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AN EXAMINATION OF THE MULTIPLE INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF FACULTY-STUDENT SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS IN TWO ELITE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS

Northwestern University PH.D. 1980

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE MULTIPLE INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF FACULTY-STUDENT SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS IN TWO ELITE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Field of Political Science

By

Eileen Patis Cooper

Evanston, Illinois

June 1980

AN EXAMINATION OF THE MULTIPLE INFLUENCES AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF FACULTY-STUDENT SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS IN TWO ELITE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS

Eileen Patis Cooper, Northwestern University

ABSTRACT

The profession of political science is generally regarded as part of the governing elite of the society. It is a demanding field that requires aspiring political scientists to undergo a rigorous program of graduate training and professional socialization in a recognized department of a research university.

This study is concerned with one aspect of professional socialization, the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships during the graduate training period. Sponsorship refers to the process in which an authoritative member of the department selects a promising individual and aids him or her to gain the knowledge and/or experience that will enable him or her to become a professional within that field. This process is particularly important in graduate or professional programs because the sponsor may provide the new Ph.D. with connections to the leading de-

partments of the profession, or through non-action may limit his or her career, unless he or she is able to set up alternative sponsorship relationships.

The research was based upon an exploratory model which suggests that the development of sponsorship relationships is not only a matter of individual preference or choice, but is a product of the interplay of situational and environmental factors within the department as workplace. This interrelationship is revealed in an examination of the department culture and the socialization practices that emerge from it.

The data was obtained through a series of interviews with a sample of faculty members and graduate students in two high ranking political science departments. These departments were rated by the American Council of Education in periodic surveys and various national surveys conducted from time to time by members of the political science profession.

From the interviews, it became apparent that faculty-student sponsorship relationships varied considerably among respondents. A classification scheme of four "ideal types" was developed to distinguish them, based upon such factors as sponsor power and control, student autonomy, frequency of communication, affect between or among participants, and reciprocal benefits of the relationships. These dimensions

reflected the participants' responses to the problems and tensions they encountered in the graduate program as each partner to the relationship pursued his or her interests.

The study reveals the distribution of ideal-type sponsorship relationships within the two departments. Attention is focused on the variance that emerges, and explanation is provided based upon the interplay of situational and cultural factors as identified in the exploratory model, as a response to department culture.

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I am also grateful to the faculty members of Northwestern University who read the drafts and spent many hours discussing and analyzing the project. Particularly, I want to single out Professor Lee Anderson, chairman of the committee, and the other members of the committee, Professors John Paden and Howard Becker. Professor Paul Kress, formerly of Northwestern, also stimulated insights by the challenging comments he offered on the various drafts he read. He certainly deserves a special thanks.

Of course, this study would not have been possible without the cooperation of the faculty members and graduate students of the departments where the pre-test and research took place. They took hours from their schedules to share their perceptions, insights and experiences of their graduate school careers, sponsorship relationships and life within academic departments.

I want to mention the aid provided by my dear friends and former colleagues, Richard Heiss and Cecelia Moran Cooper, who read the questionnaires and acted as judges in identifying the "ideal type" relationships. They provided continued encouragement from the inception of the project to its completion.

Finally, the devotion and special attention provided by the typist, Bernice Downs must not go unacknowledged since it certainly is appreciated.

All responsibility for the contents of this study is solely my own.

Eileen Cooper, Northwestern University, 1980

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND AND THEORY

Introduction

Of increasing concern to the academic community is the decline in professional academic opportunities for new Ph.D.s and the number of excellent young scholars who have received advanced degrees in the past few years. This development has had considerable impact on the field of political science and on people who wish to pursue graduate studies and certification in this field. As Jencks and Riesman noted, "the university has been both producer and consumer of professionals."[1] Thus faculty members and department placement directors have been pressured to develop new networks, outside of the traditional ones, in which to funnel new Ph.D.s.[2]

Another recent trend has been the change in the number and kind of applicants to graduate programs in political science. Many outstanding undergraduates have turned away from these programs towards career studies in law and business.[3] There has also been an increase in the number of women, minority students, and less qualified undergraduate students applying to the graduate programs of the elite

research universities. As a result, faculty members of political science departments in distinguished research universities are dealing more and more with a new kind of student, whose admission is necessary for the financial support of the department.

In recent years, department budgets have experienced serious financial strains. As a consequence of the national economic situation, the amount of funds available from university, federal government, and private sources to sustain the department budget and research has declined in <u>real</u> amounts. The recent demographic and economic changes facing political science departments have compelled many thoughtful academics, especially those associated with "elite" departments, to question some of the traditional expectations in the field, including the expectations that most Ph.D.s would find jobs in academic institutions.

One area that has come under scrutiny is the socialization patterns within the department. Socialization refers to the process by which distinct patterns of thought and action are transmitted from one generation to another. Two questions that have been raised are: (1) If job opportunities are limited or not available for graduate students who are socialized in the traditional manner, how should socialization practices be changed so as to prepare such individuals for the situations in which they will find themselves after

leaving the shelter of the department? and (2) What problems are encountered when faculty members who themselves are a product of "elite" traditional graduate departments are confronted with the socialization needs of today's graduate students?

Before departments can make changes in their socialization practices, it is necessary to examine the existing mechanisms to learn how they operate. The purpose of the present study is to explore one important aspect of socialization within the department, the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships. The study was conducted in the political science departments at two distinguished research universities.[4] This type of university was chosen for study because it was felt that faculty from such institutions embody the professional norms of their field and act as "trend-setters" for their colleagues in other universities. Time and finances limit the study to two departments.

A study of the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships is important because it is a core relationship within the department and links two important groups--the faculty members pursuing an academic career and the graduate students seeking professional training. By focusing on some of the problems and tensions that emerge as these two groups interact, insight will be gained into the inner workings of the department and into the way its members

view their mission as scholars and professionals.

Approaches to the Study of Sponsorship

Much of the following discussion of the concept of sponsorship is derived from the studies of careers and professions that were pioneered by Everett Hughes, Howard Becker, Barney Glaser and associates.[5]

To examine the role of sponsorship in graduate departments, it is necessary to study its impact on graduate students, faculty members, peer relationships, and the discipline in question, as well as its general function as a means of controlling membership in the field. Equally important are the problems and tensions that arise in the development of sponsorship relationships and the techniques and strategies that people adopt to deal with them.

Sponsorship relationships are an integral part of the professional socialization practices of an organization. As a product of organizationally determined criteria as well individual preference, they aid integration and mobility within the organization or between organizations. The sponsor represents, in some cases, an older friend or high-prestige member of the organization who shows the newcomer the "ropes" and aids his or her movement from "outsider" to "insider" status. While sponsorship relationships can also exist between faculty or colleagues or between students or peers, my focus is primarily on sponsorship relationships between

faculty and students.

In a sponsoring relationship, those in authority, or advanced peers, single out particular students who appear to have desirable attributes and potential and use their personal power to promote them in the program and foster their careers in the department and later in the profession. One way that this happens is that the quality work of a newcomer is recognized, and he or she is invited to become a protégé or satellite of an established faculty member. Or older peers recommend a newcomer with specific skills because he would be valuable to a particular project.

A conscientious sponsor often structures his student's academic career so that he or she can acquire important skills, experience, and contacts. For example, he can recommend the student for participation in joint research projects as a paid research associate. Or he can recommend his student for special opportunities, such as participation in professional meetings or co-authorship of papers. The "involved" sponsor often "speaks up" for his student when he or she might be considered adversely in a situation and uses his influence to help assure that he or she will be given opportunities to demonstrate his or her desirable qualities.[6]

The creative and gifted sponsor/teacher can also serve as a catalyst to elicit originality and creativity from the

student or students with whom he develops a close working relationship "by demonstrating confidence and belief in them as scholars."[7] The sponsor then becomes the "role model" for the students to emulate.

Becker and Strauss suggest that the sponsorship relationship be regarded as an essential element of "adult socialization" or learning the role of the professional. The connection reinforces the commitment of the neophyte scholar to his sponsor as well as to the profession.[8]

Levinson and associates regard the "mentor"--their term for sponsor--as singularly important to adult development. They suggest that the mentor serves in a work-setting as the "significant other" in Hughes' terms (1958). He facilitates the student's entry and advancement; initiates him into a new occupational and social world, and acquaints him with its values, customs, resources, and casts of characters. The mentor also acts as role model and provides counsel and moral support in times of stress. The function that Levinson focuses on, however, is that of the mentor as a transitional figure who helps the young adult facilitate his dream and who must be discarded, perhaps with stress and pain, when the younger person has attained his personhood and adulthood.[9]

However, effective sponsorship relationships are not one-sided, but provide reciprocal benefits to the sponsor

as well. These might include new ideas and approaches to problems, intellectual contributions (such as critical analysis of current literature in the area), special language skills, technical collaboration and services, trust, loyalty, and emotional support. In a close relationship such as this, there often emerges an "interdependence of careers." Steven Miller, who studied the socialization practices of elite professional programs, characterizes sponsorship as a "kinship" system and suggests that the sponsorship connections made during graduate school remain, in one form or another, throughout the participants' careers. Therefore, if students receive major university appointments, the "kinship" network expands the range of professional contacts and, in a sense, makes affiliations within the field more important than local connections.[10]

Any study of faculty-student sponsorship relationships should include an analysis of the important elements involved. One important element is affiliation with a high-status or high-prestige university and department, which communicates to outsiders that the individual has been evaluated by high academic standards and is considered acceptable by the "gatekeepers" or elite of the establishment. Such affiliation is of great importance in the development of a professional reputation. The graduate students in a high-prestige department form a coterie of

like-minded peers which provides a stimulus for learning and professional socialization during the training program.[11] Members of this cohort group might also prove to be important allies later on when desirable faculty appointments or research grants are being decided among a number of competitors. Caplow and McGee (1958) underline the importance of these professional and personal connections:

> The crucial factor here is the possession of the appropriate acquaintances in the discipline to whom one's availability may be indicated. These are the connections by which one is freed of local institutional ties. In our sample 52 percent of associate and full professors were reported to have done no solicitation for the vacancies. The correlation between rank and solicitation is inverse and approaches statistical significance.[12]

The sponsorship system can be characterized as an integral part of the organizational socialization practices that are used as a "control" function for the discipline.

The socialization practices that are adopted by any group are generally derived from the larger culture to which that group belongs. In this study, I am using a characterization of organization culture similar to the one worked out by Shein and Van Maanen:

> An organization culture consists broadly of long-standing rules of thumb, a somewhat special language, an ideology that helps edit a member's everyday experience, shared standards of relevance as to the critical aspects of the work that is being

> accomplished, matter-of-fact prejudices, models for social etiquette and demeanor, certain customs and rituals suggestive of how members are to relate to colleagues, subordinates, superiors, and outsiders and a sort of residual category of some rather plain "horse sense" regarding what is appropriate and "smart" behavior and what is not. . . .[13]

Only those students are selected to be sponsored who would appear to incorporate the norms, values, and behavioral practices considered necessary and important by the sponsor and other members of the department. For example, a student must assume responsibility for his own education, so as to free his sponsor for research. Those who cannot or will not follow this mode in a graduate department are often ignored or receive minimum faculty time and attention. Today, with emphasis on affirmative action, women and other minorities are sometimes sponsored to comply with moral commitments or federal regulations. But in other cases, their supposed personal and intellectual differences preclude them from being sponsored.

Barney Glaser (1968) suggests that sponsorship is one of the essential means of organizational mobility, in that it enables influential people to use formal and informal ways to promote the careers of their favorites.[14] In the medical profession, sponsorship relations are even more tightly controlled. Oswald Hall (1948) suggests that an "inner fraternity" dominates the practice of medicine.

Through sponsorship strategies, established members actively intervene, facilitating the careers of those selected and relegating those "not selected to a position where they compete under decidedly disadvantageous terms."[15]

Inherent in the sponsorship relationship are certain problems and conflicts. If the sponsor loses status in the profession or for some other reason is discredited, those students associated with him often experience a loss of reputation. If the sponsor dies early in the student's career, the student can be set back considerably until he makes a new affiliation. Similarly, if a student has a falling out or basic disagreement with an influential sponsor, his entire professional career can be irreparably damaged, since many sponsors are part of a national or international alliance of scholars.[16] From the sponsor's perspective, a student who fails to meet his expectations or embarrasses him by lack of performance after a glowing recommendation, diminishes his own credibility and professional reputation among his colleagues, both within and outside of the department. Another problem occurs when the sponsorship relationship becomes part of the internecine conflicts in the department and the student or students become pawns in faculty disputes, generally to the detriment of the student.

Although sponsorship relations are generally considered inherent to the graduate education experience, many times they exist only to fulfill department advisor requirements, and they have little real impact on a student's education and career. This creates serious problems for certain students. If they cannot develop an alternate sponsorship connection (i.e. older or contemporary peers or an academic in another department or university), they will often drop out of the program. If they do stay and complete the requirements for the Ph.D. then often they have to call on their other connections to aid them in obtaining employment.

Another problem inherent in the sponsorship relationship is that this relationship is sometimes misused. David Riesman writes:

> At its best, the teaching of graduate students is like old-fashioned work with apprentices, but at its frequent worst it is a form of pseudo-discipleship in which the student flatters the teacher in the hope of being recommended for scholarships and jobs— flatters him by using his terms, sharing his animosities, and working on his projects.[17]

Implicit in the development of a sponsorship relationship is a commitment on the part of the people involved to develop time and effort to making it work. It is absolutely necessary that the participants feel that they will obtain adequate reciprocal benefits which make up for the problems faced and efforts expended.

Sponsorship in the Field of Political Science

The study of sponsorship relations in graduate departments is not generally within the purview of political scientists. Yet sponsorship relations do involve some of the basic concerns of political scientists: the development of connections within organizations and among individuals in order to gain advantage and influence. Thus the analysis of sponsorship relationships is an appropriate subject of study within the field of political science. This particular study will be of interest to political scientists because of its focus on the role of elites within organizations.[18]

The concept of influence is a rather elusive one to define. Carl Frederich gives the following definition in the Dictionary of Political Science:

> Influence is a kind of power, indirect and unstructured. If power is understood in behavioral terms as manifesting itself in the conformance of persons (and groups) to the preferences, whether express or implied, of another person or group, then influence refers mostly to situations where such power is wielded without any commands or other explicit orders being given. . . . Access to the power-wielder has been recognized as an important factor in permitting influence . . . .[19]

Frederich further states that "A rule for discovering influence has been derived: Any political context in which reversals of decisions occur is likely to be influenced

by those who caused the reversal."[20]

Political influence has also been of concern to Harold Lasswell, whose writings on political theory and allied disciplines have influenced several generations of political scientists. Lasswell conceives of politics as "the study of influence and the influential"—as "Who gets What, When, How."[21] In his writings, Lasswell never directly discusses the notion of "sponsorship." However, he does discuss related concepts, such as the existence and operation of connections and the role of elite groups within organizations. Lasswell believes that the "fate of the elite is profoundly affected by the ways that it manipulates the environment."[22] Hence elite groups use sponsorship connections as a means of perpetuating their leadership and maintaining the necessary control over their environment. Writing about political recruitment and careers, Dwaine Marvick stresses the importance of sponsors:

> The importance of sponsors—"who you know" rather than "what you know"—cannot be discounted in political recruitment. Who is to read the tests and letters, vouch for their authenticity or candor, and convince the selecting unit, whether it be electorate, executive, or counciliar body?[23]

In his study on the operation of interest groups within the society, David Truman maintains that "access to influence" is crucial to fulfillment of their goals. He identifies the following factors as important in gaining

influence: "superior status in the structure of relationships; insider status; group organization membership; and skills and qualifications of the group's leaders—knowledge of the complexities of 'getting things done.'"[24] All of these factors involve sponsorship relations.

One can also see the importance of sponsorship relations in the careers of individual politicians and statesmen. For example, in the case of Henry Kissinger, two sponsorship relations stand out as essential to his academic and political career—that with Professor Elliot of Harvard and that with the Rockefeller brothers, particularly Nelson Rockefeller.[25]

In this section, I have attempted to indicate areas in political science that involve sponsorship relations. While terms differ, the notions of "clout," "connections," and "influence" all involve sponsorship relations of one kind or another. Indeed, the study of sponsorship relations concerns the very core of political life.

The Department as a Work Organization

To understand the operation of the sponsorship process, it is necessary to examine it *in situ*, since sponsorship connections are intimately tied to mobility within an organization. In this section, I will examine the department as a work organization. The department is the locus for professional socialization and for the growth and development of sponsorship connections.

Professional political science departments in major research universities perform several traditional functions: teaching at both the undergraduate and graduate levels; research to develop new directions in the discipline; and graduate training to prepare the next generation of scholars. I am concerned with how these functions are implemented within the department through the various professional socialization procedures established for students and faculty members. The focus is on the question: To what extent do the socialization practices within a department, influence the development of faculty-student sponsorship relations.

The study of socialization is derived from the theory of symbolic interaction found in the work of social psychologists such as George Herbert Mead[26] and later expanded on by several generations of sociologists. The following discussion is based on the writings of Herbert

Blumer[27] and Howard Becker.[28]

The theory of symbolic interaction concerns how collective acts occur in a society. A collective act might involve a university, a marriage, or a labor union. A central premise underlying the theory of symbolic interaction is that events and objects have no intrinsic meaning in and of themselves. Rather, their meaning is determined collectively through the interaction of individuals and groups in the society. When human beings interact, many differences and conflicts arise. In order to deal with these issues and to accommodate and communicate with each other, the individuals and groups develop a mutual frame of reference with which to interpret the situations they encounter. These shared meanings function as symbols. An individual can use the symbols and the meanings they represent to anticipate how the group might respond to a given line of action and to foresee what might be the most effective approach to a given problem. Through a process of interaction, the roles that members assume in the organization become collectively defined.

Another premise of the theory of symbolic interaction is that accepted group meanings and symbols often maintain a coherence and continuity over time. Thus new generations are socialized into the organization's approach to tasks, problems, and measures of success. However, with the

passage of time and in the course of interaction, new interpretations and symbols emerge and new socialization values become dominant, as newcomers bring in new ways to interpret situations and old ways become dysfunctiona.

Socialization practices within the university department will be the focus of the following discussion.

Each department is conceived of as a work organization with a distinctive mission, a special language, common standards, and a common ideology, which members use to evaluate their experiences and their work. The culture also includes models of social demeanor, customs, rituals, and traditions that indicate how members should relate to colleagues, subordinates, superiors, and outsiders. Members share a general sense of what is right and acceptable behavior and what is not. Also, they have evolved approved ways to relate to outside organizations, such as the university, national professional societies, and other academic organizations. The culture provides rewards and prestige symbols to those who have achieved goals which the department judge as worthwhile and significant. Such a culture emerges as a collective response to the recurrent problems facing faculty and graduate students as they attempt to master the tasks of professional career development and graduate training. It aids them in making the necessary bargains to reconcile competing interests. This

shared culture becomes the framework for social order within the department as community and is viewed by insiders as the "natural way to respond."[29]

The work organization of the political scientist is generally the academic department of a college or university, or a research institute connected with it. Within its confines his academic career develops and expands. Indeed, his identity as a scholar, his professional reputation, the reception accorded his research and writings, and the influence that he exerts on his field throughout the world are all shaped by his standing in the department.[30]

Since collective reputation of a department and individual careers of its members are so closely interrelated, there is a continual search for talented faculty and students who will maintain the high standards or possibly enhance them and so reflect on their colleagues.[31] Outside evaluators are used to assess the quality of work of those faculty considered for promotions. The department is also important to the neophyte professional entering a graduate program, since the locus of professional training provides a reference throughout his academic career. Logan Wilson has suggested that "it is axiomatic in professional academic life that an individual never rises above the status of the graduate department where he or she received their training."[32]

This factor was also important to Caplow and McGee in their examination of the academic marketplace.[33] Certification and graduate training at an "elite" or distinguished university provides the neophyte with a status akin to "ascribed" position in an aristocratic family. However, the link to the graduate department is only one aspect of potential professional mobility. As the student moves through the training program, he must continually demonstrate mastery of the distinct knowledge and skills the department deems significant. Also, he must develop communication skills, both written and oral, to display his professional achievements and enhance his reputation with older peers and influential faculty members. The new professional also needs sponsorship connections with a high-status person within the field to facilitate entry into a limited market, especially since every new faculty appointment is subject to intense scrutiny by colleagues and administrators. Such a connection communicates to other members of the profession that a respected and high-status professional is willing to link his career to that of the newcomer. However, when recommendations are equivocal, or less than enthusiastic, it sometimes indicates that the senior scholar does not want to risk the prestige and respect he enjoys among his colleagues on someone he feels does not measure up to the standards by which he is

evaluated.[34]

The process by which all these values of the work organization and its culture are transmitted from one generation to another is professional socialization. Socialization refers to the means by which an individual acquires the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes necessary to function within the social system and exhibit the appropriate behavior. He is turned into the kind of person the situation demands; he develops a "perspective" or in Shibutani's words, "an ordered view of the work life that runs ahead and guides experience, orders and shapes personal relationships in the work setting, and provides the ground rules under which everyday conduct is to be managed."[35] Shein suggests that perspective refers to the subject's "inner learning" that gives meaning to his work. It also reflects the organization's definition of success.[36]

Therefore, from the first moment that an individual agrees to assume a role in a social organization, all of his encounters and experiences are subject to an organizational mode of interpretations. This must become second nature to him.

Professional socialization is a continuous process affecting both faculty members and graduate students. The faculty member is concerned with status socialization: moving through the organizational hierarchy, achieving

promotion and gaining rewards and recognition, both within the department and in the field for his accomplishments. In many cases, success in obtaining outside funding both for the individual projects and for the large projects with which he is affiliated is another measure of achievement.

Status socialization for faculty members is filled with tensions and problems. Jessie Bernard suggests that conflict is a major factor in academic life:

> Academic personnel are notoriously sensitive to slights. Because there are so few objective criteria for judging the worth of a person and because so much academic competition is judgmental in nature, academic people depend on recognition from one another to a greater extent than do those in professions where autonomous competition is the rule. The slightest evidence that they are not valued as highly as a colleague—whom they know to be inferior to them—but whose inferiority is difficult to demonstrate—as expressed in office space, salary, privileges of one kind or another, or perogatives, course allocations, or whatever arouses great anxiety.[37]

The student recruit is concerned with "learning the ropes" or role socialization. Role is defined in Hughes' terms as "a bundle of tasks"[38] or to be more specific, as a diverse set of behaviors expected of an individual who occupies a specific place in a social system.[39] But before he can become a professional, it is necessary for him to learn the <u>student role</u> and fulfill the various tasks and requirements necessary for attaining certification. In so doing, he must make connections to peers, older cohorts

and faculty members who will aid him in this process and provide sponsorship connections as he moves into the profession. He must also learn the "professional style" or the characteristic way of approaching the problems of the discipline as identified by the culture of the department.[40]

Fulfillment of the requirements and expectations of the faculty role and student role will provide the individual with rewards and recognition and a more valued place within the organizational hierarchies.

The first undertaking that the neophyte faces, whether graduate student or faculty member, is how to define or evaluate the expectations of others and how to interpret their reactions to himself. This assumes that the person encounters a reality whose meaning must be ascertained before he can interact with his colleagues or superiors.[41] In trying to discover this, he must ask the question: What is the content of the role, or what it is that people who occupy this role are expected to do? Also, what are the accepted methods for doing it? What cues and signals are provided by colleagues, graduate students, and administrators?

Many factors influence how a faculty member perceives his role within the department and his field. Among them are:

1. Sex and race (see Table 1)
2. Graduate training and experience; status of graduate department attended
3. Early professional recognition
4. Commitments to research and teaching
5. Relationship to colleagues, graduate students, and department administration
6. Professional reputation
7. Status and rank within the department
8. Stage in career (mobile, prime, pre-retirement)

Similarly, many factors influence how a graduate student perceives his or her role within the department and the graduate program. Among them are:

1. Sex and race of student and of faculty members in the department
2. Status of college or university where student received undergraduate degree
3. Relations with peers (support or competition)
4. Presence or absence of orientation and socialization programs within the department, including a good advising system.
5. Stage in graduate program; successes or failures to date

6. Socialization practices within the department

7. Degree of conformity to standards set for graduate students within the department

8. Type of student aid or scholarship received by student

TABLE 1

SEX AND RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

	Political Science Faculty				Political Science Graduate Students			
	All Universities		Research Universities		All Universities		Research Universities	
	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969
Male	91%	90%	96%	95%	78%	83%	73%	80%
Female[a]	9%	10%	4%	5%	22%	17%	27%	20%
Black[b]	3%	3%	1%	1%	7%	3%	3%	2%

SOURCE: Carneige Commission Data of 1969 and 1975 reported by Everett C. Ladd and Seymour M. Lipset as "Us Revisited", in a paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August, 1978.

[a]The figures given for male and female include members of various races.

[b]The figures given for Blacks include both men and women.

Socialization Tasks

The following discussion of socialization tasks is based upon a mode of analysis developed by John Van Maanen and Edward Shein.[42] Their work is built upon the theories of careers and professions and adult socialization developed by Edward Hughes, Howard Becker and Associates, and Brim and Wheeler.[43]

The first task facing all newcomers to an organization is to try to make sense of the various roles within the organization. To do this, they must develop a "knowledge base," or an understanding of how members deal with the recurrent problems that face people who occupy various roles within the organization. For example, a faculty member must deal with the crucial problem of deciding how to allocate his time. What priorities should he follow in dealing with the tasks of research, teaching, and participation in departmental and university activities? Another problem faced by faculty memb ers is to determine what boundaries to set to limit interaction with colleagues and students? To the student learning the graduate role, the central task is to ascertain what formal and informal knowledge is needed to get through the departmental program. What would be the best method to communicate that he or she has mastered the qualities and skills valued by the department? How can this knowledge be used to develop necessary sponsorship

connections with an influential faculty member? Since the roles of faculty member and graduate student reflect two different sets of norms and behavior, problems sometimes arise in faculty-student relationships.

