>
<th>Should Spend Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School Management</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student activities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student behavior</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program development</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These data are from the NASSP Survey, 1978.
Table 5
Administrative Obstacles As Perceived By Secondary School Principals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternative</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time taken up by administrative detail</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of time</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variations in the ability of teachers</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to obtain funds</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apathetic or irresponsible parents</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem students</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient space and physical facilities</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to provide teacher time</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tendency of older teachers to frown on new methods</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defective communications</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher tenure</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory school attendance</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective bargaining agreement</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longstanding traditions</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent or central office staff do not measure up to expectations</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of district-wide flexibility</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of competent office help</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student body too large</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These data are from the NASSP Survey, 1978. Numbers are percentages of the survey respondents.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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