The second task facing the newcomer to an organization is to ascertain what the ground rules are for reaching solutions to the role problems. In other words, what strategies are appropriate for resolving conflicts? For example, if the accepted method for solving differences among faculty members is civil discussion, those who use aggressive confrontation tactics will be rejected regardless of the merits of their position, since they have violated the "ground rules." Problems arise if faculty and student groups disagree on the "correct" methods for resolving conflicts.

The third task facing the newcomer to an organization is to learn how the organization traditionally views his role within the department and in relation to outside organizations. For example, if the role of faculty member is traditionally viewed as being a research-oriented one, then the department administration will support this with lighter class loads, research support, including leave from academic duties for a specific period of time. If the role of graduate student is viewed as being that of an apprentice, on-the-job training will be provided through

research and teaching fellowships. Van Maanen suggests:

> Missions associated with organizationally defined roles serve to legitimate, justify and define the ends pursued by role occupants and, thus, support to some degree the various strategies and norms followed by those presently performing the role.[44]

An individual can respond to these tasks of role socialization in one of two ways: Either he can accept the organizational definition of problems and the accepted approaches to their solution, thereby approving and maintaining the status quo. Or he can attempt to change or redefine the role. For example, a faculty member might decide to devote more time to teaching or to preparing students for public service careers, thereby rearranging and perhaps challenging the traditional emphasis on research. Another way that a role can be changed is by redefining it. For example, if faculty-student relationships are based on hierarchical differences marked by student deference to the knowledge and opinions of their professors, then a radical change of role definition would be to consider professors as their students' equals.

Socialization Practices

While an infinite number of socialization practices could be identified, I will limit my discussion to those that affect the development of sponsorship relations.

1. Collective vs. Individual Socialization Processes--Collective socialization refers to the practice of taking a group of recruits into an organization, such as graduate students entering a training program, and putting them through a common set of experiences.

Those being socialized collectively tend to work out a consensual approach to the problems and tasks they face. Becker and associates suggest that this process--the development of a student culture--provides them with a collective way to define common problems and to develop accepted solutions.[45]

Individual socialization refers to the processing of individuals one at a time through a set of more or less unique experiences. New Faculty members in a department vary in their experience, rank, prestige in the profession, etc., and hence can only be socialized on an individual basis. Consequently, the new faculty member may receive limited cues as to how to act. The working out of tasks and problems and the development of appropriate strategies in order to move upward in the academic hierarchy--all these socialization processes are left to his own discretion.

2. Formal vs. Informal Socialization Processes--Formal socialization processes refer to situations where newcomers are segregated from the regular organizational

members, in order to collectively experience a proscribed series of activities or a formal training program. For example, each department provides a series of tasks that the graduate students must complete in order to move to the next level of their training.

Informal socialization processes refer to the various unstructured ways people learn how to act within an organization. For example, faculty members learn how to act by talking with their colleagues and by observing how they handle problems. In general, the socialization of faculty members is informal, since there are usually no formal training programs.

Informal socialization practices also occur in certain sponsorship relationships where students have a strong connection to a research project or an apprentice relationship with a particular professor. However, such informal sponsorship relationships are not always successful. If faculty members do not like students or if students do not wish to develop a close relationship, the informal socialization practices might fail.

In an organization such as a political science department, where the socialization practices are generally vague for both faculty and students, it is necessary for faculty members to find a means of evaluating newcomers to see whether, in fact, it would be worthwhile to risk

developing a relationship with them. This evaluation process also takes place among graduate students as they examine the qualifications and specialties of various faculty members and decide with which professors it would be desirable to develop close relations.

Implicit in all socialization practices within a department, among both faculty and students, is an idealized or prototypical model which reflects the qualities that department consensus indicates are most desirable in faculty members and graduate students, which forms part of the criteria of evaluation. These evaluations in turn form the basis of the development of faculty-student sponsorship relations.

The Concept of Ideal Types

This study is exploratory rather than being aimed at the testing of hypotheses. The research consists of a systematic examination of the external and internal elements that influence the socialization practices within two political science departments. However, not all aspects of professional socialization are studied. The study is limited to factors that appear to affect the growth and development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships.

As conflicts and tensions frequently arise between graduate students and faculty members which

might be attributed to their different backgrounds, different priorities, and different stages in professional growth. Within the department, there are a number of sponsorship patterns which faculty and graduate students can adopt to reconcile these problems. Since there are a limited number of solutions or modes of accomodation to these problems, the patterns that emerge lend themselves to classification as "ideal types."

The concept of ideal types was described by Max Weber as follows:

> An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sided viewpoints into a unified analytical construct.[46]

By ideal type, I am referring to a mental construct or idea comprised of a configuration of attributes or traits derived from the empirical world, but somewhat distinctive from it. The particular traits or characteristics are chosen and emphasized because of their apparent interdependence and theoretical significance and because they seem to represent significant dimensions of the ideal type. While these types are presented in "pure" form, it is to be understood that they do not occur in the empirical world in this fashion. The concept of the ideal type is useful in this study because it provides a model by which

to measure and compare the various observations made in the two departments studied.[47]

The theoretical framework provided by these ideal types provides a focus on various aspects of socialization patterns in the department, such as professional norms, social values and departmental traditions as they affect developing affiliations between faculty and students. It is also assumed that elite departments have many characteristics in common, therefore it would be more appropriate to examine differences in sponsorship relationships within each department rather than to make a comparison between the two departments.

In selecting the classification scheme of faculty-student sponsorship relationships and distinguishing them as specific ideal types, the general question arises: Why these types and not others, and what is the logic underlying the classifications?

Sponsorship relationships are particularly distinguished by the quality of interaction between the participants. Sponsorship relations between faculty and students differ from other faculty-student relations in a number of ways: First, the interaction persists over time and tends to occur in developmental stages. Second, sponsorship relations must provide reciprocal benefits of one kind or another to the participants. Third, such relations often

develop through the formal faculty advising system that requires faculty certification of student fulfillment of the graduate training requirements. Fourth, the growth and development of the faculty-student sponsorship relationship, outside of its advising and certification function, is informal and is part of the professional socialization practices that aid passage through the department. As an informal practice, it creates an emotional or affective link between participants which is not generally present in formal academic relationships.

Since sponsorship relationships are considered part of the professional socialization practices of the academic department, they are subject to the demands made by the national culture of political science--i.e., professional performance and recognition--as well to the demands placed on faculty and graduate students by the university.

The ideal types will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5. However, a few words about them might be in order. The actual types were derived empirically, as well as from the literature or higher education and studies of cultures where superordinate/subordinate relationships form an important component of cultural interaction. Ideal type sponsorship relationships represent a continuum of interaction between faculty members and graduate students. The most intense relationship is characterized as master/

disciple, which was the traditional approach to scholarship in many cultures throughout history. This pattern is found in only a few academic situations today, since in this relationship the student considers himself as an extension of the master and not as an individual exercising independent control over his ideas and scholarship. A second type of sponsorship relationship, characterized as patron/client, involved mutual collaboration in research, strong reciprocal obligations on the part of the participants, and a recognition of the student's personal autonomy and individuality. The students and faculty who participated in this type of relationship felt that they were part of a "kinship" network that would persist after the graduate training was completed. A third type of relationship, characterized as mentor/student, might also be called friendly advising. In this type of relationship, the faculty member and the student pursue independent goals and projects, although the faculty member provides some assistance when the student has a particular problem. Obligations are limited on the part of both participants. In the last type, characterized as bureaucratic/instrumental, the obligations of the parties involved are limited to fulfilling and certifying the minimum requirements of the faculty advising system. The student expectations of faculty help or friendship after the Ph.D. are generally nonexistent.

The Focus and Plan of the Study

The central problem of the study is how can one account for the variations in the ideal-type sponsorship relationships in the two departments?

The specific research questions that the study will address are:

1. What are the traditional structures that underlie the socialization practices of elite political science departments and how do they influence the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships?

2. How is the department viewed as a workplace? What aspects of its physical and social organization, culture, and socialization practices appear to influence faculty and graduate student interaction? What types of background do faculty members represent? What is characteristic of the undergraduate background of graduate students? What conflicts and problems do the members identify? How are they reconciled in the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships?

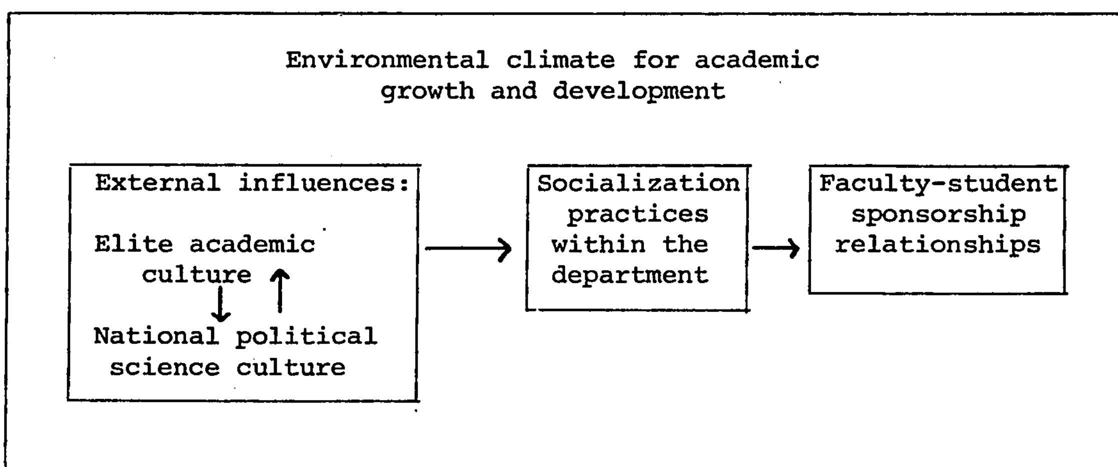
3. How can the sponsorship relationships studied be classified in a scheme of ideal types? What elements do they share? What type of sponsorship relationship appears to be the most productive? What are the distinguishing characteristics of its participants? How are the patterns of relationships distributed in the two departments?

To return to the central research problem of the study: How should one account for the variance represented by the distribution of ideal-type sponsorship relationships in the two departments?

The main focus of this study is to identify and analyze variables or factors that appear to influence the

growth and development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships, as presented in the following exploratory model:

MULTIPLE INFLUENCES AFFECTING FACULTY-STUDENT SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS



The model assumes that the growth and development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships in the two political science departments studied are a product of the convergence of three sets of factors or variables: environmental, situational, and individual. How they combine within the department culture provides the basis for the socialization practices that members of the department continually experience.

Methodology and Research Setting

This section will focus on the assumptions and problems of the empirical research. The discussion will begin with an examination of some of the assumptions underlying the holistic approach to human systems suggested by Paul Diesing[48] and by Abraham Kaplan in his pattern model.[49] This approach provided the theoretical rationale underlying the research. Following will be a discussion of the choice of samples--the universities chosen and the faculty members and graduate students interviewed. The method of data collection--the open-ended interview--will also be described. Finally, the corroborating evidence and its sources will be examined.

Since this was an exploratory study, there were no hypotheses to be tested. The research followed the general model presented in chapter 1 and focused on the growth and development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships within their natural setting, as one of the socialization mechanisms that arises out of the department culture.

The approach of examining a human system in its natural setting is characteristic of the "holistic" approach that anthropologists use to study societies in their natural habitat.[50] Diesing underlines the unified outlook of this approach:

> The holistic standpoint includes the belief that human systems tend to develop a characteristic whole or integrity. They are not simply a loose collection of traits or wants or reflexes or variables of any sort; they have a unity that manifests itself in every part. Their unity may be that of a basic spirit or a set of values that expresses itself throughout the system--the spirit of Capitalism, the Appollonian way of life, the Islamic philosophy. . . .[51]

He suggests that the best method ot use in analyzing a human sustem is to identify the predominant themes in the system and their interrelationship, then to single out the qualities which distinguish that particular system from others. Diesing also feels that the concepts used should reflect the human system being described and should be derived from the thinking of the people studied. Finally Diesing stresses the importance of treating the elements or themes of the system as interrelated parts of a complex network: "Themes must be constantly tested against new evidence and against each other to determine whether they hold up."[52]

In the research model presented in chapter 1, I suggested that the growth and development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships are a product of the convergence of three sets of factors: environmental (the prevailing climate for academic growth and development); situational (the cultural factors within the department and within the field); and individual (the personality traits of the individuals involved in the sponsorship relationships).

The Sample

The data for this study was gathered in a series of interviews in early 1975, with faculty members and graduate students in two political science departments at two universities, designated as University A and University B. These two departments were chosen because of their geographic proximity and because of their high standing within the profession. Both departments were listed among the top ten political science departments in the United States in a variety of surveys. Elite departments were chosen because of their size and because it was felt that they embodied the standards, values and expectations of the field as a whole. In fact, as Somit and Tanenhaus point out, the professional standards and expectations within a given profession are often set by the elite departments within that profession.[54] By centering on distinguished or elite departments, I hope to emphasize the role that reputation plays in attracting outstanding scholars of the discipline. This eminence in turn has a "halo" effect on the colleagues and graduate students affiliated with the department. The "imprimatur" of the university combined with the sponsorship of notables enhances the careers both of the faculty member and new Ph.D.s connected to the department. Thus the professional identity of the scholar

is closely linked to the status of the department. Caplow and McGee stress the importance of choosing the right graduate school:

> . . . the initial choice of a graduate school sets an indelible mark on the student's career. In many disciplines, men trained at minor universities have virtually no chance of achieving eminence. Even in those disciplines in which the distribution of professional rewards is not tightly controlled by an inner circle of departments, the handicap of initial identification with a department of low prestige is hardly ever completely overcome. Every discipline can show examples of brilliant men with the wrong credentials whose work somehow fails to obtain normal recognition.[53]

The following criteria was used in choosing the sample of faculty members:

1. Faculty member was available on campus during the spring semester or quarter of 1975.

2. Faculty member had worked regularly with graduate students and had built up some relationships over a period of years.

3. Faculty member had a full-time regular appointment in the graduate department, or a joint appointment with a research institute, and was above the rank of "instructor".

4. Faculty member was suggested by a graduate student as one with whom he or she was working, or as an important member of the department.

5. Faculty member was identified by colleagues as an important member of the department.

I felt it was important to include in the sample faculty members who were at different stages of their careers. For example, faculty who were in the early phases

of their careers would probably not be sponsoring many, if any, graduate students. On the other hand, these same faculty members might be serving as sponsors in a joint research project at the university or in a research institute. As might be expected, most of the sponsorship relationships studied involved faculty members who had attained the rank of "associate" or "full" professor and who appeared to be in the prime years of his or her career. However, the sample also included a few faculty who were close to retirement.

The following criteria were used in choosing the sample of graduate students:

1. The student had completed at least three years of graduate work and was at the "pre-lim: stage or its equivalent.

2. The student was available on campus during the period when the interviews took place.

3. The student was recommended by a faculty member or another graduate student.

4. I tried to get as many women and minority students as members of minority groups by other students. For the most part, I did not include visiting foreign students unless they were candidates for degrees.

Since the sponsorship relationship was the <u>unit of analysis</u> it was necessary to examine all of the relationships that members of the sample suggested as affiliations. The total number of all relationships identified was 71. But only 33 of the relationships were confirmed by both

faculty and graduate students who participated in them. The remaining relationships were identified by faculty only or students only because their partners were not available on campus. (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

FACULTY AND STUDENTS INTERVIEWED IN TWO POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS

Description of the Sample	Department A	Department B	Total
Eligible faculty members available for interview[a]................	38	18	56
Faculty members interviewed.......	31	17	48
Eligible students available for interview.....................	83	131	214
Students interviewed............	33	24	57
Total no. of people interviewed	64	41	105

Faculty members and graduate students were considered "eligible" for participation in the study if they met the criteria established at the outset of the project. (See pp. 40 and 41 of text.)

TABLE 3

FACULTY-STUDENT SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIP IDENTIFIED IN TWO POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS[a]

Description of Relationships	Total
Relationships identified and confirmed by all parties involved..	33
Relationships identified by faculty but not confirmed by students[b]..	20
Relationships identified by students but not confirmed by faculty[c]..	11
Total no. of relationships disputed[d]..................	7
Total no. of relationships identified[e].................	71

[a]The relationship found in both departments are combined because the analysis will focus on within-group variance of the departments rather than between-group variance.

[b]Relationships were not confirmed by students for any of a number of reasons: (1) student did not identify professor as working with him or her, (2) student was not available for interview, or (3) student refused interview.

[c]Relationships were not confirmed by faculty for any of a number of reasons: (1) professor did not identify student as working with him, (2) professor was not available for interview, or (3) professor refused interview.

[d]A relationship was considered as "disputed" if either of the participants denied that it existed or differed on type of interaction.

[e]Students usually identified one faculty member as principal advisor or sponsor. Faculty members generally identified a number of sponsorship relationships with individual students or groups of students. In cases where a professor identified a relationship with a group of students, each student was counted as a participant. Hence, a group relationship with five students was counted as five relationships.

The Interview

Two interview schedules, one for faculty and another for graduate students, were devised and pre-tested in a third university.[55] Questions that were not clear or appeared ambiguous were withdrawn or rewritten.

The interview with faculty members followed the format below:

1. Their sponsorship experience in graduate school (discussed in chapter 3)
2. General description of the department as they saw it
3. Professional attitudes and values within the department focusing on collective perception of the national image, what constitutes good research, behaviors that are rewarded by colleague's esteem, both within the department and the field
4. Sponsorship relationships with graduate students

The interviews with graduate students followed the format below:

1. Undergraduate university or college attended
2. Student's expectations of graduate school and whether they were fulfilled
3. General description of the department as they saw it
4. Description of relationships with advisor or sponsor

The specific questions used in the interview schedules are listed in the appendix.

Each department supplied a list of its faculty, including all visiting professors and instructors, as well as those

on leave. The graduate school provided a list of graduate students in the department, and the department secretary indicated which students would be available for interviews. The interviews were made by appointment and generally took place in faculty or graduate student offices. In cases where graduate students did not have such a facility available, interviews took place at the Student Union or in a restaurant or cafe. The interviews ranged in length from one hour and fifteen minutes to three hours. The average length was about two and one-half hours. The answers to the questions were recorded by hand, since several faculty members objected to the idea of taping the interviews.

In general, the people interviewed were very responsive. Many respondents considered the questions significant and spoke in great detail about the issues involved. After the first few interviews, it became a prestige factor among the graduate students to be called for an interview. Many students went out of their way to make themselves available. Only two students refused interviews, because they had deadlines to meet on their dissertations. The faculty members were also very cooperative. I found that most of them were eager to be interviewed. Several suggested that they were waiting to hear from me. Only one faculty member was uncooperative. He granted me a 45-minute interview, in which I was not allowed to take any notes. He even went so far as to suggest that most of the information I had gathered

in the study was probably untrue.

Certain biases must be recognized in a study of this kind. First, memory tends to be selective. People who describe past experiences tend to present them in their most favorable light, even if these experiences were unpleasant at the time they occurred. I sensed that this might be true of the accounts that some faculty members and graduate students gave of their past experiences. However, I did not have evidence to discount or corroborate their stories.

Another probable source of bias is that many respondents wanted to build themselves up in the profession, often to the detriment of their colleagues. In cases such as these, I tried to cross-check information given by one individual during interviews with people acquainted with him.

The Analysis of the Data

The first step in the analysis of the data was to identify the major themes that recurred in the course of the interviews. Two major types of these were identified: (1) Themes directly relating to the sponsorship relationship such as sponsor power and control, student autonomy, affect among participants, communication patterns between and among participants and reciprocal benefits derived in the relationship. The problems that these themes reflected were also identified by the respondents. (2) Themes

relating to the department as a workplace. These included the department physical and social organization, the collective mission, and the socialization practices that applied to both faculty and graduate students. Also the problems that members experienced within the department were identified.[56]

To supplement the themes identified in the interviews, the literature on academic elite culture and the national culture of political science was examined for prevailing ideas and themes. These in turn were interrelated with the themes that emerged in the interviews. This is described in chapter 3.

After the themes were identified and noted on index cards, I returned to the questionnaires and collected statements by faculty members and graduate students relating to each of the themes. These statements were noted on individual cards and filed under each theme. Then I analyzed the data in order to determine what patterns the statements followed regarding each of the various themes. I then attempted to determine how these patterns of thought characterized the department and in turn provided the basis for the socialization practices that affected both faculty members and graduate students--status socialization of the faculty members and role socialization of the graduate students.

Finally I analyzed the data concerning sponsorship relationships in order to determine the characteristics of

the various relationships found in the two departments. Four major patterns emerged which were classified as ideal types discussed earlier.

Conclusion:

In the preceding chapter the concept of sponsorship has been presented and defined. Its operation as a mechanism of the professional socialization process has been explained. Since the study of sponsorship relationships fall in a multi-discipline context the relevant literature of political science and the subfield of careers and professions has been noted. The literature of higher education and the professions of political science will be presented in the next chapter.

The exploratory model underlying the presearch design has been presented and the pertinent research questions identified. In the section on methodology and the research context, the criteria and problems faced in choosing the sample of faculty members and graduate students has been described. The interview schedule, its general components and the responses of the participants have also been discussed as were the approaches to the data analysis. This chapter was intended to provide an overview of the study. In the following chapters, these factors will be explored and discussed in much greater detail.

CHAPTER 2

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

This chapter deals with the outside factors that influence the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships. I shall focus on two main sources of external influences: (1) the elite attitudes and practices of the academic world characterized by the term "elite academic culture"; and (2) the attitudes and practices within the field of political science, characterized by the term "national political science culture." In the course of the discussion, I will consider the history of graduate education and various studies that have been done of political science as a profession.

Elite Academic Culture

To better understand how the attitudes and cultural practices of the academic world influence the development of sponsorship relationships, I shall retrace the history of graduate education in the United States. Graduate education in the United States developed in the mid-nineteenth century. The first Ph.D. was obtained at Yale in 1861. However most historians trace the development of graduate programs to the

establishment of Johns Hopkins University in 1876. The program at Johns Hopkins emphasized graduate studies and was patterned after programs offered in German universities, which gave primary importance to research and the scientific approach to knowledge. From the outset, the ideal of the productive scholar was pursued.[1] The faculty-student relations that prevailed at the time were characteristic of a master scholar and his disciples. The emphasis on research produced a great expansion of knowledge in the late 1800's, which encouraged the growth of private universities such as Stanford and the University of Chicago and of state universities such as California, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

As individual graduate departments developed in the late 1880's, the began to compete for outstanding personnel and prestige. From the beginning, faculty members were aware of the status or prestige connected with an appointment to a particular institution. These attitudes in turn gave rise to an academic stratification system linking the departments of the various disciplines to the prestige of the university. From the onset, an "old-boy network" developed in which members receiving graduate degrees in one elite university were offered positions by colleagues in other elite universities. There emerged a peer evaluation system in which research and publications of a scholar were evaluated by his colleagues in the discipline. This professional network

was further reinforced by the establishment of professional associations and journals in each of various fields.[2]

A review of the literature concerning the academic world reveals that this academic hierarchy has persisted, along with its underlying attitudes and practices. In 1941, Logan Wilson wrote Academic Man, an in-depth study of the academic world which focused on the major universities in the United States. Discussing the status appraisal of faculty members at the University of Michigan, he stated:

> Professional standing of faculty members is appraised by colleagues in terms of reputation (stands highest in the department--is well and favorably known--is only slightly known outside this university--is practically unknown outside this university), participation in learned societies and through the opinion of qualified men outside the institution.[3]

Wilson stressed the importance of satisfying the prevailing standards for research and scholarship in order to gain prestige in a particular academic field:

> To obtain prestige, which is the currency of his profession, the scholar or scientist must be skilled in the means, regardless of the ends to which they are fitted. Because of the vogue of scientism versus intellectualism, the academic climber should know the prevailing methodological credo of his field and give at least overt conformity. In the social sciences he should be aware of the prestige of quantitative as distinguished from non-quantitative procedure, of the fact that the development and exercise of techniques may be more important than the results obtained, and that precision often counts more than significance.[4]

Wilson also noted that more than 50% of those who entered graduate school in the 1930's failed to complete the doctoral program, a pattern that persists to the present day. The question of faculty-student relationships does not seem to have concerned Wilson much, and he gives it very limited attention.

Another study that gives us insight into the attitudes and practices in the academic world is The Academic Marketplace, written in 1958 by Caplow and McGee. The study focused on the problems and tensions surrounding academic placement at a time when there was a scarcity of Ph.D.s. The study also analyzed the power hierarchy and prestige system which lay at the heart of academic life:

> In most large-scale organizations the distribution of power conforms, more or less, to a ladder of rank and authority and is supported by the formal assumptions that rank and ability are closely correlated. . . .
>
> . . . This kind of arrangement cannot be established in a university faculty because of the double system of academic ranking. Academic rank is conferred by the university, but disciplinary prestige is awarded by outsiders and its attainment is not subject to university control. Everyone in the university recognizes and almost everyone lives by, disciplinary prestige. Power cannot, therefore, be tied to specific positions in the form of authority, since such fixation would inevitably establish relationships of subordination and equality which were inconsistent with another set of social facts.[5]

A more recent study of the career dilemmas facing faculty members in elite universities is Nevitt Sanford's "Academic Culture and the Teacher's Development"[6] The study

presents the results of interviews with college teachers over a period of two years. Sanford found that:

> . . . teachers at distinguished institutions are oriented not to their students but to their disciplines. They want to present their subject rather than influence the development of students. . . . They define themselves primarily as members of their disciplines and their self-esteem depends most heavily upon the esteem of their colleagues in their field and their actual advancement within it.[7]

Sanford also found that most faculty members respect certain unwritten conventions concerning matters such as admission of students into graduate programs, relations with students, faculty appointments and promotions, and respect for colleagues' areas of specialization.[8]

Donald Light Jr. in a lead article in the Sociology of Education, vol. 47, 1974 attempted to provide a framework for understanding academic culture. He complained about its "disorganization" but the greatest value of his articles were a series of definitions which he provided his readers. He did not offer any new concepts or approaches to the "disorganization."[9]

Much of the earlier literature on the academic culture did not deal much with the situation of graduate students, which is of course a main focus in my study of faculty-student sponsorship relationships. However, recent studies have made up for this deficiency. One of the most thorough studies about graduate students is Scholars in the Making by Katz and Hartnett published in 1976.[10] In this study re-

searchers at the Wright Institute at Berkeley questioned a sample of 6,000 graduate students concerning their graduate training and academic careers. An overwhelming majority of the students identified faculty-student relationships as the most important aspect of their graduate training.

> Graduate students feel that faculty appraisals of them as students depend in large measure on 'getting in' with certain members of the faculty, on getting someone on the faculty to sort of 'adopt' them as students and look out for their welfare.[11]

The authors conclude their study by suggesting that "graduate students want to be treated as adults. This includes relevant participation in the decisions that affect them . . . clarity of rules, expectations and occupational prospects."[12]

Another valuable study of professional students was done by Howard Becker et al. in 1961 in the field of medical education. The study, titled Boys in White, focuses on the process by which students develop a collective approach or "student culture" to deal with the problems and tasks of medical school. Becker's study is important because it demonstrates how students control their socialization by collectively developing methods to deal with their mutual tasks and problems.[13]

In a study done in 1969, Leonard Baird examined the relations of graduate students with faculty and with each other. He developed scales to analyze factors that were significant in these relations. Among the factors that

he identified were: "peer interaction in support of academic values, reflecting the social reenforcement student groups provide for commitment to the field; tension, dealing with students' feelings of satisfaction and stress; academic difficulty, dealing with the rigor of academic standards; Conflict and lack of clarity, reflecting the ambiguity and contradictions in faculty expectations, and Warm faculty-student relations".[14] However, Baird's preoccupation with methodology prevented him from providing sufficient insight into faculty-student relationships. He also failed to develop adequate methodological tools for future research.

In a study titled Making Do in Graduate School: Graduate Students' Modes (1970), Mark Sanford examined how graduate students deal with the problems and tasks of graduate school. Sanford points out that the growth in the number of Ph.D.s (see Tables 3 and 4) makes effective evaluation methods essential to faculty-search committees that select faculty members whom they hope would become the new "elite" in the field. Sanford focuses on the impact of evaluation procedures and their effect on the students' development of an academic identity. He also describes strategies that students develop to influence the evaluators' perception of their academic capabilities. These strategies might include outright trickery or dissembling in order to "beat the system." In Sanford's view, the role conflict that a student experiences influences the degree to which he engages in these strategies.[15]

TABLE 4

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF DOCTORATES

Year	No. of Doctorates
1900	239
1930	2,000
1941	3,600
1950	6,000
1960	10,000
1971	32,000

SOURCE: Based on statistics provided by the National Center for Educational Statistics and quoted in Joseph Katz and Rodney Hartnett, Scholars in the Making (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1973), p. 9.

TABLE 5

POLITICAL SCIENCE DOCTORATES, 1969-1976

Year	No. of Doctorates
1969	529
1970	562
1971	779
1972	784
1973	748
1974	776
1975	780
1976	703

SOURCE: William J. Siffin, "Portents and Prospects for Graduate Study and the Profesion", PS Winter, 1977; 10-12.

[a]Generally political science doctorates represent two-three percent of the total number of doctorates granted nationally.

Another group of recent studies focus on the stress and conflicts experienced by graduate students during the transition from the role of student to the role of professor.

Of particular interest are the studies by David Mechanic[16] and Douglas T. Hall.[17]

After surveying some of the important literature on graduate education, one comes to the conclusion that affiliation with an elite university is the first step toward building a professional reputation and attaining prestige within a given field. But this alone is not enough. The developing professional must engage in research and publish his results in books or in important journals. He must also receive positive critical evaluation for his contributions by notables in the field. Since these tasks are very time-consuming, little time is left for the training of graduate students. In response, graduate students are forced to develop strategies both individual and collective, to gain faculty attention and recognition of their potential as scholars who will make a creative contribution to the discipline.

The examination of elite academic culture revealed the existence of an academic stratification system which affected the mobility of scholars and the potential critical response their writings might evoke. These values are also part of the national culture of political science which shall be explained in the following section.

The National Culture of Political Science

The profession as an object of study has been of concern to several researchers.[18] Among the earliest studies of the post-World War II period was that of Somit and Tanenhaus (1964) which surveyed a national sample of political scientists derived from membership lists of the American Political Science Association.[19] In 1976, Walter Roettiger updated and expanded their study and reported his findings in a paper entitled "The Profession: What's Right, What's Wrong and Who Cares?"[20] This paper was presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, (APSA) in August, 1978. It should be noted that both Roettiger's study and the study by Somit and Tanenhaus excluded graduate students from the sample, as well as political scientists who were not then affiliated with the APSA.

A more complete study was done by Everett Ladd and Seymour Lipset, using data collected by the Carnegie Commission of Education in 1969 and 1975. The study focused on the attitudes of political scientists, particularly on the differences in attitude between political scientists at research universities and those at other universities. Their sample was taken from department rosters at universities throughout the United States and included both faculty members and graduate students.[21]

In 1968, as a response to the needs of the members of the APSA for a journal that would primarily focus on the professional activities, opportunities and concerns of political scientists, the Association established the quarterly PS. This journal provides a forum where members can communicate on current controversies facing the profession, where members can learn about activities and actions of Association committees and where members can learn about opportunities for funding and research with the federal government and various foundations. In addition, the journal's editors present comparative statistics on participation and placement within the national profession.

From the data to be presented, it is assumed that there exists a "national culture" of elite Political Science. A detailed analysis of the national culture and its historic antecedents follows. Sharing a national culture predisposes many professionals to interpret events in similar fasion and behave in a somewhat predictable way. It is a contention of this study that an understanding of the national culture is necessary if faculty student relationships are to be understood.

By "national culture of political science," I refer to a body of attitudes, beliefs, values, and understandings about professional issues that are considered important to those identified as political scientists. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6

ATTRIBUTES CONTRIBUTING TO CAREER SUCCESS,
1963 AND 1976 (ALL RESPONDENTS)

Attribute	1976 Rank	1976 Index	1963[a] Rank	1963[a] Index	Change
School at which doctorate was taken	1	2.76	2	2.58	+1
Volume of publication	2	2.72	1	2.67	-1
Having the right connections	3	2.47	3	2.53	-
Ability to get research support	4	2.33	4	2.41	-
Quality of publication	5	2.31	5	2.22	-
Luck or chance	6	2.15	7	2.06	+1
School of first full-time appointment	7	2.11	8	1.97	+1
Textbook authorship	8	2.04	6	2.15	-2
Self-promotion ("brass")	9	1.80	9	1.82	-
Teaching ability	10	1.42	10	1.29	-

SOURCE: Walter Roettiger, "The Profession: What's Right, What's Wrong, and Who Cares?" Paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August, 1978.

[a]From Somit and Tanenhaus, Profile, p. 79.

Within the field of political science, two major forces interact--the formal organization and what Somit and Tanenhaus call a "collective state of mind."[22] The formal organization consists of graduate departments, a national organization, scholarly journals, annual meetings, and an identifiable establishment or system of "greats" identified by members of the profession (see Table 7). The term "collective state of mind" refers to the attitudes and beliefs held by a large number of political scientists

TABLE 7

RANKING OF SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTORS: A LONGITUDINAL PERSPECTIVE[a]

Pre-1945[b]		1945-1960		1960-1970		1970-1976	
Rank	Name	Rank	Name	Rank	Name	Rank	Name
1	Merriam	1	Key (35%)	1	Dahl (40%)	1	Lowi (18%)
2	Lasswell	2	Lasswell (32%)	2	Easton (19%)	2	Wildavsky (10%)
3	White	3	Dahl (20%)	3	SRC Group[c] (18%)	3	Dye (9%)
4	Beard	4	Easton (18%)	4	Deutsch (17%)	4	Dahl (8%)
5	Corwin	5	Morgenthau (18%)	5	Almond (16%)	5	Huntington (7%)
6	Bentley	6	Truman (16%)	6	Wildavsky (7%)	7	SRC Group[c] (6%)
7	Wilson	7	Strauss (8%)	7	Lowi (4%)	7	Verba (6%)
8	Herring	8.5	Deutsch (6%)	9	Lipset (4%)	7	Sharkansky (6%)
9	Wright	8.5	Simon (6%)	9	Wolin (4%)	10.5	Barber, Deutsch, Left Radicals,[d] Riker
10	Ogg	10.5	Friedrich (5%)	9	Huntington (4%)		
		10.5	Schattschneider (5%)				

SOURCE: Walter Roettiger, "The Profession: What's Right, What's Wrong, and Who Cares?" Paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August 1978.

[a]Figures in parentheses represent the percentages of respondents designating the contributor. Sample size for the 1945-1960 was 181; for 1960-1970, 179; and for 1970-1976, 113. The variation between periods (and the departure from the overall response level) is due to the failure of all respondents to designate significant contributors in each period.

[b]Taken from Profile, 66.

[c]The "SRC Group" consists of Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. Mention of one or more of these persons was coded as "SRC Group."

[d]The "Left Radicals" include: Ira Katznelson, Herbert Marcuse, Ralph Miliband, C. Wright Mills, James O'Connor, and Bertell Ollman. Mention of one or more of these persons was coded as "Left Radicals."

concerning the future prospects of their discipline.[23] This might vary from optimistic and hopeful, as in the early 1960's, to pessimistic and anxious, which is somewhat true at the present time. Since the state of mind is generally specific to a particular time period, I shall be focusing on the 1970's.

The collective state of mind is directly affected by departmental administrative decisions on such issues as salary increases and whether the salary scale is commensurate with the median in other academic professions; hiring and tenure policies, whether existing slots will be filled or allowed to remain empty for budgetary considerations, whether tenure will be granted liberally, or departmental recommendations turned aside by the university administration; class size and teaching requirements; whether there is university support for research; and whether there are sufficient opportunities for sponsored research by funding sources outside the university.

Attitudes and trends are reinforced when colleagues meet at national or regional meetings and share experiences, as well as by special Association discussions of the "state of the discipline." Indirectly, the general political and social climate in the United States, whether favorable or indifferent to the needs of higher education, also has an impact on the prevailing state of mind. Indeed, Roettiger

suggests that "the mood of the discipline is "self-critical."[24]

For political scientists who are not affiliated with a particular department, the question of career opportunities is very important, whether in universities, independent research institutes, government, or business. When a large number of people in the field are unable to find jobs, as at the present time, the collective state of mind cannot help but be affected.[25]

Finally, the whole question of graduate training programs and their adequacy in training scholars and professionals, the quality of students applying who are admitted, the opportunities for faculty to act as effective sponsors in research projects during training and as career sponsors after the Ph.D. also affect the collective state of mind and ultimately the type and quality of sponsorship relations that emerge.

Growth and Development of Political Science

An examination of the historical development of graduate programs in political science will reveal the sources of many of the cultural practices that affect the profession today.

The first political science department was established at Columbia University in 1881 by John Burgess. Burgess was

a product of the German university education of the 1870's. From this background he brought with him the belief in the scientific approach to political problems and of the importance of research. As Somit explains, Burgess believed that the university's sole obligation was to make it possible for him to pursue truth for its own sake . . .[26] Somit suggests that in the late 1800's, a "teacher's values defined the activities that acquired prestige in the eyes of the doctoral students."[27] "There was all the enthusiasm about you and your work here that a conquering hero might have hoped for in returning from a victorious campaign from the loyal subjects of his realm."[28]

The graduate students who trained in the political science departments at Columbia and at Johns Hopkins (another early graduate program) built up a network of scholars to staff the developing departments at such universities as Chicago, Michigan, Indiana, Missouri, Princeton, Stanford, and Cornell. Thus, homogeneity of professional values were maintained among the various department faculty.

From the earliest period, possession of the doctorate was considered important evidence of scholarly achievement. In 1903, William James commented ironically on what he called the "Ph.D. Octopus:"

> Graduate schools still are something of a novelty, and higher diplomas something of a rarity. The latter carry a vague sense of precociousness and honor, and have a particularly up-to-date appearance, and it is no wonder if smaller institutions, unable to attract professors already eminent, and forced usually to recruit their faculties from the relatively young, should hope to compensate for the obscurity of the names of the officers of instruction by the abundance of decorative titles by which those names are followed on the pages of the catalogues in which they appear.[29]

James' comments were not noticed much. The Ph.D. would be the goal of neophyte political scientists. And the doctoral programs mirrored the field's values and concerns.

From early on, scholarly competence was defined as academic achievement in terms of publication. Pedogogical duties were de-emphasized when promotions were considered. The opportunities for the young political scientists to publish and attain professional visibility were increased when Burgess started the Political Science Quarterly in 1886 and with the establishment of the American Political Science Association in 1903 and its journal, the American Political Science Review, in 1906. Publication in the APSR had several effects. It suggested that the individual had attained the discipline imprimatur on his work which heightened his prestige. It also acted as a method of discipline control that tended to reward those whose research and articles fit the editors' notion of political science.

Thus the existence of this scholarly journal helped to maintain a "status-quo." Even today, the APSR is considered the most prestigious of all scholarly journals in the field of political science (see Table 8).

TABLE 8

JOURNAL RANKINGS, 1963 AND 1976 (ALL RESPONDENTS)

Journal	1976 Rank	1976 Index	1963 Rank	1963 Index
American Political Science Review	1	2.75	1	2.78
Journal of Politics	2	2.42	3	2.31
World Politics	3	2.40	2	2.32
American Journal of Political Science[b]	4	2.25	9	1.89
Public Administration Review	5	1.96	7	1.99
Political Science Quarterly	6	1.94	4	2.07
Public Opinion Quarterly	7	1.90	8	1.93
Administrative Sciences Quarterly	8	1.88	5	2.01
American Behavioral Scientist	9	1.84	10	1.73
Western Political Quarterly	10	1.81	6	2.00

SOURCE: Walter Roettiger, "The Profession: What's Right, What's Wrong, and Who Cares?" Paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August, 1978.

[a]The American Journal of Political Science was formerly the Midwest Journal of Political Science.

Regular attendance at association meetings enabled the younger political scientists to enlarge their circle of acquaintances so as to build a network of personal contacts which would keep them informed of promising job openings and opportunities for research support. This is still true today.

With the growth of the profession in the early twentieth century, there also developed a self-perpetuating elite which set up standards of educationsl excellence as well as ideological and normative requirements through the exercise of leadership in the APSA and in editorial review of articles accepted for the American Political Science Review. This elite formed the nucleus of an academic stratification system that has characterized the American political science profession up to the present day (see Table 7). This stratification system was reflected in the periodic ranking of departments beginning in 1924 (see Table 9).

In their "Development of Political Science," Somit and Tanenhaus noted that from 1906 to 1945, only a small number of schools dominated the doctoral production and the elite establishment positions in the APSA.[30]

In fact, the top ten political science departments produced a large percentage of the Ph.D.s in the field and also contributed a large percentage of the panelists at the national meetings of the APSA. This continues to be the case. (See Tables 10, 11, and 12.)

As one examines the history of political science, several trends appear significant. Initially, the top ten departments produced a majority of the doctorates in the field. But studies indicate that there has been a decline

TABLE 9

RANKING OF POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATE DEPARTMENTS: A LONGITUDINAL COMPARISON (1925-1976)

1957[a]		1957[b]		1963[c]		1964[d]		1969[e]		1976	
Rank	School	Rank	School	Rank	School	Rank	School	Rank	School	Rank	School
1	Harvard	1	Harvard	1	Harvard	1	Yale	1	Yale	1	Yale
2	Chicago	2	Chicago	2	Yale	2	Harvard	2	Harvard	2	Harvard
3	Columbia	3	Berkeley	3	Berkeley	3	Berkeley	4.5	Chicago	3	Berkeley
4	Wisconsin	4	Columbia	4	Chicago	4	Chicago	4.5	M.I.T.	4	Chicago
5	Illinois	5	Princeton	5	Princeton	5	Princeton	4.5	Michigan	5	Michigan
6	Michigan	6	Michigan	6	Columbia	6	Stanford	4.5	Stanford	6	Stanford
7	Princeton	7	Yale	7	Michigan	7	M.I.T.	8	North Carolina	7	Princeton
8	Johns Hopkins	8	Wisconsin	8.5	Stanford	8	Wisconsin	8	Princeton	8	Wisconsin
9.5	Iowa	9	Minnesota	8.5	Wisconsin	9	Columbia	8	Wisconsin	9	North Carolina
9.5	Pennsylvania	10	Michigan	10.5	U.C.L.A.	10	Michigan	10	Berkeley	10	Minnesota
11	Berkeley	11	Illinois	10.5	Cornell	11	Northwestern	11.5	Minnesota	11.5	U.C.L.A.
		12	U.C.L.A.	12	Johns Hopkins	12	Cornell	11.5	Rochester	11.5	Johns Hopkins
		13	Stanford	13	Northwestern	13	Indiana	14	Indiana	13	Northwestern
		14	Johns Hopkins	14	Indiana	14	North Carolina	14	Northwestern	14	Columbia
		15	Duke	15	Illinois	15.5	Johns Hopkins	14	Oregon	15	Cornell
						15.5	U.C.L.A.				

SOURCE: Walter Roettiger, "The Profession: What's Right, What's Wrong, and Who Cares?" Paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August 1978.

[a]Raymond M. Hughes, The Graduate Schools of America. (Oxford, Ohio: Miami University Press), 22-23.

[b]Hayward Keniston, Graduate Study and Research in the Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), 142.

[c]Somit and Tanenhaus, Profile, 34 (Table 3).

[d]Alan Murray Carter, An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education. (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966), 100 (Table 31).

[e]Kenneth D. Roose and Charles J. Anderson, A Rating of Graduate Programs. (Washington, D.C.: American Council Education, 1970), 65.

TABLE 10

TEN LARGEST SOURCES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE DOCTORATES (1926-1945)

1926-1935				1936-1945		
Rank	School	Number of Doctorates	% of Total Output	School	Number of Doctorates	Output % of Total
1.	Columbia	62	11.7	1. Harvard	80	12.2
2.	Harvard[a]	52	9.8	2. Chicago	78	11.9
3.	Hopkins	44	8.3	3. Columbia	52	8.0
4.	Chicago	43	8.1	4. California	35	5.4
5.	Wisconsin	35	6.6	5. Wisconsin	32	4.9
6.	Iowa	33	6.2	6. Iowa	30	4.6
7.	Illinois	27	5.1	7. Princeton	28	4.3
8.	California[b]	24	4.5	8. Yale	22	3.4
9.	Pennsylvania	20	3.8	9.5. Illinois	19	2.9
10.	Brookings	19	3.6	9.5. Stanford	19	2.9

SOURCE: Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, American Political Science: Profile of a Discipline (New York: Atherton Press, 1964).

[a]Includes Radcliffe
[b]Includes U.C.L.A.

TABLE 11

DOCTORAL OUTPUT OF THE MOST PRESTIGIOUS GRADUATE DEPARTMENTS (1973-74)

Rank	Institution	Number of Ph.D.s.[a]	Percent of Total	Cumulative Percent
1	Yale	12	1.3	1.3
2	Harvard	28	3.1	4.4
3	Berkeley	33	3.6	8.0
4	Chicago	28	3.1	11.1
5	Michigan	29	3.2	14.3
6	Stanford	18	2.0	16.3
7	Princeton	16	1.8	18.1
8	Wisconsin	13	1.4	19.5
9	North Carolina	16	1.8	21.3
10	Minnesota	7	.7	22.0
11.5	U.C.L.A.	15	1.6	23.8
11.5	Johns Hopkins	17	1.9	25.7
13	Northwestern	12	1.3	27.0
14	Columbia	40	4.4	31.4
15	Cornell	17	1.9	33.3

[a]Adapted from Earned Degrees Conferred 1973-74: Institutional Data. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 397-450.

TABLE 12

SUMMARY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS BY THE TOP TEN DEPARTMENTS TO PANELS OF THE APSA (1956-1975)

University	No. of Panelists
Michigan	327
Harvard	272
Yale	236
Chicago	228
Berkeley	226
Wisconsin	199
CUNY System	166
UCLA	164
Princeton	158
Stanford	158

SOURCE: Nancy B. Ranney, "Report on the 1976 Annual a Twenty Year Review", PS V.X:1 (Winter, 1977)

in the number of doctorates completed at the top schools, yet that there has been no decline in the number of departments recognized as "elite." This suggests that there is a self-perpetuating elite in distinguished departments and that fewer and fewer new professionals will have an opportunity to compete for positions. Consequently, the system becomes increasingly difficult to penetrate. Another effect of the departmental rating system is that it colors the attitudes of the high-ranked members towards potential faculty recruits to the department or to its research institutes. It also creates a built-in bias in funding organizations such as the National Science Foundation that

favors individuals from departments that are consistently rated among the top twenty. An examination of 34 grants made to political scientists in 1977 indicates that 24, or 70%, of the grants were made to scholars affiliated with elite departments.[31]

As chairman of the program committee of the APSA for 1971, Sidney Verba suggested that elitism was a form of natural selection:

> The Annual Meeting has been criticized as an "establishment" institution. Insofar as membership on the program committee makes one, by definition, a member of the establishment, the criticism cannot be refuted. (Though some members of the program committee got a bit edgy when I pointed out to them that they were of the establishment.) Insofar as the criticism suggests bias and "old boy" networks, I frankly think it is wrong and misguided. It is true that the modal participant in the Annual Meeting will probably continue to be the Assistant Professor from the University of Michigan with a Yale Ph.D. (or is it vice versa?) Or if not exactly that, it will probably be a member of the same species with a Berkeley or Harvard or Chicago or some such place thrown in. To expect that someone at one of the "top" departments is no more likely to appear on the program than other members of the discipline--or to interpret their "overrepresentation" as evidence of bias--is to ignore the selectivity that goes on in choosing faculty at various schools and the self-selection in terms of motivation of those who wind up at such schools.[32]

However, Somit and Tanenhaus point out the serious disadvantages of the system for people trained at the "lesser" graduate departments:

> The profession has increasingly been divided into first-and second-class citizens. The first-class citizens, the data suggest, are those who have taken their doctorates at the more prestigious graduate schools. For this group, the opportunity for advancement--in terms of appointment at one of the better schools--is limited only by ability, connections and luck. For the second-class citizens, those trained at one of the lesser graduate departments, career opportunities tend to be markedly circumscribed. . . .[33]

In a time of economic insecurity and inflation, the professional political scientist is very concerned with the buying power of his salary, which naturally affects his "state of mind." When comparing the median salary of political scientists with that of faculty in other fields, Ladd and Lipset found that political scientists were nearly the lowest paid and that they had lost ground since 1969.[34]

Tenure is also a problem for faculty members. If budgets are reduced, so are the opportunities for tenure. In a study reported in 1978 by Ladd and Lipset, it was found that:

> 73% of political scientists at research universities held academic tenure and that the median age was 43.[35]

This means that young scholars who are ambitious and seek mobility in the profession find themselves at a serious disadvantage. Placement of new Ph.D.s in political science is becoming increasingly difficult due to the decline in the number of faculty positions:

> The number of new political science faculty positions has been declining in recent years, and it is expected to reach the zero point in the 1980's. . . . The overall placement record of the past five years has been about 67-73 percent of firm candidates although 30-32 percent were in temporary positions.[36]

In a recent study, Ladd and Lipset note that 59% of the political science faculty surveyed would "seriously consider an offer of a non-academic position." This percentage was the highest in any field.[37] In another study, Roettiger found that 37% of the political scientists surveyed would probably not recommend a career in political science to an able undergraduate.[38] The responses of the faculty members reflect an awareness of the difficulties facing political scientists in the coming years and of the increasingly stiff competition newcomers will face in obtaining appointments and resources.

TABLE 13

Responses to the question "Would you recommend a career in political science to an able undergraduate today?"

Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	Can't Say	Probably Not	Definitely Not
16%	34%	12%	30%	7%

SOURCE: Walter Roettiger, "The Profession: What's Right, What's Wrong, and Who Cares?" Paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August 1978.

Of special importance to this study are the views of political science faculty and graduate students on existing graduate programs, particularly those in research universities. Criticism of the status quo, whatever the time period, seems endemic to the profession.[39] In a recent study examining graduate students and their training, Ladd and Lipset noted many instances of dissatisfaction, both among faculty and graduate students.[40] Ladd and Lipset also reported that the quality of students seems to be declining:

> . . . 23% of the junior and senior political science undergraduates planning to go to law school reported A or A- averages for their college career in contrast to the 16% among junior and senior undergraduate majors looking to political science graduate work. . . .
>
> . . . Also 30% of law school bound political science undergraduates described themselves "among the best students" while only 17% of their peers bound for graduate school made such a claim. . . .[41]

If only a limited number (17%) of incoming graduate students in the field of political science identify themselves as among the "best" students, faculty-student sponsorship relationships are likely to be adversely affected.

Ladd and Lipset also studied current attitudes and practices in political science departments by surveying a nation-wide sample of faculty and graduate students in the field. The questionnaire included questions concerning

the academic ability of graduate students, faculty-student relations, and intellectual environment. The questions and responses are presented in Table 14. While the questions are quite general they do reflect a collective perception about overall conditions within the departments. Note that both students and faculty are differentiated as to whether they represent research universities or are part of the general political science department sample. The data reveals that a significant percentage of political science graduate students--12% overall and 18% at research universities--feel that their peers and colleagues do not have excellent academic ability. At the same time, only 5% of faculty members in all universities and 6% of those within research universities believe that the academic ability of graduate students is excellent. This suggests that serious problems may exist in faculty-student relations, since faculty members are often the product of a rigorous process of selection and might be less willing to work closely with students considered inferior. It is not surprising then that, when asked about faculty-student relations, only 21% of the general faculty and 13% of the research university faculty describe them as excellent. The students were not asked this particular question but rather were queried on several dimensions of faculty-student relationships: faculty availability, faculty

attention to graduate students, and faculty view of students as colleagues. In all of these dimensions, the degree of faculty-student interaction seems to be limited. (See Table 14).

Perhaps the most revealing question of all is whether one would still choose a career in political science if given the chance to start over. Table 15 summarizes the responses to this question in studies conducted by Ladd and Lipset, Roettiger, and Somit and Tanenhaus. The table suggests that faculty in the field of political science are less enthusiastic about their careers now than they used to be. In 1976, only 64% would still choose political science as a career (as compared to 76% in 1963). However, the graduate students surveyed seemed more optimistic about a career in political science than their professors. In 1976, 77% of the graduate students surveyed would still choose political science as a career. This is somewhat surprising considering the shrinking job market and general economic situation.

Findings indicate that a large number of faculty members and graduate students are quite critical about the field of political science, about the relationships that exist between faculty and graduate students, and about the general quality of professional life. There is a growing concern about the decline in the number of jobs in the field,

TABLE 14

A COMPARISON OF PROFESSIONAL WITHIN-DEPARTMENT ATTITUDES OF FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS FOR NATIONAL SAMPLES IN 1969 AND 1975

	Political Science Grad Students				Political Science Faculty			
	Research Universities		All Universities		Research Universities		All Universities	
Question	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969	1975	1969
The academic ability of grad students is excellent	18%[a]	23%	12%	16%	6%		5%	19%
Faculty-student relations are excellent					13%	19%	21%	24%
Availability of faculty to students is excellent	16%	19%	15%	24%				
Professors don't pay much attention to grad students	37%	33%	27%	31%				
Professor with whom you have most contact regards you as a colleague	22%	23%	23%	24%				
Intellectual environment is excellent	18%	16%	12%	11%	11%		10%	

SOURCE: Carnegie Commission Data of 1969 and 1975 reported by Everett C. Ladd and Seymour M. Lipset as "Us Revisited", in a paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August 78.

[a]Figures indicated the percentage of the sample that agreed with the statements.

TABLE 15

IF YOU WERE ABLE TO START OVER AND PICK YOUR PROFESSION AGAIN, WOULD YOU STILL CHOOSE A CAREER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE?

Sample	Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	Can't Say	Probably No	Definitely No
Faculty Sample APSA Members 1963[a]	38%	38%	9%	13%	1%
Faculty Sample APSA Members 1976[b]	28	36	11	22	8
All Political Science Graduate Students 1975[c]	32	45		17	5
Graduate Students at Research Universities 1975[d]	25	54		19	2

SOURCES: [a]Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, American Political Science: Profile of a Discipline (New York: Atherton Press, 1964).

[b]Walter Roetigger, "The Profession: What's Right, What's Wrong, and Who Cares?" Paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August 78.

[c]Carnegie Commission Data of 1969 and 1975 reported by Everett C. Ladd and Seymour M. Lipset as "Us Revisited", in a paper presented at the national meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 31 August 78.

[d]Same as above.

particularly in the "elite" departments. As the situation becomes known to potential graduate students, the most outstanding will not gamble on the few available positions, and will seek careers in other fields. This change in the quality of graduate students is sure to have an effect on faculty-student relations and to increase faculty competition for the opportunity to sponsor "outstanding" graduate students.

Conclusions:

This chapter has undertaken three tasks: first, to identify the values and attitudes characteristic of elite academic culture; second, to determine whether these elite values have been incorporated in a national political science culture, as reported in studies of the profession and third, to examine the findings of recent large-scale quantitative studies of national samples of faculty members and graduate students, to determine some of the prevailing attitudes and their hopes for the future.

How these values are incorporated in the department or workplace is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEPARTMENT AS WORKPLACE: INTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

In chapter 2 the external influences on the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships have been identified as the norms, values and practices of elite academic culture and national political science culture. In this chapter these external influences will be linked to the internal or situational factors that prevail in the department as workplace and will be shown to affect the development of sponsorship relationships.

These internal influences include: (1) physical organization of the department; (2) the social organization of the department; (3) the culture of the department as symbolized by its mission; (4) professional socialization patterns, as the process by which culture is communicated to its members; (5) characteristics of faculty members and graduate students; and the problems and tensions they encounter in their relationships, as they attempt to form sponsorship connections. To analyze these internal influences on sponsorship relationships, I will examine and compare

the political science departments of two major universities (referred to as University A and University B).

Professional political science departments in major research universities perform several functions: teaching--both undergraduate and graduate students, research, developing new directions in the discipline, and graduate training--preparing the next generation of scholars.

Each department is a social organization with distinctive properties that performs a variety of functions for various constitutencies within the modern research university. The disciplinary department is the major administrative unit of the university and as such it links the individual faculty members and graduate students to the deans and other administrative agents of the university. The department initiates proposals for the appointment of new faculty members and for the advancement of existing faculty members and suggests changes in course offerings and course content. In almost all colleges and universities in the United States, courses are offered mainly, if not exclusively, by department majors. In departments with graduate programs, the department's primary function is to teach, examine, and certify candidates for advanced degrees. Martin Trow describes the department:

> The academic department is the central link between the university and the discipline, that is to say, between an organized body of learning--a body of knowledge and characteristic ways of extending knowledge--and the institution in which teaching and learning occur. It thus links an international fraternity of scholars who carry on a tradition of work in a defined area of inquiry to an institution that supports and houses the people who are actually engaged in transmitting an extending knowledge.[1]

General Description of the Departments Studied

Sponsorship relationships are affected by the setting or environment in which they take place. Therefore this section will focus on the general characteristics of each department and appropriate characteristics of the university with which it is affiliated. This is important because general characteristics such as the physical layout of the university and of the department, the location and quality of research facilities, the location of offices and laboratories, and affiliation with research institutes or interdisciplinary programs will all inevitably influence faculty-student relations. Furthermore, the development of a faculty member's professional reputation among colleagues is strongly influenced by the particular program or department he chooses to identify with, as well as the number of senior scholars in the department. Peter Blau emphasizes the importance of such connections when describing the interrelations among faculty members:

> Whether an individual's research potentials become activated or suppressed depends in part on the colleague climate in the institution, specifically on the prevalence of research skills and orientations among colleagues, which stimulates his own research interests and exerts group pressure to engage in research.[2]

At the time the data was gathered the political science department at University A listed 60 faculty members and 159 graduate students on its roster. Not all faculty members listed were involved with graduate students. Some members were on leave and others were only in the department on a temporary basis. Therefore, only 38 of the 60 faculty members in the department met the criteria established for selection in the study--i.e., were beyond the assistant professor rank and were involved with graduate students as potential sponsors.

The political science department at University A occupies two floors in one of the social science buildings. This area includes faculty offices, a seminar room for departmental meetings, the chairman's office, and the offices of secretaries and administrative assistants. There is also a student lounge.

University A maintains several research institutes. Many of the faculty members in the political science department are affiliated with these institutes. A number of the faculty members also have joint appointments with other departments and affiliations with various interdisciplinary

programs. Affiliations outside the formal department, such as these are a mark of prestige and hence are eagerly sought after by faculty. As a result, the majority of faculty members have offices elsewhere on campus or even off-campus, where they receive visitors, hold conferences, and do most of their work. In general, little use is made of the offices in the department, although most faculty members have offices there, with their names posted on the door. Department offices are still used by some older faculty members and by junior faculty members who have not yet established affiliations outside the department. However, most faculty members spend little time in the department. These diffuse spatial patterns tend to isolate faculty members from interaction with all but their immediate colleagues and thereby prevents the development of a true sense of community.

At the time the interviews were conducted, the roster of the political science department at University B listed 23 faculty members and 160 graduate students. Not all the faculty members hold degrees in political science, but those that do not, hold degrees in related fields, such as philosophy, sociology, or mathematics.

Many faculty members have joint appointments with other departments or are members of interdisciplinary committees. Some members carry administrative appointments

with other departments or are members of interdisciplinary committees. Some members carry administrative appointments in addition to their teaching tasks. Like University A, University B maintains a large research institute, and five members of the department are affiliated with it.

The political science department at University B occupies two floors in a social science building. Almost all members of the department have offices there, which they use regularly for conferences with students, colleagues, and visitors. Those who have administrative appointments often have other offices in other parts of the campus. A faculty member's prestige is reflected in the size of his office, the quality of the view from his window, and in the amount of secretarial help available to him. The juniors of the department occupy the smallest offices with the least desirable view, while the chairman's office is located in a large suite with the department secretary and administrative assistant.

Unlike their colleagues at University A, the faculty members in the political science department at University B all make regular use of their offices in the department. However, this geographic proximity and accessibility does not seem to foster greater interaction among colleagues or availability to students, as one might expect. There does not seem to be a very strong sense of community among faculty

in Department B any more than there is among their colleagues in Department A.

When asked about their relations with department colleagues, the political science faculty at both Universities A and B indicated that they had little contact with them outside structured department meetings. (See Table 16.) This lack of interchange among faculty has a negative effect on faculty-student relations, since there is no real community that all members of the department can participate in and identify with. As a result, graduate students are forced to find support from peers or from a particular faculty member whose interests happen to coincide with their own.

The Research Institute

My discussion of the two departments would be incomplete without an examination of the role that the independent research institute plays in department affairs. Much of what follows was obtained through interviews with faculty members and graduate students in the two departments. Another source of information was the study by Peter Rossi, which examines the social science research institutes of two major universities.[3] Although Rossi focuses on the fields of psychology and sociology, his findings on the problems of faculty affiliated with research institutes apply to political scientists as well.

TABLE 16

HOW FACULTY MEMBERS VIEW RELATIONS WITH COLLEAGUES[a]

Interactions	University A (N = 30)		University B (N = 16)	
	N	%N	N	%N
Relations organized by subgroups or by subgroups or small cliques...........	17	57	8	50
Atmosphere civil when colleagues meet sometimes masking animosities........	14	47	9	56
Generally little social or intellectual interchange, some people do not mix at all..............................	13	43	5	31
Relations tinged with anxiety due to the pressures connected with publishing and obtaining tenure................	10	33	-	--
Size of the department, geographical separation of members' workplaces, and joint appointments limit interaction.........................	10	33	-	--
Intellectual interchange occurs predominately at structured department meetings.................			4	25

[a]Some respondents chose more than one item.

[b]Sample varies table by table because not all respondents answered all questions.

Social science research institutes first developed after World War II, in response to a need for an organization that would be capable of undertaking large-scale surveys and research projects. Although many of the top personnel of the research institutes were also members of academic departments, the institutes required them to work in a different manner than was typical for the average academic. For example, the university professor is not subject to supervision or control in his research or in his teaching. Typically a professor engaged in his own research project might have one or more research assistants, but the scale of the project was limited by what he could accomplish with a small staff and by the types of grant money they could attract. Thus most professors worked quite independently of external control.

In contrast, the organization within a research institute is hierarchial and bureaucratic. Faculty members working on projects are subject to the direction and control of the project director, who must oversee the quality of work that is performed. There is also a need for highly trained research assistants who are skilled in the most sophisticated techniques of analysis. Some graduate students who fulfill these requirements are often paid a high salary, in contrast to the graduate student stipend generally provided by the university. The work schedule in the

research institute is tied to project needs: 7 days a week in some cases, including vacations, rather than on the semester or quarter time schedule that is characteristic of the academic department. Thus freedom to control one's own activities is limited.

Rossi maintains that the quality of a research institute depends upon the qualifications and skill of its director: "A research center functions best when its director provides both intellectual and administrative leadership."[4] One of the director's primary responsibilities is to find funding for research from outside sources, such as government agencies, private foundations, and business corporations. Ideally, the funding should be large-scale and for a period of several years, in order to keep the institute going. Finding adequate funding becomes difficult in times of economic recession, because funds are less available and competition is greater. The director of the research institute must therefore develop networks of connections with key people in the government, business, and various foundations in order to assure a regular supply of funds. He must also know how to select research personnel who have demonstrated an ability to obtain grants from outside sources and to provide the expertise needed to maintain the institute's reputation. The director of a research institute is also responsible for hiring project directors, who in turn hire faculty members and other specialists to

conduct the research for a given project. The project directors generally have nominal membership in one of the departments of the university affiliated with the research institutes, although they may not have any teaching responsibilities. Despite their long-term affiliation with a department and relatively high rank, project directors are not always given tenure by the university.

Since there are shared personnel and joint appointments in both the academic department and the research institute, the reputation of the research institute often affects that of the department. Consequently, department members not connected to the research institute may still benefit from reputation. And, for the faculty members affiliated with the research institute, the experience and professional contacts gained are invaluable:

> More than one better-than-average social scientist has been raised to the level of first-rank social scientist because he has had at his command the facilities and organization that a large-scale organization represents. The efficiency of a division of labor cannot be gainsaid. But there are more subtle advantages as well that stem from close contact with colleagues of varying interests and accomplishments on a day-to-day basis. When a social research center is working well, it is indeed an exciting locale for one's work. . . .[5]

The Department Culture as Exemplified by Its Mission

Most of the important attitudes and practices within a department are the product of the department culture.

By "department culture," I mean the characteristic way of life shared by those who identify with the organization. This includes a distinctive mission, a special language, an ideology which members use to interpret their experiences, and shared standards of relevance about the work that is being undertaken. The culture also comprises models of social demeanor, customs, rituals, and traditions about how members should relate to colleagues, subordinates, superiors, and outsiders. Through these various kinds of interaction, members gain a general sense of what is acceptable behavior and what is not. In addition, they have evolved approved ways to relate to outside organizations, such as the university, national professional societies, and other professional organizations. The culture provides rewards and prestige symbols to those who have achieved those values that the members of the department judge as important and worthwhile.[6] Such a culture does not emerge independently, but rather is grounded in the collective responses that members have evolved to meet the recurrent problems facing faculty and graduate students as they attempt to master the tasks of professional career development and graduate training.

The concept of department culture is rather unwieldly, so in order to find an abbreviated way to deal with its components, I have adopted the concept of "mission" to represent the values, priorities, and appropriate behaviors that comprise the department culture. The sources of

information concerning this "mission" were the interviews with faculty and graduate students, general writings about the universities, and certain publications by the universities. The mission involves the general ideals and values of the university, the department, the faculty, and the graduate students concerning the role of the university, the function of the department, and its faculty, and the purpose of graduate education. The department mission represents the ideals of scholarship by which both faculty members and graduate students are evaluated and reflects how the university views the department. The concept of a department mission will provide a framework in which empirical data derived from the interviews can be examined and analyzed.

One way to discover the mission of a particular department is to examine its collective approach to "good research." "Good research" may be defined as the dominant mode of approaching the puzzles and problems of the discipline as identified by the faculty and advanced graduate students. The way a department views research is particularly important because it provides the standards of evaluation used to judge new recruits to the faculty and the contributions of graduate students. Table 17 presents the opinions of faculty members of departments A and B concerning what constitutes good research. The responses obtained were somewhat difficult to interpret because most of the faculty members

TABLE 17

WHAT CONSTITUTES GOOD RESEARCH IN THE OPINION OF FACULTY MEMBERS[a]

Department A (N = 30)			Department B (N = 16)		
	N	%N		N	%N
1. Empirically oriented Accepts assumptions of behavioral sciences Theoretically elegant	22	73	1. Deals with important questions of social science and their theoretical implications	15	94
2. Acceptable in the professional political science milieu	8	27	2. Presents original or unusual approaches to great problems of social science	7	44
3. Will be published in prominent journals or presses	2	7	3. Craftsmanlike scholarship emphasizing a rigorous approach, lucid prose, a grasp of all pertinent literature and attention to detail	10	63

[a]The question, "What is the Nature of good research?" was open-ended; therefore some respondents identified more than one item.

questioned tended to use non-objective, intuitive evaluation standards when dealing with studies such as this that fall outside of the dominant mode. As one compares the two sets of responses, it is evident that the members of each department feel that they represent a distinct and recognizable approach to the questions of political science. Department A seems to favor research questions that can be studied quantitatively, using the most sophisticated analytic techniques, and that are representative of the studies published in the American Political Science Review. One reason given for this strong emphasis on methodology in Department A is that the department's reputation has been built largely on the achievements of research institutes in which the leading faculty members hold joint appointments.

In contrast to the emphasis on methodology found in Department A, Department B seems to favor research involving the "great" philosophical questions of political and social science and their theoretical ramifications. While some of the faculty members did empirical research similar to that done by their colleagues at University A, they suggested that their approach was qualitatively different, because of their emphasis on theory. Each department reflected a consensus of faculty members on what they considered "good scholarship" and graduate students tended to support the faculty concensus.

Another way to study the mission of a department is to

examine the reference groups that a majority of faculty respondents felt were significant to members of their department. By reference groups I am referring to a specific group of persons or a particular organization whose members share a known set of beliefs or ideologies and promote the appropriate behavior to implement them. A reference group then is the standard used by individuals or groups as a means by which they shape and evaluate their own beliefs and behavior. The responses to this question suggest that Department A looks to the professional organizations and leading colleagues within the field as reference groups, while Department B looks more to their historical traditions and to colleagues in the university as reference groups. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18

REFERENCE GROUPS IDENTIFIED BY FACULTY MEMBERS[a]

Department A (N = 30)	Department B (N = 17)
American Political Science Association	Historical tradition of contributions to the discipline
Colleagues at peer schools as Yale and Berkeley	Colleagues at the University
Leading members of the profession	Harvard University colleagues
	American Political Science Association[b]

[a]All respondents in Department A chose one or more of these items. All respondents in Department B chose the first two items.

[b]The latter two items in column 2 were each chosen by four respondents.

The Mission of University A

The mission of University A is to encourage and support the growth and development of the departments, professional programs, and research institutes which attract eminent scholars whose research contributions will bring national or international recognition and prestige to the university. In the ranking systems of the American Council of Education or of the various professions, the departments and professional programs of this university stand among the leaders in nearly every field. Its faculty members are frequent recipients of important awards and honors. The university's zeal to represent the highest level of professional scholarship in every field is transmitted to the individual departments and professional schools. It is expected that the university, its faculty, and its programs will receive high rankings when rated by any of the evaluation systems current among the professions. The university's high rankings and high expectations are reflected in a general fact sheet published by the university in 1976:

> In the latest American Council of Education survey of 36 graduate program facilities, {University A} had 12 departments among the top 5 and 23 among the top 10 in the nation. . . . A recent survey of professional school deans conducted at Columbia University ranks {University A} as one of the nation's leading universities in the quality of its graduate professional schools. It rated in the top 10 in 13 out of 18 areas surveyed.[7]

Department Mission--Faculty Development

In regard to faculty development, the mission of Department A and of University A in general is to develop and maintain a strong, behaviorally oriented department that will attract outstanding young scholars who are on the frontiers of the discipline in empirical studies. In pursuit of these goals, resident scholars are encouraged to participate in the activities and leadership of the American Political Science Association, and more importantly, to publish their research in the prestigious journals of the field. They also serve as professional referees to review manuscripts for these same journals. The senior members of the department set the intense work pace and high scholarly standards that are characteristic of the department. It is assumed that scholarly excellence, national eminence, and leadership in professional associations will enhance the department status within the field, within the university, and in competition for research funds from sources inside and outside the university.

Department Mission--Graduate Education

In regard to graduate education and training, the mission of Department A and of University A in general is to produce scholars with highly developed analytic skills and research techniques--especially in the mode of mainstream political science. The underlying premise is that the graduates from this department will be sought out by most

department's in the country, "since most desire at least one faculty member skilled in the latest empirical techniques."[8]

The department is also committed to providing the most promising graduate students with opportunities to participate in on-going research projects funded by research institutes or by special grants to individuals or small groups of scholars within the department. Students selected for participation in such research projects generally represent the department's "prototypical ideal." If their work on these projects meets with approval, they are given a "niche" in the department and the opportunity to be sponsored by one of the department "greats."

The Mission of University B

The mission of University B is to strive for the expansion of human knowledge--in order to improve society and to attain what is "good." This is accomplished through an emphasis on productive scholarship, on the individual scholar, and on the great philosophical questions and their theoretical implications. This attitude reflects a strong faith in intellectual freedom as a means of solving human problems. And hence part of University B's mission is to combat the enemies of intellectual freedom--ignorance, prejudice, injustice, brutality, mediocrity, self-satisfaction and stupidity. Within this mode of thought, not all research is considered "good." A collection of unrelated

insignificant information is open to question and derision. Above all, those who identify with this university subscribe to a standard of excellence. Nowhere is this more evident than in the type of faculty and administrators that are chosen. It is expected that each should be judged solely on the basis of his merits, promise, and contributions to his field of study. One former president suggested that the words of Charles the Bold and William the Silent be heeded: "It is not necessary to hope in order to undertake, nor to succeed in order to perservere."

Department Mission--Faculty Development

In regard to faculty development the mission of Department B is to seek out those scholars whose careers are defined intellectually in terms of the great contributions that could be made to social philosophy. Thus faculty members are sought whose outstanding scholarship and uncommon intelligence reflects a perspicacity and erudition grounded in classical and modern theorists of social thought.

Furthermore, it is expected that faculty members critically examine the theoretical implications of the larger questions facing present-day political and social science within their particular area of specialty. The accepted academic style at University B is one that emphasizes craftmanship and attention to detail, as well as the ability to argue one's case logically in an elegant

and articulate manner. Ideally, the goal of scholarship is to provide new directions for political and social science, as has been characteristic of the "greats" connected to Department B in the past.

In order to promote this kind of scholarship among its faculty, University B provides its faculty members a great deal of academic and personal freedom. Professors are free to choose subjects for research and easily obtain "leave" in order to pursue research projects off-campus, although usually they must obtain funding from outside sources. Faculty are also given a great deal of freedom in deciding what to teach. The university exercises little or no control over the curriculum or over course content. Relationships with graduate students are determined by the faculty member, without interference or direction of the department chairman or the university.

Department Mission--Graduate Education

In regard to graduate education and training, the mission of Department B and of University B in general is to develop the intellectual potential of neophyte scholars within a "seething inferno of ideas."[9] In order to become socialized within the department milieu, students are required to exercise entrepreneurship in relation to faculty and peers. This is particularly important because each student is rated against the other graduate students in the department when scholarship or fellowships are allocated

during faculty meetings. Therefore, early in his graduate training, a student must try to obtain a faculty sponsor who will support and defend him at faculty meetings.

Students must establish a reputation for erudition and scholarship in a very competitive and critical environment. This requires development of good analytic techniques and strong communication skills, both written and oral, as well as a general demonstration of confidence and ego strength that will not be shaken when the individual is subject to intense scrutiny about his work. Often, the development of a distinct personal style in one's approach to scholarship, coupled with a confident manner, must be undertaken without faculty support and with limited support from peers. When a student is able to pass through these "rites of passage" successfully, he or she will possibly gain some faculty recognition and psychological support and a sponsorship connection. The faculty attitude might be summed up in the words of one faculty member: "It is important to work intensely with a few students and maintain distance from most."[10]

Characteristics of Faculty Members Affecting Sponsorship Relations

In order to fully understand the tensions and problems found in faculty-student sponsorship relations, it is necessary to examine some of the important background characteristics

that have an influence on present-day attitudes and behavior. It is a contention of this study that a faculty member's own graduate training and his past experiences with faculty sponsors inevitably influence the relationships he forms with his own graduate students. Sponsorship relations are also affected by the personal and professional characteristics of the people involved.

All the faculty members in Department B and most of their colleagues in Department A obtained their graduate training in elite departments. The criteria for elite schools were similar to those established by the APSA.[11]

TABLE 19

FACULTY TRAINED IN ELITE GRADUATE DEPARTMENTS

Department A (N = 31)		Department B (N = 17)	
N	%N	N	%N
20	69%	17	100%

Individuals who did not have an elite graduate education, received their appointments to the department in one of two ways. Either they were part of the "old-guard" from the era before the behavioral revolution and were appointed because of the friendship their advisor had with the chairman of the department. Or, they obtained their position as a result of sponsorship by members of the research institutes who had an opportunity to evaluate their academic and analytic skills in the course of research projects.

However, a large majority of the faculty members in both departments had elite training.

Thus from their earliest professional training, the faculty members were socialized into the norms and role requirements of "elite" professional scholars. This elitism is also reflected in data obtained from faculty respondents concerning their graduate training and relationships with their advisor/sponsors. Three areas will be discussed: the degree of control exercised by the former sponsor/advisor over the respondent's dissertation and research, the benefits that the sponsor received from association with the respondent, and the sponsor's influence on the respondent's career. As the faculty respondents in Department A and B reported similar experiences with their former sponsors, the data from the two departments are combined (see Tables 20, 21, and 22).

Table 20 indicates that 76% of the faculty members received little or no supervision from their sponsors when they worked on their dissertations. The fact that they had so much autonomy in their own graduate work suggests that they probably expect their graduate students to work independently, with little supervision.

Another distinctive characteristic of the faculty members of both departments, especially those with elite graduate school educational experiences, was that their

TABLE 20

SPONSOR CONTROL OVER DISSERTATION AND RESEARCH
FACULTY EXPERIENCE

Departments A and B (N = 45)	N	%N
No control at all..................................	9	20%
Minimum consultation allowing almost complete student autonomy.................................	25	56%
Discussed draft of dissertation.....................	4	9%
Helped student shape work...........................	5	11%
Mold imposed by advisor.............................	1	2%
Collaborated with advisor...........................	1	2%
Total..	45	100%

TABLE 21

INFLUENCE OF THE SPONSOR/ADVISORS ON
FACULTY MEMBERS' CAREERS

Departments A and B (N = 48)	N	%N
Adopted similar view of political science...........	15	31%
Much influence persists............................	1	2%
Collaborator at present time........................	4	8%
Some influence persists............................	8	17%
Peer influence much more important..................	3	6%
No influence persists whatsoever....................	13	27%
Negative influence.................................	1	2%

(Totals serve no purpose in this table, since number of respondents indicated at top of table).

sponsors often were notables in political science or in a related social science. Many are still known as pioneers in the profession. Among those identified were David Riesman, Hayward Alker, Eric Erikson, Richard Snyder, Merle Fainsod, David Truman, Karl Deutsch, Sidney Verba, Heinz Eulau, Richard Sprague, and Robert Dahl.

Considering the tremendous influence that these scholars have had on the field of political science, one would expect them to have had considerable influence on the thinking and careers of their graduate students. However, when asked to what extent their advisors or sponsors had influenced their careers, the faculty respondents were quite ambiguous in their answers. While 15 of the 48 respondents (31%) claimed to have adopted a view of political science similar to that of their former sponsors, only one respondent acknowledged that "much influence persists" and only eight (17%) acknowledged that "some influence persists." Thirteen of the respondents (27%) even stated that "no influence persists whatsoever." It may be that faculty members were unwilling to acknowledge their professional debt to their former sponsors because of the very limited personal contact they had had with them. Perhaps this unwillingness also stemmed from a combination of professional pride and personal insecurity.

When asked whether their former sponsor/advisor had benefitted from association with them during their graduate training, the faculty from the two departments were again quite ambiguous in their answers. While 12 of the 42 respondents (29%) felt they had provided support for their sponsors' views, eight respondents (19%) felt they had provided no benefits whatsoever. Only six respondents (14%) felt they had provided constructive criticism or an interchange of ideas. Only 5% felt they had provided assistance in research, access to a wider range of literature, or companionship. When analyzed with the data from Table 21, the data from Table 22 suggests that the relationships between the faculty and their former sponsor/advisors had been much less beneficial and enjoyable than one might expect, given the context of the relationship and the high caliber of the people involved. If it is true that the faculty members' relationships with their former sponsors had been somewhat disappointing, then it is possible that this previous experience might have a negative influence on their relationships with their own graduate students. This speculation is interesting and might be noted when examining the distribution of ideal/ type sponsorship relationships in the next chapter.

TABLE 22

BENEFITS SPONSOR DERIVED IN ASSOCIATION WITH FACULTY MEMBERS DURING THEIR GRADUATE TRAINING

Departments A and B (N = 42)	N	%N
In the opinion of faculty respondents, they had provided the following benefits to their former graduate sponsors: Support for sponsor's views	12	29%
Ego flattery and professional recognition	6	14%
Constructive criticism and interchange of ideas	6	14%
Assistance in research	2	5%
Friendship and companionship	2	5%
Access to wider range of literature, particularly recent publications	2	5%
No benefits	8	19%

The characteristics of faculty members in Department A and B are also reflected in the criteria used by two departments for the selection of new faculty members. Tables 23 and 24 indicate characteristics that Department A considers desirable or undesirable for its faculty members. Tables 25 and 26 indicate characteristics that Department B considers desirable or undesirable for its faculty members.

TABLE 23

CHARACTERISTICS OF FACULTY SELECTED BY DEPARTMENT A[a] (N = 61)

Characteristics[b]	N	%N
Trained in elite department..........................	18	33%
Productive (publications high in both quality and quantity..	20	33%
Bright, hardworking, ambitious.......................	21	34%
Nationally known (among 3 or 4 best in subfield.......	19	31%
Conforms to prevailing ideology of department-- dedication to political science...................	11	18%
Known by some members of the department..............	11	18%

[a]The sample consisted of 30 faculty members and 31 graduate students in Department A.

[b]Respondents were asked to identify which characteristic they felt were most desirable for a candidate for a job in the department to have. Some respondents identified more than one characteristic as being significant.

TABLE 24

CHARACTERISTICS OF FACULTY REJECTED BY DEPARTMENT A[a] (N = 30)

Characteristic[b]	N	%N
Unproductive (does not publish enough)................	21	70%
Intellectual abilities insufficient; professional reputation and scholarly contributions insufficient	15	50%
Insufficient background in political science..........	7	23%
Lacks convictions and orderly mind....................	6	20%
Does not fit mode of traditional scholar..............	5	17%

[a]The sample consisted of 30 faculty members in Department A.

[b]Respondents were asked to identify which characteristic caused a candidate for a job in the department to be rejected. Some respondents identified more than one characteristic as being significant.

TABLE 25

CHARACTERISTICS OF FACULTY SELECTED BY DEPARTMENT B[a] (N = 40)

Characteristics[b]	N	%N
Professional characteristics:		
Has broad background and multiple competencies, grasps implications of words and actions	25	63%
Has theoretical orientation	18	45%
Known by some members of the department	7	18%
Nationally known in field	4	10%
Shows great promise of publications	6	15%
Personal characteristics:		
Has high standards of work; intellectual excellence	17	43%
Shows ego strength (confidence and good verbal skills)	8	20%
Young and ambitious	10	25%

[a]The sample consisted of 16 faculty members and 24 graduate students in Department B.

[b]Respondents were asked to identify which characteristics they felt were most desirable for a candidate for a job in the department to have. Some respondents identified more than one characteristic as being significant.

TABLE 26

CHARACTERISTICS OF FACULTY REJECTED BY DEPARTMENT B[a] (N = 16)

Characteristics[b]	N	%N
Lacks broad theoretical background; limited competencies; fails to grasp implications of words and actions	6	35%
Research lacks interest and value	3	19%
Lacks good verbal skills; cannot respond quickly and intelligently to faculty examination	7	45%
Arguments lack force and logic	4	25%

[a]The sample consisted of 16 faculty members of Department B.

[b]Respondents were asked to identify which characteristics caused a candidate for a job in the department to be rejected. Some respondents identified more than one characteristic as being significant.

The faculty members of both Departments A and B tend to evaluate their potential recruits on the basis of a model that they have determined for themselves. This model is not completely spelled out, but rather reflects a consensus of the numbers of each department on the general criteria they accept or reject in potential colleagues.

Tables 22-26 suggest that the two departments are quite similar in the general criteria they use in selecting new faculty. Both departments seem to favor candidates who show the following characteristics:

1. intellectual and scholarly excellence;
2. productivity--shows great promise of productive research;
3. nationally known in field or subfield;
4. fits mode of "traditional scholar"--shows ego strength, confidence, logic, good verbal skills;
5. known by some members of the department.

Another criteria that the two departments shared was the requirement that the candidate be the product of graduate training in an elite department. One-third of the respondents in Department A spontaneously emphasized the importance of elite training. The respondents from Department B did not spontaneously mention the importance of affiliation with an elite graduate department. However, when I questioned several members of Department B about this omission, they stated that a candidate without the graduate training would not be considered.

Another similarity was that both departments expect potential candidates to conform to what they consider to be their prevailing intellectual orientation. Department A focuses on those issues generally considered within the purview of mainstream political science, emphasizing empirical analysis and the application of sophisticated methodological techniques to their data. On the other hand, Department B has a more eclectic approach to research. They accept some candidates with an orientation to mainstream political

science, others in related disciplines, while still others with a strong background in western philosophical thought and its implications on the "great" questions facing political and social science. This difference is reflected in the two following statements. The first was made by a member of Department A, the second by a member of Department B:

> He must have technical training and relate that training to intellectual interests. He must be able to deal with the substantive material of political science. An elite school connection is necessary, particularly Yale.[12]

> He or she can't be good at just one thing. The candidate must see the relationship to other things, be theoretically sophisticated. . . . The recruits must demonstrate in writings and personal presentation that they have depth, breath and sophistication and can think fast on their feet. They also must have the ego strength to withstand the department ordeal, demonstrating confidence and intelligence to do well despite problems. Those recruits who do not know where they come from and the direction their inquiry might lead often fail to get the import of the range of questions that are thrown at them by the faculty members. Such candidates are rejected.[13]

Characteristics of Graduate Students

This section on the characteristics of graduate students will focus on three areas: (1) the undergraduate university background, (2) the students' expectations of graduate training, and (3) their estimation of whether their expectations had been fulfilled. While many other characteristics could be identified, the main purpose of the discussion was to identify the characteristic often recognized by academics that

might affect the development of faculty--student sponsorship relationships.

All of the students interviewed had spent three or more years in the graduate program. Therefore it is important to note that most of those students who did not like the program after the first year or who were judged unsuitable by the department had dropped out by this time. It is also assumed that these graduate students met the minimum qualifications for department admission as specified in the APSA Guide to Graduate Study (1971).[14]

Therefore, it is useful to look at the common background--the type of undergraduate education the student received, whether in an elite or non-elite college or university. The supposition was made that students who received their undergraduate education in an "elite" college or university had developed approaches to scholarship and socialization attitudes that aided them to integrate themselves within the culture of the graduate department. It was in fact found that such training aided their role socialization as graduate students. Table 27 compares the percentage of the graduate students who had received elite and non-elite undergraduate educations.

TABLE 27

UNDERGRADUATE BACKGROUND OF STUDENT RESPONDENTS[a]

Status of undergraduate school attended	University A (N = 31)		University B (N = 24)	
	N	%N	N	%N
Elite college or university[b]......	12	39%	10	42%
Non-elite college or university...	19	61%	14	58%

[a]The sample consisted of 55 respondents--31 graduate students in Department A and 24 graduate students in Department B, who had been in the graduate program for three years or more.

[b]The classification of undergraduate school as "elite" or "non-elite" was based on the classifications noted in Table 9. (The top 14 schools in several surveys.)

The table reveals that 61% of the student respondents in Department A and 58% of those in Department B are products of non-elite undergraduate college or university. This confirms the findings of Ladd and Lipset (reported in chapter 2) that the best undergraduates are not attracted to graduate political science programs.[15]

A non-elite background puts incoming graduate students at a serious disadvantage. They will have had no pre-graduate school socialization to the behaviors characteristic of an elite department. For example, in elite departments, students are expected to manage their own educations with a minimum of encouragement or guidance from the faculty. In contrast, the undergraduate programs in non-elite

colleges and universities are often student-centered and faculty members are expected to develop on-going relationships with their students, often at the expense of research time and time needed to prepare publications. Thus the behavioral expectations of students from these schools will probably be at odds with the situation prevailing in the graduate department.[16]

Students from non-elite backgrounds are also at a disadvantage in terms of faculty expectations. Since a majority of the faculty members were products of elite graduate departments (69% of faculty sample in Department A, and 100% of the faculty sample in Department B,) they tended to evaluate the incoming graduate students according to elitist standards. Students with undergraduate degrees from elite universities were generally favored over those with degrees from non-elite universities. This is illustrated by a comment of a graduate student who spoke of the Swarthmore honors background she shared with her faculty sponsor. He in turn "took her under his wing" when he was made aware of their similar antecedents. In contrast, students with non-elite backgrounds felt that the faculty tended to look down on them as coming from inferior schools and as having an inferior preparation for the graduate program.

In a nationwide study of graduate students, one of the problems that Hartnett identified was that students' expectations of graduate school were very different from they actually encountered.[17] This problem was also evident in the graduate student sample that I studied (see Table 28).

TABLE 28

STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING GRADUATE SCHOOL[a]

Expectations of graduate school[b]	N	%N
Place to do original research and receive intellectual stimulation	25	46%
Place where a close personal relationship with professors would develop	17	32%
Hard work	14	30%
Extension of undergraduate experience	6	11%
No expectations	8	15%

[a]The sample consisted of 54 graduate students from Departments A and B. The findings for the two groups were similar and therefore were combined.

[b]Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The majority of the graduate students surveyed had expected the graduate program to be student-centered. This seems to be the general expectation among most undergraduate students. The actual role that the graduate student would

have to adopt was not made clear in any of the literature provided by the departments or by their pre-graduate school socialization experiences.

The same graduate students were later asked to what extent graduate school had fulfilled their expectations (see Table 29). Fifty-two percent of the students felt that graduate school had fulfilled their expectations (30% after the first year). However, 43% felt that graduate school had not fulfilled their expectations. This suggests that many students were disappointed by graduate school and that their expectations of graduate school may have been unrealistic. A major source of disappointment may be that many students (32% of those surveyed) expected to develop close relationships with their professors. However, statements by both faculty members and graduate students in the two departments indicate that close faculty-student relationships are much rarer than one would expect (see pp.122).

Professional Socialization Practices in the Department

Professional socialization is a continuous process that persists throughout the career of the professional. This process is conceived of as a series of developmental tasks that each member of a group must perform in order to fulfill his role according to the "organizational mode."

TABLE 29

EXTENT TO WHICH STUDENTS' EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING GRADUATE SCHOOL WERE FULFILLED[a]

Expectations of graduate school were:	N	%N
Well fulfilled....................................	12	22%
Well fulfilled after first year......................	16	30%
Not fulfilled at all................................	21	39%
Changed for the worse..............................	2	4%
No answer..	3	5%

[a]The sample consisted of 54 graduate students from Departments A and B. The findings for the two groups were similar and therefore were combined.

In the case of the academic department mission (discussed in chapter 3). Both faculty members and graduate students are continually affected by the distinctive socialization tasks demanded of them and their personal satisfaction and group rewards are dependent on their performance of them.

In this section I will discuss the role tasks that faculty and graduate students are required to perform and the problems they face as they attempt to fulfill their role requirements. These problems and the adjustments that faculty and graduate students must make in order to solve them constitute the organizational framework for the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships.

Role Socialization Tasks of Faculty Members

In the elite departments being discussed, professional socialization practices are directed toward fostering the growth and enhancement of the professional reputation of the young and promising scholar. To this end, status is accorded to persons whose publications receive positive critical acclaim from notable colleagues inside and outside the department. This status is further enhanced as he continues to be productive and performs his teaching responsibilities and departmental chores with style and "penache." The rewards of successful professional socialization include promotions, tenure, and salary increases. In addition, colleague esteem and recognition both within the department and nationally can also be a means of access to research funds. The values that are emphasized in the status socialization of faculty members are those derived from the national culture of political science, discussed in chapter 2.

To insure conformity to the socialization tasks that are organizationally prescribed for the faculty members, a series of rewards are given to the members as they move through the hierarchial strata of the department. If the faculty member is hired at the assistant or associate professor level, his contract is extended until a year

before the department and the university administration must make a decision whether the faculty member is to be promoted and offered tenure. There are a limited number of tenure "slots" allocated to each department and its various subfields. Therefore, in the early years of his sojourn in the department, the faculty member must develop his professional reputation, both within the department and in the national profession, as one of the outstanding scholars in his particular subfield. The principal means of achieving such recognition and prestige is through extensive publication.

In recent years, faculty members associated with research institutes without teaching responsibilities have often been denied tenure despite the relatively high rank and salary they might attain. Thus their continued stay in the university is largely dependent upon the receipt of sufficient research funds and grants to maintain their research projects.

The faculty socialization process within the department occurs in a series of developmental stages.[18] Upon appointment, each scholar must perform some productive scholarly tasks that will enable him to move to the next stage and on up the ladder to the rank of full professor, with the tenure and salary that accompany that rank. As

the academic system grows smaller, the availability of tenure slots decreases and competition for the desirable positions increases.

As faculty members survey their role tasks, time limitations prove to be very crucial both in establishing priorities and in developing relationships with graduate students. The departments recognize this factor and support research opportunities for their faculty members, especially when they are recipients of outside grants. Furthermore, the departments tend to discourage informal relationships with graduate students. Office hours are limited and most professors are not encouraged to meet socially with graduate students or participate in functions with them. Thus faculty-student relationships tend to develop in a somewhat instrumental fashion. Since the faculty members represent an elite group of persons, they tend to be quite selective in the number and quality of students with whom they develop relationships. They tend to seek out students whose skills or interests coincide with or complement their own, professional benefits. Hence, a faculty member's relationship with colleagues and graduate students must serve both scholarly purposes and interpersonal needs simultaneously.

When asked to identify problems that faculty members face in developing relationships with graduate students, almost all respondents complained that there were too many

graduate students registered in the department. Time limitations were such that only a limited number of students could be sponsored effectively. The limited market for Ph.D.s and time and effort required to place graduate students also discouraged faculty from developing sponsorship relations.

In both Departments A and B, faculty members were quite definite about their expectations of graduate students. Tables 30 and 31 summarize their comments.

Tables 30 and 31 indicate that faculty expectations in both departments are for outstanding graduate students who will conform to the "organizational mode." Furthermore, a department's reputation and standing in the national profession and a faculty member's own credibility seemed to depend upon sponsoring only <u>quality</u> graduate students. The general quality of their graduate students concerned many faculty members. This concern is reflected in the following statements made by some of the faculty members interviewed:

> Most students are not good, and the greatest difficulty is to try to make them good. Many do not meet department standards in the quality of their work.

> The major difficulty arises in developing good academic relations when you don't like the students, find them uninteresting and boring, and have no empathy for their theoretical interests or objectives.

In both Departments A and B, faculty members were quite definite about their expectations of graduate students. Tables 30 and 31 summarize their comments.

TABLE 30

FACULTY MEMBERS' EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR GRADUATE STUDENTS[a]
DEPARTMENT A (N = 30)

Graduate students should . . .	N	%N
Clearly define their problems	20	66%
Be conscientious and hardworking	20	66%
Develop general skills	19	63%
Develop independence	17	57%
Develop skills and expertise in data analysis	13	43%
Think and write clearly	8	27%
Be committed to research	8	27%

[a]Most respondents gave multiple responses.

TABLE 31

FACULTY MEMBERS' EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR GRADUATE STUDENTS[a]
DEPARTMENT B (N = 17)

Graduate students should . . .	N	%N
Work on significant projects	17	100%
Show theoretical imagination	17	100%
Do original work	16	94%
Be self-motivated	15	88%
Clearly define problems	14	86%
Demonstrate craftsmanship	14	86%
Develop skills	11	65%
Work on macro problems	10	59%

[a]Most respondents gave multiple responses.

> A general conflict of interest exists between student and advisor. Students are unwilling to make a commitment to scholarship to the same extent as the faculty member. They are unwilling or unable to engage in rigorous interchange with the faculty member.
>
> Tensions between students and faculty members arise over evaluation standards. Students are often unwilling to take criticism and perform in the acceptable professional mode. This is often true when dealing with minority students.

If the students are considered inferior, there is no department norm in either department requiring that the faculty member provide anything more than minimum attention. In fact, it was generally acknowledged by the faculty members interviewed that students considered inferior often remained unsponsored. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter when I show how these problems give rise to the various types of sponsorship relationships.

Role Socialization Tasks of Graduate Students

The primary role socialization tasks of graduate students are (1) to individually and collectively evaluate the formal and informal requirements of the graduate program; and (2) to develop the knowlege, skills, attitudes, and behavior required to fulfill those requirements. Graduate students must also follow the role model of the "ideal" scholar, which Jacob Neusner has described as follows:

> Four traits of mind characterize the scholar, young or old, and none can be taught, but only exemplified. The first is holy simplicity, the desire to rethink important propositions and to ask how they work and why we have been compelled to accede to them. The second is the capacity to take important intellectual initiatives, to ask questions in addition to accepting answers, to want to know not only what is known, but also something others have never asked. The third is the complete engagement with the work, the entire devotion to the task, to the exclusion of all else, at the moment of the doing of the work--which we may reduce to one word: concentration. The fourth is love for the work, therefore the finding, in what one is doing, of the full and whole meaning of life.[19]

Neusner suggests that not all people who aspire to be scholars, whether faculty members or graduate students, possess the qualities characteristic of the ideal that he identifies. Yet despite such deficiencies, students who have completed a substantial portion of their graduate training must develop viable relationships with peers and faculty members. These relationships provide a valuable stimulus for intellectual and personal growth and a vital linkage to professional networks, both within the department and in the national profession.

My discussion of the specific role socialization tasks of graduate students will focus on the following two questions: (1) What characteristics of graduate students affect their role socialization and their ability to develop sponsorship relationships; and (2) what types of strategies

enable students effective sponsorship relationships?

Incoming graduate students generally enter the program in the company of a number of cohorts. They are distinguished from their classmates by race, sex, and undergraduate alma mater and by the type of student aid they receive. For example, a minority woman student from an undistinguished undergraduate department who has received a scholarship designated for minorities will probably be received somewhat skeptically by faculty. Making a poor first impression on faculty members creates a serious handicap for students as they struggle to establish themselves in the department. This process would be easier if there were a faculty member who acts as a "role model" and takes the newcomer under his or her wing. However, faculty members rarely extend this kind of help to new graduate students, particularly those who are considered "inferior." In contrast, the white male graduate student from an elite undergraduate program, with an awareness of some of the demands placed on graduate students, is received more enthusiastically by the faculty members, although he eventually must prove himself worthy of their attention.

Although first impressions do influence the faculty's appraisal of a graduate student, it is ultimately the

student's performance on the formal and informal tasks of graduate training that determine how he or she is "rated." These tasks include acquisition of the knowledge, skills, and work habits necessary to be a productive scholar in the field, and the development of strong written and oral communication skills.

Individually and collectively, the task of incoming graduate students is to determine the most effective means for getting through the graduate program. While department brochures list the formal requirements of the graduate program, the students must themselves make contact with older classmates and faculty advisors who will be willing to "teach them the ropes." In the case of the two departments studied, one of the most voiced complaints was that the departments had not developed effective socialization procedures for incoming students. Although incoming students are assigned to an advisor, all he or she is required to do is to help students work out a class schedule and to answer questions about the mechanics of the program. Older cohorts are generally not part of a departmental mechanism to help socialize newcomers.

Another problem faced by incoming students is the general lack of a core program that presents an overview of

the field of political science. Most of the graduate classes in the two departments focus on specialized topics and do not survey all the subfields or even present a complete view of one subfield. Many faculty members expect students to be familiar with the literature of the "greats" of political science and with the prevailing methodologies. They also expect the students to perform at a high level of competence. Yet neither department offers an effective remedial program to aid less-prepared graduate students to cope with the demands of the program.

If students are given teaching or research assistantships, the faculty get to know their work better. However, students from non-elite backgrounds are less likely to be given such assignments. Consequently, their only opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge and capabilities is through their coursework and their performance in class.

This dependence on personal entreprenurship produces a great deal of anxiety, especially for the students of Department B. In that department, scholarships and other department rewards are given to students who rank highest in the opinion of the faculty members. Each graduate student is forced to compete with his peers. The intense competition among students makes them much less willing to help or support their peers.

Among the specific problems that the graduate students identified concerning the development of sponsorship relationships were:

1. Faculty members were often unavailable to students. They were preoccupied with their research, kept limited office hours, and were often absent from campus.

2. Faculty members tended to talk down to students and generally showed little interest in their work or in them as people.

3. Faculty members were unwilling to sponsor students until the students had "proved" themselves by department standards. Students without faculty sponsors felt isolated.

Thus from the time they first enter the graduate program, students must build their academic reputation and meet department approval in order to develop sponsorship connections and to obtain appointments to research or teaching assistantships. Without these connections and this involvement in department activities, students find it difficult to successfully complete the graduate program and to later find a position in the field.

The growth of sponsorship relationships often follows the developmental phases that the student experiences during the graduate training program. The first year is generally a trial period for both graduate students and members of the department. If the students do not have a well-defined interest prior to entering the program, they often flounder

during the first year, especially since neither the department offers a core curriculum or a series of required courses or formal socialization procedures. Some students take a variety of courses in the hope of finding an interesting area in which to specialize. The disadvantage of this approach is that it makes students feel "rootless" and without direction; many students even experience emotional crises. As a result, they tend to feel inhibited in the classroom and in their work. Professors often ignore these students, which compounds their problems. If peer support is weak, many of the students drop out of the program without experiencing any sponsorship connection. Those who manage to survive and who complete the first year often go into the second year with a better awareness of what is expected of them. The situation is particularly difficult for members of minority groups. If there is no faculty member to identify with or relate to, these students often form supportive peer groups which socialize their members in the "collective minority view." Although these minority peer groups help the students feel more secure, they often impede the development of sponsorship relationships with non-minority faculty members. The situation affecting minority students was described by both non-minority faculty members and minority students themselves in interviews.

For students who have developed interest areas, the first few years in the program are spent developing and implementing strategies that will build sponsorship connections with particular professors or research institutes. Through peer interaction in the two departments there develops a collective notion of what qualities are valued by the faculty members.

TABLE 32

GRADUATE STUDENTS' VIEW OF CHARACTERISTICS VALUED BY FACULTY MEMBERS (N = 55)[a]

Characteristics[b]	N	%N
Subservience--willingness to conform to professional norms and to show intellectual and social deference to faculty	31	55%
Intellectual ability	26	47%
Good verbal skills	18	33%
Autonomy and self-motivation	17	31%
Good critical and analytic skills	17	31%
Good quantitative skills	14	25%
Good social style and compatible personality	11	20%

[a]The sample consisted of graduate students from both Departments A and B. Their responses were similar and therefore were combined.

[b]Many respondents identified more than one characteristic as being significant.

What types of strategies enable students to develop effective sponsorship relationships? One of the most common strategies is for a student to single out a particular professor whose academic and personal interests coincide with

his own and with whom he would like to develop a sponsorship relationship. The student then tries to arrange an introduction with the professor through a classmate, another professor, or a mutual friend. If this is not possible, the student takes a seminar with the professor or applies for a research assistantship or other staff work in the professor's subfield. After making this initial contact with the professors, the student's next task is to attract the professor's attention through demonstration of high-quality work, interest in the professor's area or subfield, and desirable personal qualities (self-confidence, independence, high motivation, etc.) This process often takes several years. If the professor takes an interest in the student, he might demonstrate it by supporting the student in a conflict with another faculty member or by recommending the student for a research of teaching assistantship or for a scholarship. In any case, the student continues to seek out situations and opportunities that allow him to demonstrate how important and useful he could be to the professor and his projects.

Some students even resort to deceptive tactics in order to attract a professor's attention and interest. For example, one student rewrote his master's thesis as a seminar paper. The perspicacity and quality of the paper so pleased

the professor that he reportedly stated: "This is the best study on the subject that I have ever read." The professor was so impressed by the student that he even asked the student to take the seminar again in order to continue the intellectual interchange between them. Shortly after, the professor came to the student's defense when the student had some serious conflicts with other faculty members.

Another common strategy is for a group of students to form a circle of junior colleagues around a particular professor in a research institute. Through hard work and cooperative efforts, they demonstrate their value to him. He rewards them with additional fellowships, opportunities to collaborate on articles and books, and help in finding top positions after they received their Ph.D. The team of students also functioned as a sponsorship network, both in graduate school and later in professional life.

It is significant that students generally sought sponsorship relationships with professors in their subfield who had outstanding reputations both within the department and in the national profession. The students would therefore be able to take advantage of the professor's connections to notables in the field and to research funds.

Faculty members are not required to develop sponsorship relations with graduate students. If they fulfill their functions as advisors, that generally is sufficient to meet

department requirements. Whether a faculty member develops sponsorship relationships with his students depends upon several factors. One factor is the stage of his career. Young faculty members tend to be preoccupied with gaining recognition in the department and in the field in order to obtain promotions, tenure, or offers from other schools. They often do not have time or the interest to develop sponsorship relations. Similarly, older faculty members in the pre-retirement stage may not be interested in taking on the responsibility of sponsorship relationships. Or perhaps their influence in the profession may have waned making them less desirable sponsors.

Another factor influencing sponsorship relationships is whether the professor is part of a research team or institute where the needs for student assistants are constant. In such cases, sponsorship relationships becomes an important element in the research effort. Other factors influencing a professor's choice whether to develop sponsorship relationships are the availability of students with mutual interests and desirable intellectual and personal qualities and the availability of time to develop and maintain sponsorship relationships.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the department as workplace has been studied--its physical organization, its affiliation with

research institutes, its "mission," and its socialization practices. For all these factors influence the development of sponsorship relationships.

The chapter has shown how the life in the department is directed by its culture--the norms, values, and accepted modes of behavior supported by the membership. The concept of mission is used to epitomize the culture. Utilizing data provided by the universities and by faculty and student respondents, mission statements have been formulated for each of the two departments studied. The department's mission reflects the norms of elite academic culture and of the national political science culture. These factors, along with the characteristics of faculty and graduate students influence the socialization practices of the department and how each group deals with the socialization demands placed on it. Sponsorship relationships serve as a socialization mechanism within departments and help faculty members and graduate students fulfill their socialization tasks. However, not all faculty and graduate students are able to develop sponsorship relationships. Some faculty members do not have the time or interest to develop such relationships. And many students do not have the qualities and skills necessary to attract a professor's attention and interest him in developing such a relationship.

It is a contention of this study that sponsorship relationships develop on a continuum and that at various stages along the continuum, particular patterns can be discerned. The next chapter will focus on specific types of sponsorship relationships and how they operate.

CHAPTER 4

A CLASSIFICATION SCHEME FOR FACULTY-STUDENT SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

In the previous chapters of this study, I have discussed factors that influence the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships. These factors include the political and economic climate affecting academic life during a particular time period, the values and norms of elite academic culture and of the national political science culture and socialization practices within the individual problems and tensions facing faculty members and graduate students as they pursue their different goals.

The development of a sponsorship relationships depends upon many individual and organizational factors that must coalesce during a particular time period. The data collected in the interviews indicate that the relationships vary from intense, personal collaborations to superficial, infrequent advisor-advisee contacts. Some students have no relationships with faculty members or such tenuous ones that they drop out before the Ph.D. According to administrators of Departments A and B, more than half the students that begin the program drop out. Of course not all of these students drop out for lack of sponsorship. However, it is interesting

to note that the four students I interviewed who did not have sponsors said that they probably would not complete the program.

The different patterns that emerged in the analysis of the data suggested that the concept of "ideal type" would be a useful way to classify the relationships. By "ideal type," I am referring to a mental construct or idea comprised of a configuration of attributes or traits derived from the empirical world, but somewhat distinctive from it. The particular traits or characteristics are chosen and emphasized because of their apparent interdependence and theoretical significance and because they seem to represent significant dimensions of the ideal type. While these types are presented in "pure" form, it is to be understood that they do not occur in the empirical world in this fashion. The value of ideal type to this study is that it provides a model to measure and compare the varying empirical occurrences in the two departments studied.[1]

Sources of the "Ideal Types" Used in the Study

During the interviews with the faculty and graduate students of Departments A and B, two factors became evident. First, all sponsorship relationships had elements in common. Second, the relationships vary considerably. Therefore, the research task was to identify the common elements and try to explain the variations.

Initially, each respondent was asked to identify the graduate student or faculty member with whom he or she had developed a sponsorship relationship within the department. Each relationship mentioned was classified separately. Hence, one faculty member could have several relationships, and these relationships could differ sufficiently for them to be classified as different types.

The response to the questions asked of the faculty and student samples were coded, collated, and analyzed (see Appendix). What emerged were five general issue areas which reflected the problems encountered by the respondents. How the participants reconciled these problems determined how the relationships were classified.

Two independent judges were asked to test the "reliability" of my classification of particular relationships as one or another of the "ideal-types". They were provided with the criteria I used to classify them--described as "Issues Affecting Sponsorship Relations" in the next section, and all of the original questions and responses that related to sponsorship relationships (provided in the Appendix). Each participant was only identified by a number. The reliability coefficient that resulted from this classification was .8.

Issues Affecting Sponsorship Relationships

1. How is Sponsor Power and Control exercised?

1-1. Research situation--Does the student participate in a research institute in a large project, in a seminar established by one or more faculty members, in a team with a faculty member, or in an independent project with minimum faculty guidance and control?

1-2. Financial aid--What is the role of the sponsor in providing scholarship funds or research or teaching assistantships? Is financial aid provided as part of a particular project or as part of a fellowship? Why do some students receive financial aid and others not?

1-3. Role model--What role model does the sponsor-advisor represent to the student? Is he an independent scholar, an entrepreneurial research manager or part of a scholarly team engaged in research? Do his career concerns focus on activities of his local university, or is he concerned with the national community of political science as a "cosmpolitan"?[2]

1-4. Professional opportunities before Ph.D.--What opportunities are provided to the student? Joint authorship, participation at national professional meetings, strategic introductions? Or are they generally unavailable?

1-5. Placement after Ph.D.--What is the range of behavior that might be expected? Intensive efforts (many phone calls and letters to friends for jobs or postdoctoral opportunities), some efforts (some letters and phone calls); or limited effort (general reliance on department placement service)?

2. How is student autonomy demonstrated?

2-1. Department culture--Does the department culture and accepted normative framework encourage student independence?

2-2. Student peer relations--Does the department culture support or inhibit the growth and development of student-peer relations through formal or informal processes? Or does the department utilize a system of ranking students against each other that promotes student isolation from peers and encouraged competition rather than cooperation among cohorts?

2-3. Professional identity--How does a student develop his professional identity? Does he develop it through association with a master professor and his ideas: through affiliation with a research institute or a particular project? Or is it strictly a product of a student's own intellectual growth and production?

3. Do the participants in a relationship develop an emotional bond between them? Or is the relationship friendly but distant and impersonal?

4. How frequently do participants in the relationship communicate? Are the meetings formal or informal? Do the meetings represent part of an on-going collaborative effort or are they limited to monitoring the student's progress or dealing with specific student problems? What specific factors encourage or discourage communication?

5. What specific reciprocal benefits do the sponsorship relationships provide the participants? What particular needs does a sponsorship relationship fulfill for the faculty member's needs?

5. What specific reciprocal benefits do the sponsorship relationships provide the participants? What particular needs does a sponsorship relationship fulfill for the faculty member's needs?

The primary source of the ideal types used in the discussion was the data provided by respondents. However, information was also taken from various other sources cited in earlier chapters. These sources included literature from Political Science from the subfield of careers and professions, from higher education, and from sociology. The analysis of this information lead to the identification of four ideal types:

(1) Master/Disciple; (2) Patron/Client; (3) Mentor/Student; and (4) Bureaucratic/Instrumental.

In the next section, the distribution of the ideal types in the two departments will be discussed. Then, in succeeding sections, each type will be discussed in depth, with particular attention given to the following points: (1) distribution of the type within the sample; (2) sources and characteristics of the ideal type, (3) how the issues are resolved in this type, (4) examples in the sample that illustrate this type, (5) advantages and disadvantages to participants in this type of relationship, and (6) variations within the type.

Table 33 summarizes the distribution of the types of sponsorship relationships identified in the sample.

Distribution of Types Within the Sample

Each respondent was asked to name the faculty members or graduate students with whom he or she was associated. Each questionnaire was examined in terms of how the respondent described his or her sponsorship relationship. If anyone indicated that he or she had a sponsorship relationship, it was counted and classified according to the criteria specified in the following discussion of ideal types. If it was possible to interview all participants in a given relationship and they seemed to agree in their opinion of

TABLE 33

DISTRIBUTION OF IDEAL-TYPE SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS IN TWO DEPARTMENTS[a]

Type of relationship identified and confirmed[b]	Master/Disciple		Patron/Client		Mentor/Student		Bureaucratic/ Instrumental		Total	
	N	%N	N	%N	N	%N	N	%N	N	%N
Relationships identified in Department A	1	2%	13	30%	20	47%	9	21%	43	100%
Relationships identified in Department B	1	4%	8	28%	14	50%	5	18%	28	100%
Relationships identified (combined total for Departments A and B	2	2%	21	30%	34	48%	14	20%	71	100%
Relationships confirmed by all participants Departments A and B	0	0%	14	42%	14	42%	5	15%	33	46%
Relationships confirmed by faculty only[c] Departments A and B	0	0%	2	10%	13	65%	5	25%	20	28%
Relationships confirmed by students only Departments A and B	2	18%	4	36%	2	18%	3	27%	11	15%
Disagreement as to existence or type of relationship	0	0%	1	14%	5	71%	1	14%	7	10%

[a]The sample consisted of 31 faculty members and 33 graduate students in Department A and 17 faculty members and 24 graduate students in Department B.

[b]Four of the graduate students interviewed said they were unsponsored. Their lack of a sponsorship relationship was confirmed by other respondents in their department.

[c]Some relationships remained unconfirmed for one of two reasons: (1) one of the participants was unavailable for interview or (2) one of the participants questioned the existence of the relationship or disagreed with the classification proposed by another participant.

the relationship, the relationship was considered "confirmed."

Some relationships remained unconfirmed for one of two reasons: (1) one of the participants was unavailable for interview (2) one of the participants questioned the existence of the relationship or disagreed with the classification proposed by another participant. Relationships identified by faculty only or by students only are indicated in Table 33. The last item in the table indicates cases where there was disagreement as to the existence or type of relationship. It is important to note that while there were 31 cases where relationships were unconfirmed, there were only 7 cases (9% of the total sample) of disagreement concerning the existence or type of relationship. Hence the lack of confirmation was in most cases due to the unavailability of one of the participants.

As was mentioned earlier, many faculty members and graduate students were off-campus at the time the interviews were conducted. In some cases, the graduate students continued to communicate with their faculty sponsors by letter or telephone. In other cases, the relationship was suspended until both participants were back on campus.

Four of the graduate students interviewed said they were unsponsored. Their lack of sponsorship relationship was confirmed by other respondents in their department. It

is interesting to note that these four students were either women or minority students. Women and minority students were also involved in most of the cases where faculty members denied the existence of a sponsorship relationship suggested by a student.

The Master/Disciple Relationship

1. Distribution (see Table 33)

   Only one student in each department fell into this category. Their faculty advisors were unable to be interviewed since both were "on leave" in different parts of the country.

2. Sources and Characteristics

   The earliest forms of teaching and learning in written records were of the master who attracted followers or disciples. This type of approach was institutionalized in the European universities of the nineteenth century. This format in turn influenced the development of the American graduate program. The terms "mastership" and "discipleship" seemed to be characteristic of faculty-student relationships. Lawrence Veysey describes the typical faculty-student relationship of this period as follows:

   > In the school of research . . . professor and students should be co-workers and mutually assist each other. From such comradeship, that intangible something is transmitted from person to person by association and contact, but cannot be written or

> spoken--we may term it inspiration or personal magnetism, or perhaps the radium of the soul--is acquired by the student in a greater degree than at any previous time in his life after leaving the caressing arms of his mother.[9]

Several factors have inhibited the development of such relationships: the increased size and scale of the research university, the rapid expansion of knowledge and resulting need for increased specialization, and the growing number of students entering graduate programs. Also, as the society becomes more egalitarian, "masters" are not readily accepted.

3. How issues are resolved

As indicated in Table 33, the master/disciple relationship is relatively rare in the academic world of the 1970's. Characteristic of this relationship is an intense emotional and intellectual connection between the "master" professor and his students. In some cases, the "master" conceives of founding a "school" based on his distinctive approach to his subfield. The master serves as a role model for his students and his theories and values have a strong impact on his students' work and whole career. Student initiative and autonomy, particularly in the intellectual sphere, is limited to the implementation and promotion of the master's ideas. Communication frequency varies, although the students generally find ways to involve themselves with the master by performing

needed tasks for him, both in and outside of class. Besides receiving the services of his students, the master is also assured that his ideas will be promoted and advanced in their work when they begin their professional career. Generally the relationship extends beyond the Ph.D.

4. Examples

One professor, who was a native of Germany, mentioned that the discipleship relation was so expected in his German university that he opted for an American university position. This was to avoid the almost certain subordinate status, both intellectually and socially, that he would have had to assume in relationship to the current occupant of the "chair" in his chosen field.

One student identified his relationship with his sponsor as master/disciple:

> He shaped and guided my professional training, made crucial introductions, got financial aid and pushed for me to teach a senior-level course in our area specialty . . . I emulate his values and study the way he achieved his position in the field.

5. Advantages and disadvantages of master/disciple type

Among the advantages of the master/disciple relationship is the personal security gained through connection with a "great man" and with a recognized intellectual tradition. Another important advantage is that the master can use

his prestige and connections in the field to help find jobs for his disciples and to promote their careers.

Among the disadvantages of this type of relationship is that the connection to the master is sometimes "eternal" and colleagues in the field will refuse to recognize the disciple-turned-professional as an independent thinker. Hence the "disciple's" personal master. Animosities felt by colleagues or outsiders toward the "master" will be transferred to the disciples. Finally, if there is a break with the "master," the disciple often experiences intense psychological turmoil and guilt. The disciple's professional career might even founder, since it is based so entirely on connections with the master.

<u>The Patron/Client Relationship</u>

1. Distribution (see Table 33)

Of the 71 relationships identified, 21 (or 30%) were classified as the patron/client type. However, only 14 of these relationships were confirmed by all participants. In six cases, the relationships were not confirmed due to the unavailability of one of the participants.

There was only one case of disagreement. In this case, the professor identified the relationship as the patron/client type, while the student identified it as more the

the bureaucratic/instrumental type. The student felt that his affiliation with the university was far more important for his research and for future job opportunities. The professor, on the other hand, seemed to feel a strong commitment to the student because the student in question was a member of a minority group. He even stated that he was committed to "getting the minority student through his dissertation line by line to make sure it is high quality work."

2. Sources and characteristics

The patron/client relationship and the concept of "patronage" are frequently referred to in the field of sociology. Alex Weingrod has characterized the patron/client relationship as follows:

> Patronage is founded on the reciprocal relations between patrons and clients. By patron I mean a person who uses his influence and in return provides certain services for his patron. . . . Patronage is thus the complex of relations between those who use their influence, social position or some other attribute to assist and protect others, and whom they so help and protect.[4]

In order for a faculty member to be able to exercise patronage effectively, he must meet certain requirements: First, he must, as Gouldner put it, be a "cosmopolitan."[5] He must be part of a professional network that extends beyond the confines of the research university. In the field of political science, this network includes the officers of the APSA, the members of the council of the

APSA, and the members of the various committees that evaluate grant proposals for such prestigious groups as the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, etc. The network also includes notables in the field who are elected to honorary societies, such as the National Academy of Science. Notables in the field are often listed in _PS_, the political science quarterly, as recipients of important grants. Second, the patron must have at his disposal such resources as paid staff positions on research projects, research assistantships, and fellowships. Through his connections, he often learns of opportunities available to his graduate students, such as publication of articles or presentation of papers at professional meetings before they complete the Ph.D. His recommendation or collaboration with him on a paper or article can be an invaluable aid to the student's professional career. Third, the patron must be willing and able to use his connections in the field to help place his new Ph.D. graduates in positions where the competition is extensive.

The role of the student in the patron/client relationship was described by one student as follows:

> The qualities most valued in a graduate student are the willingness to be a client--the more zealously you attach the more valuable you are. Also, intellectual capacity manifested in verbal quickness and elegance and seriousness on the moral implications of questions. (Student, Department B.)

3/4. How the issues are resolved/examples

The patron/client relationship is an intense reciprocal relation between sponsor and student or students, where the parties are engaged in a joint enterprise. It is difficult to differentiate the master/disciple relationship from the patron/client type when one only considers the characteristics of these types and the expected behavior of the participants. For the difference lies within the student and how he views himself as a scholar. One who accepts the master/disciple approach might view himself as a "Freudian" or a "Straussian" or another link in a tradition emanating from a master teacher. On the other hand, in the patron/client relationship, there is a sense of collective contribution to the enterprise and a shared "master" to disciple. The participants maintain intellectual autonomy despite their close interaction. There is also an awareness on the part of the participants that the relationship will evolve as circumstances change.

Sponsor power and control is exercised over the research enterprise and its ambience, whether it is a large project, part of a research institute, a seminar/workshop, or a joint project of professor and student. The sponsor's control is reflected in the demands he places on his students:

> Half-time research in a research institute always requires more than the time contracted for--including using the computer during the late night non-peak hours in order to meet deadlines. (Student, Department A.)

Students are expected to take a subordinate role to the sponsor and to exercise their autonomy within the confines of the project.

> There should be a high level of congenial warm interaction with things that define commonality of endeavor. (Professor, Department A.)

> There is a trade-off between hiring non-professionals (support staff) and would-be professionals--grad students who need money and training. . . . I would never hire anyone who did not have an excellent chance to compete in national research funds competition. (Professor, Department A.)

Generally, friendly relations develop among participants. Communication frequency is generally high because of the mutual dependency that arises. In some cases, friendly relations do not develop because individual students and faculty members regard fellow participants as competitors for status and resources rather than fellow contributors to a cooperative enterprise in which all will benefit equally.

In patron/client relationships both the faculty and students benefit. The student acquires knowledge and learns important research skills, while the sponsor receives loyalty and capable assistance in his projects. One faculty member commented:

> I take the conception of role model seriously. I provide a little bit of guidance in selection of research priorities; set a good example about how to do research and how to behave with students. I want them to be conscientious, hard working, strong, socially concerned, without becoming propagandist. The way in which you talk affects the way in which you think . . . so I emphasize clear thinking and communication . . .
> . . . We have continuous relations, socially and intellectually . . . parties, dinners, meetings with visiting scholars and often provide post doctoral fellowships if possible. (Professor, Department A.)

Students in the same project describe it a bit differently:

> This is a feudalistic system where leading scholars have students working with them receiving their identification through the project. (Student, Department A.)

> Luncheon and seminars occur regularly and formally. If someone disrupts the context of the discussion or distracts the group, attention is publicly called. No distractions are permitted and the professor is authoritarian in his attention to picayune details. (Student, Department A.)

In patron/client relationships, friendly, informal relations often develop among members of the same sex. These friendships are reinforced by squash, tennis, and golf games. Women students often complain that such an informal relationship is denied them. This was noted by women students at both schools:

> When a male professor's notion of social distance is breached by female students, communication barriers arise and the professor's interest in the student's career and research diminishes. This appears to be true despite the participation in the professor's research institute or project. (Woman student, Department B.)

> Much informal learning goes on during a tennis match and participation is denied me. (Woman student, Department B.)

Since the patron/client relationship involves intense interaction among participants, it is assumed that both faculty and graduate students will agree on the importance of common projects and on theories and methods. Mutual respect is also necessary, despite the asymmetry of the relationship. Problems arise when project directors must deal with students who do not accept the prevailing norms or whose background differs from that of the majority of graduate students, as is the case with some minority students. The general consensus is that "such students do not generally develop patron/client relationships nor do they participate in the large-scale projects . . . because of their difference in values and orientation to high-status faculty members whose support is necessary." (Faculty member, Department A.) A white graduate student outlined as follows reasons why she felt Black students had problems develping patron/client relationships:

> The majority have had inadequate and less traditional elite training in undergraduate school. They do not become part of the white power structure. . . . In many cases, they do not write well--their arguments are not clearly structured. There is a sense of some faculty that Blacks have been let in under compensatory standards--but no attempt has been made to help them as part of department policy. There is a problem of advisors: A client relationship is very important . . . someone who supports

> you and will go to bat for you. They have no client relationships, so the faculty grapevine does not provide support for them. (Student, Department A.)

The frequent exclusion of minority students from sponsorship relationships was confirmed by the minority students themselves. A Black graduate student in Department A stated:

> I have no sponsor nor do I participate in any research program. The department is too narrow-minded . . . it supports the vested interest and status quo. It is geared to research orientation. Research serves no purpose for minorities. There is no way to go beyond the Master's degree. In seven years, only one Black American received a Ph.D. (Student, Department A.)

At University B, Black graduate students also have problems developing patron/client relationships. One Black student suggested:

> Black students are not clued into the politics of the department. When a conservative professor tells Blacks they aren't very good--it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. I did not understand that standards are not uniform . . . that it is easier to get A's from some members of the department rather than others. (Student, Department B.)

Another student in Department B said that it was difficult to build a client relationship with a professor when there were no black faculty members in the department.

If mutual interests of the "patron" and "client" continue after the student finishes his Ph.D., the patron/client relationship often becomes a collegial association. In such cases, their friendship and collaboration often continues.

5. Advantages and disadvantages of the relationship

A patron/client relationship provides many benefits to the student. First, he or she has built up a substantial on-going relationship with a prestigious person in the department who generally will make extra efforts to find financial aid sources and positions for their students. Second, he or she probably collaborated with faculty members on papers or in panel discussions before the Ph.D., which also will benefit the student's career. Third, there is a sense of personal satisfaction from participating in an on-going project or research area that is significant to the profession and that provides skills and other advantages to one's career.

The advantages of a patron/client relationship to a faculty member are that it provides a pool of skilled workers to perform the research tasks of the project, gives ego satisfaction, and offers a ready source of new ideas and approaches from fresh, growing minds.

For a student, the disadvantages of connection to a patron/client relationship is the degree of specialization and expertise required in one limited subfield, which precludes more widespread knowledge of the discipline. Also, establishing a successful patron/client relationship requires the student to be extremely selective. He or she must choose a faculty person who

has sufficient influence both in the department and the profession to provide sufficient advantages to the student. This eliminates professors who are starting out or who have weak connections in the discipline, since an alliance with them could possibly be detrimental to the student's professional career.

The disadvantages of a patron/client relationship for a faculty member are that he often feels obliged to assume responsibility for the student's financial well-being, for his relationships with others in the department, and for the student's development of a name in the profession (through such means as joint authorship of articles and participation at national meetings). The faculty member is also obligated to make a special effort to obtain a position for his students in a tight job market. If the department grapevine suggests that the professor will not support his graduate students or exert an extra effort to obtain positions for them after the Ph.D., his status among graduate students and colleagues will diminish.

6. Variations within the patron/client type

The collegial patron/client relationship

1) Distribution

This type of relationship is quite rare. Only one collegial patron/client relationship was identified in the sample. It was confirmed by both the student and the faculty member involved.

2) Sources and characteristics

As explained in the preceeding section, a patron/ client relationship often develops into a collegial association after the student completes his Ph.D. and enters professional life. Occasionally, this type of relationship develops <u>before</u> the student completes his Ph.D., particularly if the graduate student is working with a young faculty member who is roughly the same age. However, such relationships are rare.

The notion of collegiality is widely used in academic parliance, but its meaning is vague. Hence the main source for the collegial patron/ client relationship was the sample studied.

3) How the issues are resolved

A collegial relationship generall occurs between an older graduate student and a younger faculty member (age peers) but it does not occur frequently. Although the very nature of sponsorship rela-

tions imply a superordinate/subordinate situation, both parties seek to minimize the asymmetry of the relationship. The sponsor exerts less control and the student exercises greater autonomy. Both participants share responsibility for common projects. The student's dissertation often becomes one section of a larger collaborative effort. There is usually a close, personal relationship between the participants and communication frequency is high. Sometimes the emotional context engenders much anxiety when the participants are interviewed. The benefits derived by the sponsor are extensive, since he or she has a colleague to work with and share research and ideas. However, the very nature of the relationship causes problems: Often the student collaborator finds a need to establish his professional identity independently of his sponsor, and the sponsor must deal with the inevitable sadness that occurs when a satisfying collaboration is interrupted.

4) Examples

In some cases, the collegial relationship develops within a patron/client collective, in which some student members develop a more collegial relation-

ship to the student is that he is invariably linked to his professor and has difficulty establishing himself as an independent scholar. The disadvantage of such relationships to the professor is that he often experiences a separation trauma as the students with whom he collaborates leave and the style of collaboration changes.

7. Dyadic or collective modes of sponsorship relationships

The Dyadic Mode

The dyadic mode of patron/client relationships occurs in both departments and is characterized by a close one-to-one relationship between student and professor. While although it prevails in all subfields, it is most common in the field of foreign studies, where the imprimatur of a respected and renowned professor is essential for the development of professional and government connections. The relationship often extends beyond the Ph.D. and merges into a collegial association. However, if there is a significant difference in age student/professor deference remains between the participants, the former student's deference often continues vis-à-vis his "patron."

3) Examples/advantages and disadvantages

One professor described the dyadic patron/client relationship as a kind of protectorship:

> In the first two years of the relationship I am aloof, so I can judge the person's intellectual merit and establish his particularistic achievement. . . . I make sure that they have an independent sense of themselves as individuals--know their own skills and define their own problems in our field. I then become the protector of students--money, jobs, . . . a cheerleader what is being done is important) and help with data problems. The relationship changes during the different stages--and sometimes I aid former students with post-doctoral research. (Professor, Department A.)

Another type of dyadic patron/client relationship was described by a professor at University B:

> The student takes the initiative. If I am interested, an intense relationship develops. I read everything he or she writes, talk to him or her once a week. . . . They work their asses off. They are bright, uncompromising, aggressive, outspoken operators. All papers are written with an eye to publication. They must know the profession and how it defines itself. . . . As a Marxist, I am a political person . . . and this link is important. . . . Students must read the APSR. The professional lifetime is 40 years and the only way to prepare is to get a good background in mathematics and social theory. (Professor, Department B.)

The faculty member quoted above also complained that the greatest difficulty he found was that he had too many advisees and that only the very best students received sufficient attention.

The dyadic relationship also emerges in the course of seminars or on-going research projects. The professor provides the student with a project that is stimulating and interesting, although it is not

always connected to his current research. Where possible he provides research assistantships and other forms of financial aid:

> I help students formulate their problem. . . . Shape their experiences to aid them in getting a job . . . . Use titles of papers to aid in the marketability. . . . Communication is extensive, the door is open . . . conversation is ongoing. . . . I worry about their jobs and especially trying to make them good, when they are not very good. . . . There are intellectual benefits to the relationship. (Professor, Department B.)

Some students find the dyadic patron/client relationship extremely satisfying. One student outlined the mutual benefits that the relationship provides:

> My advisor is world-renowned. I expect from him rigorous criticism, suggestions of what I haven't seen in the literature, suggestions of patterns and support and encouragement. He got me money from an outside foundation--and also partly financed me out of his own pocket. He finds me aggravating because I am naive and impractical . . . he has been everywhere and done everything and so he puts things in perspective. He loves independence--yet he wants to transmit tradition through interpersonal relations. He is the model of the great moral scholar. The greatest benefits he derives is a sense of continuity, that he is transmitting something worth transmitting and knowing that one fits in a sequence that will endure. There is a satisfaction of helping an individual realize his potential and an opportunity to give in a psychological way. (Student, Department B.)

Another student described the benefits she felt her "patron" received from her:

> He had someone who did computer work . . . kept him in touch with the comparative literature, helped him with German and other sources since languages were important in their area. (Student, Department A.)

Yet there are often criticisms made of the dyadic patron/client relationship, even from those who practice it. One professor pointed out the disadvantages of this type of relationship:

> This system systematically undermines and destroys imagination and creativity and creates "bookkeepers." It squeezes the intellectual juice from people's minds. About 30% - 60% are crushed. There is a subversion of the individual and the academic process when a student must be dependent on a professor. About 30% can play the game.

Yet this same professor also recognized the advantages of the dyadic relationship:

> With students whom I like, I have close, strong relations. I provide research projects, plug students into the system once their dissertation is well on the way . . . provide almost guaranteed opportunities to publish. . . . I make phone calls. And I learn much from students. (Professor, Department A.)

<u>The Collective Mode of Patron/Client Interaction</u>

The collective mode occurs in both departments and can be distinguished in two kinds of configurations: The cooperative research community and competitive corporate mode within the research institute.

The group is generally dominated by one person who acts as "spark-plug" and who sets the tone for the interaction:

> I choose the students in whom I will invest. . . . They have high quality minds, produce excellent material, and we are good friends. . . . It is the mission of the entire institution to be at the cutting end of excellence, craftsman, as well as a high degree of conceptual skills. . . . We have a pull and tug of intellectual debate. I force them to write it out. . . . Grad school is the last vestige of serfdom. . . . I spend long hours working with students . . . shaping minds and careers. I am close to establishing my "own school." (Professor, Department B.)

Students involved in a department research team often focus their attention on pleasing the dominant professor in the project, the "patron." But to avoid complete dependence, there develops a peer group which acts as a counter force in relation to the professor. This peer group often provides intellectual and emotional support for the students:

> Few grad students develop close relationships with their faculty advisors except for those working on our on-going project. My professor tries to control me, but I fight it. An example was on a chapter that I was expected to write for a book. He wanted to write it with me, but I put him off. For the past two years, I have been sustained intellectually by the relationship between the students. The students here are not "professional" or narrow. (Student, Department B.)

The research community within the department tends to encourage cooperation and support among its members. The expectation of many professors and students is

that the relationships will be sustained throughout their professional careers.
Most papers and books carry joint authorship. In times of tight budgets, large research projects have often had funds cut off, including stipends for graduate students. However, in the research projects in both the departments studied, students continued to work on the project without financial remuneration until the "patron" was able to secure additional funds.

3) Collective sponsorship within independent research institutes

While collective patron/client relationships within department research teams are generally co-operative and intensely personal, those that develop within independent research institutes tend to be competitive, impersonal, and even anxiety-ridden. (See discussion in chapter 3.)

The sharp contrast in the kind of collective relationships that develop in the two research settings is due to the very different mentality and conditions that prevail in each. While research projects within the department tend to be in many cases small--scale and somewhat limited in funds, those in research institutes are generally large-scale projects involving large

staffs and huge sums of money from outside sources. In contrast to the modest stipends and partial tuition grants paid to research assistants in the department, generous stipends are given to students who work for an independent research institute. Consequently, the research institutes tend to select only the best graduate students, who are expected to provide advanced methodological skills and complete devotion to the project:

> Outstanding graduate students are recruited to work in the Center. They act as collegial participants on the research staff. During the first and second year the advisor shapes training and provides research experience. . . . Research tends to be a natural outgrowth of research apprenticeship. The research will have tightness, neatness, and theoretical elegance, which is tied to the method of data collection. (Professor, Department A.)

Competition is intense among graduate students for jobs in the research institute and for the approval of the project directors. Students who do not obtain an assistantship in a research project are at a serious disadvantage in both their academic and professional careers:

> Graduate students who do not have a locus in a research program will be disadvantaged and deprived of organization sponsorship. (Professor, Department A.)

The intense competition among students has a negative effect on their relationships with peers and with members of the institute:

> The institute is a snake-pit. The research scholar role is more important than teacher/scholar. There is no leisurely pursuit of knowledge. In working on one special study, I spent 16 hours per day, seven days a week. Franticness prevails. The pace is set by senior members. There is anxiety and tension--a sense of being guilt-ridden without a sense of mission. What is missing: knowing what in hell you are doing. Project decisions are based on fashionable finance. (Student, Department A.)

The same student underlined the isolation he felt and the lack of personal ties with members of the institute:

> There is a human cost in grad education. I have no friends in the area--too competitive with friends. When I receive a compliment, I wonder why. The considerations of career movement are never made with family in mind.

The student further noted that friends and colleagues did not help him when his wife was ill. He felt alienated and cynical.

Other students did not feel this competitive intensity, although they mentioned that they did not have close friends or social relations among their peers:

> I have not felt that the department was a snake-pit. My personal style is such that I do not need as much interaction as others might need. (Student, Department A.)

> There is much social distance between faculty and students. Few faculty members are close to students. No sense of a great big happy family. (Student, Department A.)

The research institute seems to suggest the gesellschaft or rationalized organization designed to achieve certain performance objectives: the funding of research projects, the expansion of empirical theory, and the perfecting of research techniques. The students often feel "burned out" after the intensive experience with the corporate mode of research. Also, the intensive specialization limits the marketability and expertise of the student once he has completed his Ph.D.

Intense competition and pressure were also felt by many of the faculty members affiliated with research institutes:

> The department is good, high-powered, productive, crass, like a factory, cut-throat grantsmanship. There is competition for the continuing high esteem of one's colleagues. (Professor, Department A.)

Although the research institutes are generally affiliated with a university, they are largely funded through grants from outside sources. Competition for grants is intense, particularly in times of economic recession. Grantsmanship becomes the motivating force. One professor commented: "I must do a decent piece of analysis to justify the last grant while I

am writing the proposal for the next." (Professor, Department A.)

The problem of funding is of real concern to directors who have no state support and who must raise all funds for the research institute through their own entrepreneurial efforts. One director complained that few people understood the budgeting constraints facing a research institute:

> In the department setting there is no understanding of the budgetary constraints under which the department operates: Money and allocation of teaching fellowships . . . and the cost of research. There is no economic infrastructure supporting the research center. Graduate students are ignorant about money. (Professor, Department A.)

The mentor/student relationship

1. Distribution (see Table 33)

   The mentor/student relationship was the most common type of sponsorship relationship found in the sample. Of the 71 relationships identified, 34 (or 48%) were classified as the mentor/student type. However, only 14 of these relationships were confirmed by all participants. In 15 cases, the relationships were not confirmed due to the unavailability of one of the participants.

   There were five cases of disagreement. In most of these cases, the faculty member identified as

the "mentor" denied the existence of a sponsorship relationship with the student in question. One of the professors even stated that he did not like dealing with graduate students because he was preoccupied with personal problems and did not like the demands they placed on him.

2. Sources and characteristics

The concept of "mentor" has recently become popular in social science literature. However, definitions vary. For example, in her study of academic women, Jesse Bernard uses the term "mentor" to describe any type of academic sponsor. In The Seasons of a Man's Life, Levinson speaks of the mentor as sponsor, role model, counsel, moral supporter in times of stress, and a kind of spiritual parent:

> The true mentor in the meaning intended here serves as an analogue in adulthood of the "good enough" parent for the child. He fosters the young adult's development by believing in him, sharing the youthful Dream and giving it his blessing, helping to define the emerging self in its newly discovered world, and creating a space in which the young man can work on a reasonable life structure that contains the Dream. . . . His primary function is a transitional function, a mixture of parent and peer. . . .[6]

Levinson's concept of "mentor" is actually similar to my concept of "patron" in patron/client relationships.

In this study, I am using the term "mentor" to refer to a faculty sponsor who is friendly and helpful, but somewhat distant from his students and their research.

3/4 How the issues are resolved/Examples

In a mentor/student relationship, the most characteristic attitude of the sponsor toward his student is "helpful." Sponsor control and power is only exerted to the extent that it is necessary to aid the student in completion of the requirements for the Ph.D. Student autonomy is encouraged and welcomed, the relations between the participants are rather limited and detached. This detachment is reflected in the comments of two professors in Department B:

> My attitude is detached. If a student brings in his Ph.D. proposal, I will take it on if it is of interest, but I do not encourage a student to do his Ph.D. dissertation for me. My function is to be as critical as possible--accept their premises and correct them within an epistomological scheme. (Professor, Department B.)

> My role might be defined as evocative of intellectual concerns--never initiating or dictating. I assist the student to critically assess his proposal. (Professor, Department B.)

The communication frequency of communication depends upon the needs of the student and how they fit in with the competing demands on faculty time. The sponsors derive a feeling of satisfaction from "helping someone mature," but generally they do not identify any other tangible benefits, nor do they seem to expect them. There is little or no expectation that the relationship will continue beyond the Ph.D., beyond a friendly greeting at a professional meeting. The mentor generally will not go out of his way to help the student. For example, if the student becomes involved in a controversy, the sponsor may not feel obligated to "go to bat" for him. The sponsor also does not feel obligated to find research opportunities or scholarship funds for the student or to help place him after he receives his Ph.D. Students who have mentor-type sponsors often resent their passivity and feel frustrated by their detachment. Often these students desire a more intense, collaborative relationship. One student summed up his feelings toward his mentor-sponsor by saying:

> He will not take any initiative to place me after I recieve the Ph.D. unless I push him. The relationship might be described as functional--professionally friendly. . . . You have to have guts to take faculty attitudes. (Student, Department B.)

5. Advantages and disadvantages

In the mentor/student sponsorship relationship, the sponsor's role is limited to helping the student fulfill the requirements for the Ph.D. Because of the sponsor's limited involvement in the student's work, the mutual benefits of the sponsorship relationship are very limited. However, the mentor/student relationship does give both faculty members and students a great deal of freedom, which some may consider an advantage.

The faculty member is freed from responsibility or emotional connection to the student and therefore has more time and energy for personal and professional concerns. The student is free to expand his autonomy and to grow intellectually without any of the fetters inherent in the patron/client or master/disciple relationship.

The disadvantage of this relationship is that both mentor and student miss growth and excitement that can come from a continuous dialogue

and collaboration. While the participants have friendly feelings toward each other, there is always a sense of distance between them. When the student completes his Ph.D., the mentor generally sends letters of recommendation to potential employers, but generally will not expend the extra efforts characteristic of those who have a master/disciple or patron/client relationship. In a tight job market, this lack of help can be a serious disadvantage for a new Ph.D. who is seeking to establish himself in the academic world.

6. Variations within the mentor/student type

   a. Shared sponsorships

      When a faculty member goes on leave, his sponsorship responsibilities are sometimes taken over by one or more of the colleagues in his subfield. In subfields where faculty members are often on leave, it is common practice for the members remaining on campus to share the sponsorships of the graduate students in the subfield. In this type of mentor/student relationship, the student has limited connection to members of the subfield and generally does not develop a close,

collaborative association with any of them.

b. The collective paternalistic mentor/student relationship

Another variation of the mentor/student type is the collective paternalistic sponsorship relationship. In the sample studied, this type of relationship was only identified in Department B. In the collective paternalistic mentor/student relationship, the student is part of a coterie of students centered around the paradigm or works of a particular teacher or philosopher. The "mentor" views this group of students as inferior learner/apprentices whose work must be constantly monitored. To make sure students acquire a solid background in political science, the "mentor" may organize frequent seminars. One such program was described by a student in Department B:

> The students in this program have a sense of community. There is interaction--meet and talk to people in class. Also, many grad students live in the same building. Also, there are biweekly seminars on political philosophy which all attend. Any one time, there are from 20 to 30 students involved. (Student, Department B.)

The "mentor" may also try to monitor his students when they teach undergraduates. For example, one professor obtained an on-going teaching position for his students in a neighboring university. He tried to attend every lecture given by his students and afterward presented a critique.

Far from resenting the paternalistic attitude of their sponsors, the students seemed to appreciate the special attention their group received. Like the student quoted above, many of the students in this group felt a strong sense of community.

Sponsors of the paternalistic mentor type have tremendous influence over their students and sometimes bring this influence to bear in department policies. For example, in Department B, there was a movement among the students to obtain more voice in department decision-making. Several paternalistic-type sponsors urged their students not to participate in department politics and to eschew the student-power movement. These students were an effective force in mitigating the demands of the other students.

The collective paternalistic sponsorship relationship was somewhat difficult to classify within the framework of ideal types. While the faculty participants took an active interest in their students' training and research (as in patron/client relationships), their attitude toward them was passive and rather aloof (as in mentor/student relationships). Since attitude is of prime importance in sponsorship relationships, I decided to classify the collective paternalistic relationships found in Department B as the mentor/student type.

The bureaucratic/instrumental relationship

1. Distribution (see Table 33)

   Of the 71 relationships identified, 14 (or 20%) were classified as the bureaucratic/instrumental type. Only five of these relationships were confirmed. In eight cases, the relationships were not confirmed due to the unavailability of one of the participants. There was one case of disagreement, where the faculty sponsor identified by a student denied the existence of a sponsorship relationship.

2. Sources and characteristics

The bureaucratic/instrumental type of relationship might be viewed as a product of the organization in society, or in any hierarchy, which requires a minimum of compliance behavior by those who occupy authoritative positions. It is distinguished from non-sponsorship because the faculty member and graduate student do acknowledge a minimum of commitment and responsibility for fulfilling the requirements of the collective enterprise.

Frequent references are made to this type of relationship in the literature. For example, in their study of graduate students, Katz and Harnett found that a frequent complaint of students is that their faculty sponsors are distant and uninvolved.[7] Richard Mandell discusses the background of these attitudes in his study of faculty.[8]

3. How the issues are resolved

Bureaucratic/instrumental relationships generally represent an implicit agreement by the participants to conform to the requirements set down by the department with a minimum of effort and involvement. The relationships are classified as

bureaucratic/instrumental because either the faculty member or the graduate student indicates that he does not like having a relationship, has little or no expectations of benefits to be derived, and only looks upon it as a means of fulfilling department requirements.

This type of relationship, with its minimal responsibilities, is sometimes welcomed by faculty members who are having personal difficulties at the time they are required to advise and "sponsor" graduate students. Other faculty members prefer bureaucratic/instrumental sponsorship relationships because they find graduate students "uninteresting." Similarly, some graduate students prefer this type of sponsorship because they want to be free to do their work with a minimum of interference from faculty.

A bureaucratic/instrumental relationship differs from the mentor/student relationship in the degree of interaction and involvement between the participants. In bureaucratic/instrumental relationships, sponsor power and control are minimal. The sponsor's role is limited to assuring compliance with department requirements

and with basic intellectual standards. As sponsor control decreases, student autonomy and independence increase. Relations between sponsor and student generally reflect mutual tolerance and distance. Communications frequency is as minimal as circumstances will permit. Generally, there is no post Ph.D. interaction.

4. Examples

It is interesting to compare the statements of one participant in a bureaucratic/instrumental relationship with the statements of the other participant. For example, one pair described their relationship as follows:

> The student must take the initiative. I am not a good communicator. I am busy, remote, and frighten people. Students must make formal appointments . . . and I give them as much assistance as they deserve, in my capacity as intellectual critic. (Professor, Department B.)

> My strategy in dealing with my sponsor is avoidance . . . unless the issue is very important. He wants to see the "whole product" rather than chapters of the dissertation. . . . In his class, students felt humiliated. . . . He was brusque, the class was unmotivated, and he walked out in disgust. Most of the advice and support I need will be provided by a professor in another department. (Student, Department B.)

Another pair stated:

> I do not have a firm relationship with my sponsor. He will not challenge assumptions in my papers so I must set my own deadlines and criteria. (Student, Department A.)

Though the bureaucratic/instrumental relationship provides little satisfaction to either participant, its lack of involvement and responsibility is sometimes welcomed, especially if a person is preoccupied with other concerns. For example, one professor discussed his own personal situation:

> Sometimes in mid-career faculty members experience a personal crisis about the direction of their lives. . . . They become more wrapped up with their own personal problems and it becomes more difficult to establish warm relations with students. (Professor, Department B.)

Some faculty or students use "distancing" techniques to maintain their sponsorship relationship to an absolute minimum. For example, one graduate student, who did not want any interference with his work, chose as sponsor someone who had a terminal illness. The sponsor could barely fulfill his academic responsibilities and did not have the energy to be an interested or collaborative sponsor.

5. Advantages and disadvantages

The advantage of the bureaucratic/instrumental relationship is that it provides the minimum sponsorship needed to meet department requirements. Autonomy is maximized.

The disadvantage of this type of relationship is that it tends to alienate the student from the department and from professional concerns. An even greater disadvantage is that the faculty sponsor will expend minimal effort to help the student obtain financial aid, grants, and research jobs during his graduate training and a job once he has completed the Ph.D. Therefore a student may find himself "damned with faint praise" and closed out of the tight academic market with its limited positions or prospects.

6. Variations within the bureaucratic/instrumental type

In the interviews, I did not find any indication of collective bureaucratic/instrumental relationships or other variations. The only case where one might have identified such a relationship was a small group of self-proclaimed "radicals" who refused to have anything to do with the

normal requirements and mode of behavior accepted by a majority of the department. This "radical" group also refused to associate with most faculty members except for the minimum contact required by classroom attendance. They were the 4 students labeled "unsponsored" and they indicated in their interviews that they would probably drop out of the department.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the distribution of ideal-type sponsorship relationships within the two departments studied. They have been described according to a classification scheme of ideal types. The characteristics of the ideal types and the problems and tensions they involve have been identified and discussed. The advantages and disadvantages of each type to the faculty and graduate student participants have been characterized. Finally, the variations within each type of sponsorship relationship have been portrayed.

The classification system reveals that there are a number of organizationally sanctioned interaction patterns available to faculty and graduate students. The opportunities for master/disciple relationships are limited by the lack of persons available for such relationships and by the prevailing culture, which stresses egalitarianism and individual

autonomy. However, the other three types were common in both departments.

In a separate questionnaire, students were asked to indicate the areas of graduate training they felt were most important in aiding them to fulfill their professional and career expectations. The results are reported in Table 34.

TABLE 34

AREAS OF GRADUATE TRAINING IDENTIFIED BY STUDENTS AS MOST IMPORTANT TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL AND CAREER EXPECTATIONS (N = 51)

Areas of graduate training identified as most important	Patron/ Client (N = 18)		Mentor/ Student (N = 22)		Bureaucratic/ Instrumental (N = 11)	
	N	%N	N	%N	N	%N
Identification and personal interaction with a notable faculty member................	11	61%	7	32%	4[a]	36%
Participation in on-going research programs............	14	78%	8	36%	3	27%
Graduate education in an elite department...................	13	72%	2	8%	1	9%

[a]Three out of the four students identified as having bureaucratic/ instrumental type sponsorship relationships suggested that their faculty relationships were with persons outside of the department.

A χ^2 test reveals that there is a significant difference among the groups, with two degrees of freedom at .05 level. The significance of Table 34 is that it tends to confirm the configuration elements used to differentiate the various ideal-type relationships that are presented in the classification scheme.

Based on the responses of the faculty and graduate students, the patron/client relationship appears to be the most productive and the one that most resembles the ideal of the "community of scholars." But difficulties arise for graduate students who seek these types of relationships. First, the number of faculty members available as "patrons" is limited because of a frequent unwillingness to undertake the obligations and responsibilities entailed. Second, many of those who might like to be patrons do not have the necessary access to financial resources, research institutes, and externally financed projects; they may also lack sufficient networks within the profession to place their clients after the Ph.D. Third, since the general situation for placement of Ph.D.s in academic fields is problematic, those who assume the patron role might lose face in the eyes of colleagues if they try to place an individual who is not superior. They might also lose face if they are unable to place their students.

With these factors in mind, the mentor/student relationship defined in this study appears to present the least risk to faculty members, both in time demands by students and obligations required by the department. Yet some of the students who report such relationship (48% of the sample) often look back on their graduate education with some regrets. They feel they might have spent their time in a more satisfying manner in another type of program. Since the mentor/

student relationship does not require the faculty member to invest heavily in the graduate student and his future, or to exert a great deal of effort in placing his students after the Ph.D., students engaged in this type of relationship are obliged to use their entreprenurial skills to get ahead in the field. In most cases, the traditional "elite" positions will be unavailable to these students, especially since the competition for such appointments will be so severe. These jobs will probably be given to people with patron/client relationships who have the "right connections."

The student involved in a bureaucratic/instrumental relationship cannot expect much help from his faculty advisor. He must rely on an institutional affiliation to gain a non-elite academic position, unless he has developed an strong sponsorship relationship with someone outside the department that would counterbalance the bureaucratic/instrumental relationship he has developed in his own department.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

In this final chapter, the study and its conclusions will be summarized and discussed. Some of the questions it raises will be identified and the implications for future research will be presented.

The profession of political science is generally regarded as part of the governing elite of the society. It is a demanding field that requires aspiring political scientists to undergo a rigorous program of graduate training and professional socialization in a recognized department of a research university.

This study was concerned with one aspect of professional socialization, the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships during the graduate training period. Sponsorship refers to the process in which an authoritative member of the department selects a promising individual and aids him or her to gain the knowledge and/or experience that will enable him or her to become a professional within that field. This process is particularly important in graduate or professional programs because the sponsor may provide the

new Ph.D. with connections to the leading departments and resources of the profession, or through non-activity can limit the mobility of the new Ph.D., unless he has set up alternative sponsorship relationships.

The main focus of the study was to identify and examine the multiple influences affecting the development of sponsorship relationships in two elite political science departments. The data was gathered through a series of interviews with a sample of faculty members and graduate students in the two departments.

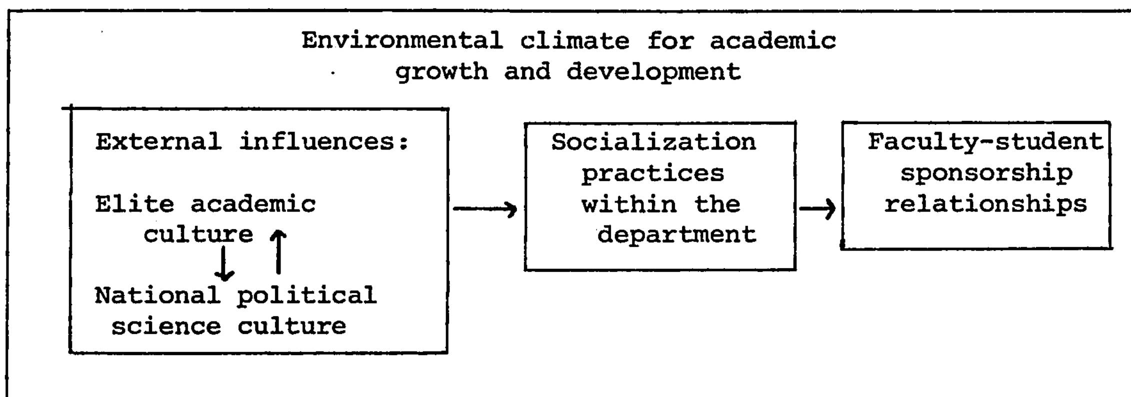
In the course of the interviews, it became apparent that the development of sponsorship relationships is not only a matter of individual choice or preference, but is also a product of the interplay of situational and environmental factors within the department as workplaces.

The following exploratory model was elaborated to show how environmental, situational and individual factors interact and influence the socialization practices of the departments, which in turn shape the development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships.

From the interviews it became apparent that faculty-student sponsorship relationships varied considerably among respondents. A classification scheme of four "ideal types" was developed to distinguish them, based upon such factors as sponsor power and control, student autonomy, frequency of

communication, affect among participants, and reciprocal benefits of the relationships. These dimensions reflected the participants' responses to the problems and tensions they encountered in the graduate program, as each partner to the relationship pursued his or her goals and interests. They are summarized in Table 35.

MULTIPLE INFLUENCES AFFECTING FACULTY-STUDENT SPONSORSHIP RELATIONSHIPS



The Premises Underlying the Study

The premises underlying the study were as follows:

1. Sponsorship relationships are conceived of as one mechanism of the socialization process that occurs in any organization. Socialization is essentially the "instrument" of organization culture"--the means by which the norms, values, attitudes, and approved behaviors for handling the problems and tasks facing the organization are transmitted to newcomers and sustained by the members.

2. In any organization where different groups (such as faculty members and graduate students) are required to interact, problems and tensions will inevitably emerge. These problems and tensions develop because each group seeks to fulfill its own priorities and goals and, at the same time, to fulfill the collective tasks of the organization (in the case, graduate training). Consequently, faculty members and graduate students often enter sponsorship relationships with conflicting needs and expectations.
3. To understand the nature of the problems and tensions facing faculty and graduate students within a department, it is necessary to examine the organization culture in order to identify the priorities of each group, the expected and approved behavior patterns that can be used to implement these priorities and the normative structure underlying the whole socialization process. It is also necessary to examine the various "approved mechanisms" within the organization culture that permit these differnt groups to interact and adjust to the inevitable problems and tensions they will experience in a variety of situations and under varying circumstances.
4. Faculty-student sponsorship relationships represent one such mechanism that faculty and graduate students have developed to cope with their individual and collective problems. Although sponsorship relationships vary among

individuals and according to circumstances, any such relationship represents individual and collective attempts to deal with the problems and tensions they encounter. This also presupposes that within a graduate department, members will experience similar tensions and be motivated by similar goals and priorities, although they may react in different ways to similar stimuli. With these assumptions in mind, it is suggested that the differences among relationships can be determined empirically and will vary sufficiently to be classified within a scheme of "ideal types."

5. Since the sponsorship relationships each represent a distinct set of characteristics, they can be classified according to a scheme of "ideal types". This classification scheme can then be applied to relationships identified in the two departments.

6. A study of the factors influencing the growth and development of faculty-student sponsorship relationships provides a conceptual tool to help penetrate the myths and rhetoric of organization culture. It also gives valuable insight into the fundamental values that influence the behavior of faculty members and graduate students in their relationships with each other and to the profession.

Environmental Influences on the Development of Sponsorship Relationships

Environmental factors--the general economic situation and the prevailing academic climate--have indirect, yet significant, effect on the development of sponsorship relationships. If, for example, the prevailing climate is such that a particular field is expanding with ample research funds and job opportunities, faculty members will generally be more willing to devote the time and effort to developing collaborative sponsorship relationships. If, on the other hand, the prevailing climate is unfavorable, faculty members are less willing to take sponsorship risks.

At the present time, professional departments in research universities are experiencing serious financial problems as a result of inflation and budget cutbacks. Furthermore, new positions on tenure tracks are becoming increasingly scarce, while existing slots are often filled by temporary appointments.[1]

Another budgetary problem is that graduate enrollment is important to departments who wish to maintain their share of the university departmental allocation. With the decline in the numbers of outstanding undergraduates seeking admission to "elite" graduate programs, graduate admissions committees face the dilemma of being forced to consider applicants from an enlarged pool of "less-qualified" undergraduates. This is

illustrated by the fact that 68% of the graduate students in the sample were products of non-elite undergraduate colleges and universities (see chapter 3). This poses a problem for faculty members who claim they are used to working with only the most "brilliant" or outstanding graduates; these professors often have limited patience with students who do not appear to meet their standards. This problem is compounded by the fact that most of the faculty members are themselves products of elite graduate programs and often were sponsored by notables in the field. They see themselves as part of a continuing tradition of high-quality, creative, productive scholars. When they compare present-day graduate students with the way they were as graduate students, the faculty members often find their graduate students wanting. A common reaction among faculty is to limit their interaction with graduate students and to collaborate only with those who have "proved" themselves and who measure up to the traditions of elite academic culture and the national political science culture with which they identify.

Thus, the unfavorable economic situation has caused faculty members to be increasingly anxious about their own careers. This, in turn, has made faculty unwilling to devote time and energy to sponsorship relationships, unless they feel that their professional needs will be served by such a relationship. The prevalence of mentor/student and

bureaucratic/instrumental relationships within the sample (68%) further suggests that uninvolved, undemanding sponsorship relationships may be an organizationally approved mechanism for dealing with the multiple dilemmas facing faculty members.

Graduate students too feel the pressures of "shrinking resources." Many students see themselves in direct competition with their peers, instead of in the cooperative, supportive environment they had expected to find in graduate school. The limited number of fellowships and research positions increases the competition among graduate students, because their academic and professional careers are so dependent upon the receipt or denial of such aid. One cannot help but wonder what kind of professionals these students become, after receiving their graduate training in such a competitive, unsupportive environment. One also wonders whether the lack of close, collaborative sponsorship relationship in graduate school will cause these students to be aloof and unsupportive toward their own graduate students once they begin teaching?

The Impact of Elite Academic Culture and National Political Science Culture on Sponsorship Relationships

It is generally agreed that elite academic culture provides the normative framework for the modern research university. Rupert Wilkinson writes:

> Since an elite system writes its own rules by influencing the cultural values or ends against which it may be judged, the prestige of the system, the values implied by its education, and the articulateness of its spokesmen will often combine to affect the attitudes of the non-elite as well as elite.
>
> . . . a shared elite training will give "leaders" a common language, mutual respect and a general sense of unity which often facilitates action by minimizing political division.[2]

An examination of the literature on elite academic culture revealed that the historical antecedent of the present-day disciplinary department lay in the 19th century German university, where the emphasis was on research and specialization. What the literature emphasized was that for faculty members, disciplinary prestige and university affiliation were two important ways in which they would reach the heights within the academic stratification system. And furthermore, the prestige was based upon research, its publication and favorable collegial response. An academic stratification system emerged by which universities and their specialized departments were ranked by colleagues and administrators in the discipline.[3]

Another important external influence on the development of sponsorship relationships is the national political science culture--the body of attitudes, beliefs, values, and understandings about professional issues shared by a majority of people in the field. This culture is represented in the formal association of the field--the APSA, scholarly journals; graduate departments throughout the country, and a network

of notables in the profession. The national political science culture has been described in a series of studies of the field conducted in the post WWII period, and expanding in the 1970's. It is also reflected in the quarterly publication PS which focuses on important issues of special concern to political science professionals.

The literature on the profession suggests that the values of elite academic culture also prevail in the national culture of political science. For example, in separate surveys conducted in 1963 and 1976, the following factors were identified as being most important in determining the success of a political scientist: (1) graduate school attended, (2) volume of publications, (3) having the right connections, and (4) ability to get research grants. Yet while the studies of the profession reveal support for traditional elite values, they also identify a very self-critical and pessimistic frame of mind among political scientists. The authors offer no answers but merely describe the dilemmas facing the profession.[4] Perhaps the most problematic of these dilemmas is whether the "in-group" mystique so prevalent in the field of political science tends to perpetuate traditional values and to inhibit the formulation of newer, more realistic values? Also what are the consequences to the profession of such a situation? My own feeling is that there probably will be some reconstituting of "elite" values, but I do

not feel that these values will be replaced by egalitarianism or by other ways of measuring scholarship.

The present study reveals that the national political science culture also has considerable impact on the members of the two political science departments studied. The values of "mainstream" political science and the national culture of the profession play an important role in shaping attitudes and practices within the two departments. This is apparent when one examines the standards governing faculty recruitment: elite graduate education, connection to some notables in the profession who acted as "de-facto" sponsors, solid publishing record, and ability to get research grants. If a potential candidate did not meet these requirements, he would not be given serious consideration.

Impact of the Physical, Social, and Cultural Organization of the Department on Sponsorship Relationships

The department as workplace is viewed by its membership as performing a variety of supportive and administrative functions for its community. As a social organization, it provides a positive source of identification both within the university and national profession for its faculty members and graduate students. This identification is further enhanced by the high rank it is accorded in national and professional surveys, the numbers of notables in the department,

the prestigious research institutes affiliated with it, and the critical response to the scholarly accomplishments of its members. Since these elements are considered most important, the priorities of the department are directed towards providing a favorable environment for creative scholarship among the faculty and outstanding graduate students. This is accomplished by providing generous leaves for faculty members (particularly those with grants from outside), by juggling schedules to free faculty for research as much as possible, and by giving faculty great freedom in the way they teach graduate courses, and handle sponsorship relationships.

Since the ideal-type sponsorship relationships represent the means by which faculty members and graduate students reconcile the demands placed upon them by the department culture, they will be summarized in Table 35 as the findings of the study.

Graduate students from non-elite undergraduate programs, or who have been used to a great deal of faculty-student interaction, are often quite shaken by the impersonal relations characteristic of the elite political science department. Therefore these students must adjust to the new situation and then utilize personal entrepreneurship to build favorable connections with faculty members to establish themselves in the department. Hence, the main socialization task for the

TABLE 35

SUMMARY OF THE DIMENSIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF IDEAL TYPES AS FOUND IN THE SPONSORSHIP RELATIONS WITHIN TWO POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS

Ideal Type	Master/Disciple	patron/client[b] Collective	Dyadic	Mentor/Student	Bureaucratic/ Instrumental
Distribution within sample (N = 71)[a]	2 (2%)	21	(30%)	34 (48%)	14 (20%)
Dimensions and characteristics					
1. Sponsor power and control	Intense, emotional and intellectual	Intensive in research	Strongest at all times	Limited to specific	Weak or absent
1-1. Research situation	Provides dominant paradigm	Provided in project or institute	Part of Seminar or workshop	Student initiative required	Determined by student
1-2. Financial aid/ assistantships	Seeks funding and support for disciple	Funded by project	Limited funding	Recommendation for aid	Not requested or supplied
1-3. Role models	Scholarly-dominant teacher	Scholarly or entreprenu-rial	Scholarly	Independent researcher	Student looks to outside relationship
1-4. Professional opportunities before Ph.D.	When possible if valuable for collaboration	Joint authorship; participation in panels at meetings, strategic introductions		Generally unavailable	Generally unavailable
1-5. Efforts to place student after	Considerable	Intensive action to find position in elite department (introductions; phone calls, letters); post-doctoral opportunities		Some efforts	Limited efforts

TABLE 35 "continued"

2. Student autonomy	Very limited	Encouraged within the prevailing paradigm		Encouraged	Expected
2-1. Student-Peer relations	Limited or linked to to other disciples	Competitive in corporate model cooperative in community model	Depends on persons involved	Frequently supportive	Supportive, especially for minorities
2-2. Professional identity	Linked to master and his work	Linked to research institute	Linked to sponsor and to research institute	Derived more from independent research and institutional affiliation than from sponsor	Derived from institutional affiliation, independent research, and non-sponsor sources
3. Affect between participants	Strong - long-lasting as long as student remains a disciple	Strong in community model limited in corporate model	Warm and friendly	Friendly but distant	Weak to indifferent
4. Communication frequency and intensity	Frequent professional and personal	Frequent and intense within project boundaries; some social relations in community models	Frequent and intense both in work setting and socially	Formal office appointments; limited to problems or routine monitoring	Formal office appointmenrs; infrequent with low intensity

TABLE 35 "continued"

5. Reciprocal Benefits derived by sponsor	Services of disciple and and promotion of ideas	Skilled researchers; greater access to grants; ego gratification friendship, loyalty; continuity of ideas	Skilled researchers; personal satisfaction intellectual stimulation; friendship, loyalty, ego gratification	Some personal satisfaction; some intellectual stimulation	Fulfillment of advisory role required by department
6. Success in competing for research	Limited to those who have capacity and qualities to be a disciple	Best students attracted to research institute	Successful competition for better students	Minimal competition for students	Avoid competition for grad students

[a]The figures reflect the number of relationships identified by at least one participant as being of a given type. Not all relationships and classifications were confirmed by the other participant(s). For complete figures on the distribution of the types within the sample, see Table 33 (page 145).

[b]Since there were two distinctly different variations within the patron/client type, the characteristics for each are presented separately. Characteristics shared by the two subtypes are written across the two columns.

graduate student is to learn how the department power structure operates and which elements of the department culture enable the student to "get ahead." Such dynamics are important to a student who wishes to form a close collaborative and productive sponsorship relationship.

The Findings of the Study

The findings indicate that the majority of graduate students and faculty members participated in rather limited relationships: 48% in mentor/student relationships, characterized as friendly but distant and 20% in bureaucratic/ instrumental relationships, characterized as fulfilling the minimum department requirements. One-third (32%) of the respondents identified their relationships as either the patron/client or master/disciple type, which are more personal, collaborative, and long-lasting than the other two types. While four students, by their own admission, were unsponsored, there may be more unsponsored students in the departments than the sample indicates. There was a bias in favor of interviewing faculty and graduate students who were participating in sponsorship relationships; hence unsponsored students were not sought out. The existence of a larger number of unsponsored students than the sample indicates is based upon two assumptions: First, both departments experienced an attrition rate of more than 50%, although they were vague about the exact percentage.

Second, there seemed to be a universal complaint on the part of graduate students and faculty members that the department did not exercise its power to exclude graduate students from entering the program, except in a few rare cases. Students who were unable to gain faculty attention and sponsorship drifted away from the program in many cases without formal notice to the chairman.[5]

It should be noted that the distribution of types of sponsorship relationships reflects the responses of a sample of faculty and graduate students who were affiliated with two departments during a particular time period (January to May, 1975). The study does not assume that the types of relationships identified are immutable, but suggests that they are significant because each reflects a distinctive set of characteristics within the classification scheme. Further research would be necessary to determine whether this classification scheme applies to other groups at other time periods.

The findings of this study contrast sharply with those on graduate education reported in an article titled "Obstacles to Graduate Education in Political Science"[6]

> Each graduate student soon becomes dependent on one single professor, not only for his income, but also for all the notes of permission that are required to arrange the special directed reading courses, etc., which the "find your own niche" ideology requires. Consequently, most students find that instead of being allowed to educate themselves as each one desires, he must tailor

> his readings, exam answers, dissertation subject, and even professional orientation/attitude to the single political personality of one professor.[7]

The APSA study suggests that graduate students are highly dependent on their sponsors and not many have autonomy. However, in the present study, 68% of the sponsorship relationships identified (those in the mentor/student or bureaucratic/instrumental categories) involved considerable student autonomy and minimal control of the sponsor. Only one-third (32%) of the relationships identified (those in the patron/client or master/disciple categories) involved a greater degree of student dependence on the sponsor.

While the patron/client relationship probably will remain at the 30% level for the immediate future, some variations might occur in both this type and the mentor/student type as groups of faculty colleagues might collaborate on sponsoring and supporting a small group of graduate students, who are interested in their subfield. This shared sponsorship might enable the faculty to limit individual responsibility for the professional well-being of the student and utilize additional networks to place their new Ph.D.s. This process was beginning in the two departments but had not been adopted too extensively.

Some Important Implications of the Study

This study has implications for several groups of individuals and organizations. For the incoming graduate student the study of sponsorship and ideal types that emerge provide a realistic picture of what might be expected in an elite graduate program. It challenges the student to make a decision whether this long time-consuming socialization process will be worthwhile to the fulfillment of his or her career goals. It also asks whether he or she has the requisite intellectual motivation, ego strength, and "political drive" to develop those relationships that will be necessary for a successful professional career. Finally it asks--what are the odds or probability that an individual entering graduate programs today will be able to find a satisfying academic position in a good program some 4 - 7 years in the future.

For those who study organization culture, this study has provided an interesting perspective. By focusing on a core sponsorship relationship within the organization, situational and individual values are revealed as participants struggle to adjust to the inevitable problems and tensions that arise as diverse groups pursue their interests. The power structure is also revealed. The "organizational" or "approved" methods for handling these issues emerge as the prevailing socialization practices that have been adopted

by the institution.

The development of sponsorship relationships within an organization can also provide a "control mechanism" in several ways. If certain individuals are unable to conform to the requirements of the organization, the denial of sponsorship relationships will communicate to the individuals that they do not have a future there. Or, if an organization needs to increase the number of individuals in high-level positions or who have the capabilities to get ahead when the opportunity is right, a strong "sponsorship system" might be encouraged. In this case, the sponsor serves as a trainer for new "recruits". For such recruits, an understanding and awareness of how the "sponsorship patterns" operate will provide valuable information about what is really "important" within the organization culture.

The study of sponsorship relationships is also a valuable tool for the researcher since the topic usually is enthusiastically discussed by respondents. Another benefit is that it provides the respondents with a "legitimized opportunity" to sort out their passions and feelings about their career, their relation to co-workers, superiors and subordinates and the organization culture to an unknown interviewer, without having to worry about organizational repercussions. This provides the scholar with a rich source of data about a well-known little researched phenomenon.

I believe that there might be a need for additional exploratory studies on the multiple forces in a variety of organizations that affect the growth and development of sponsorship relationships. Furthermore such research would be useful to test whether the concept or "ideal type" classifications of relationships is useful and enlightening to further understand individual and organizational behavior.

Conclusion:

The examination and study of sponsorship relationships within any organization releases many of the tensions and problems members are experiencing. This in turn stimulates an investigation of the existing socialization practices and encourages scrutiny of the underlying cultural values. Such studies might have two effects: they can be the mechanism by which the leadership maintains the status quo and suppresses change, or they can be the mechanism by which new ideas and new approaches to problems are investigated and adopted.

FOOTNOTES

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[11]See chapter 2 on national culture of political science.

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APPENDIX
FACULTY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Sex

2. Ethnic group

3. SES

4. Graduate school and degrees

5. Field of specialty and/or special interests

6. Rank in department

7. Whom do you think was most influential in your choice of discipline?

8. Were there any specific factors that were important in your choice of a professional career?

9. Would you briefly describe your relationship with your most significant sponsor or sponsors?
   a. Who initiated it?
   b. How would you characterize his attitude towards you? Formal, informal, etc.?
   c. How important was the sponsor in shaping your professional interests?
   d. What benefits do you think he derived from the relationship?
   e. Did your relationship extend beyond the formal concerns of your dissertation project?
   f. Did your relationship progress in stages or patterns?

10. To your knowledge, did your sponsor have any ways of "cooling out" or rejecting those students he considered unworthy of attainment of professional status?

11. Does the influence of your sponsor persist in your career today? If so, how?

12. Was your sponsor helpful in aiding you to attain your present faculty appointment? What did he do to help you attain your first job?

13. How would you describe your association with your sponsor at present?

14. To what extent did he exercise control over your research? Explain.

15. How would you characterize your relationship with your sponsor?

16. If you could relive the relationship with your faculty advisor, what changes would you make?

17. How is a faculty research advisor chosen in your department?

18. What are his formal responsibilities?

19. What is your conception of the role of the sponsor or research advisor?

20. What expectations do you have of your graduate students?

21. What effect does departmental attitudes about the nature of good research in political science have on faculty-student relations?

22. What ways do you find most effective to communicate with your advisees?

23. When you and your advisee disagree on an approach to his research, how is the conflict generally resolved?

24. What would you say was characteristic of the type of faculty member recruited to your department?

25. What is characteristic, if possible to identify, of the scholar who is rejected by the department?

26. What are the patterns of conflict management within the department?

27. Do these patterns affect conflict management between sponsor and sponsoree?

28. How would you describe the national image of your department?

29. Do you think sponsor/sponsoree relations are influenced by the above characterization?

30. How would you describe the departmental ethos about faculty-student relations? (Informal?)

31. How would you characterize collegial relations in the department? Are they also reflected in sponsor/sponsoree relations?

32. In recent years there has been pressure on graduate schools by the federal government to admit a greater number of ethnics and women into the program. Has this been a practice of your department?

33. Do you feel that the increased number of blacks and women in your department has had an effect on its traditional academic excellence?

34. Do you think that women students pose any problems to the department or to the professions in general?

35. Do you feel that black students pose any problems to the department or to the professions in general?

35a What problems do blacks and women find in the graduate program?

36. How much social distance ought to exist between faculty and student--describe. Is there a change over time?

37. How should the advisor exert control over the student's research? Do you set up procedures by which this is accomplished?

38. Do you feel that faculty members ought to consider themselves as "gatekeepers" of the profession? If so, what means should they use to implement this belief?

39. Students have anxieties as they go through professional programs. What are some of the typical ones?

40. What suggestions do you offer to help allay these anxieties?

41. Would you permit your advisee to come to you with his or her personal problems?

42. What satisfactions do faculty members receive in working with graduate students?

43. What are the greatest difficulties in developing good relations with your advisee?

44. In the present job market and general economic climate, what role do you see the sponsor relation assuming in a student's life?

45. If there were no jobs available to the new Ph.D., what advice would you give to your advisee? What would you do to implement this advice? What support could you expect from your colleagues?

46. Do you feel that there is anything further to discuss about the faculty-student relationship in graduate school?

47. Would you provide a list of your publications and other professional activities?

APPENDIX

STUDENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Age

2. Sex

3. Marital status

4. Ethnic group

5. Undergraduate school and major

6. Year in graduate program

7. Specialty

8. What factors were most influential in your choice of discipline and graduate school?

9. Describe the socio-economic status of your parents?

10. What was their educational background?

12. Were there any other significant relationships or experiences that shaped your attitude towards a professional education?

13. What were your initial expectations of graduate school?

14. How well do you think they are fulfilled?

15. What procedures did you use to obtain a research advisor?

16. How do you communicate with your advisor?

17. What do you expect from your advisor--
    a. in regard to supervision of your research
    b. in regard to relations with other members of the faculty in the department
    c. in regard to aid in professional advancement

d. in regard to seeking a position after the Ph.D.?

18. What kind of strategies do you use to assure that these expectations will be met?

19. What qualities in a graduate student do you think are most valued by members of the department?

20. What techniques are used to communicate to students that they do not meet the above-mentioned standards?

21. What benefits do you think your advisor derives from the relationship?

22. Do you expect the relationship to extend beyond the period of dissertation research? In what way?

23. Do you see your relationship progressing in stages? How?

24. What mechanisms of control does your sponsor use in directing your research?

25. When you have disagreements of conflict over the direction of your research, how are they usually resolved?

26. Does your relationship with your advisor extend beyond the immediate research concerns of the dissertation? If so, how?

27. How would you describe the national image of your department? Does this have an effect on faculty-student relations?

28. What kind of faculty member seems to be recruited to the department? Can you identify any particular characteristics?

29. What kind of faculty member seems to be rejected by the department? Why?

30. From your vantage point, how is conflict managed in the department? Do the procedures employed affect faculty-student relations?

31. Is there a departmental "ethos" about faculty-student relations? What degree of social distance should be maintained? Describe.

32. Do blacks have any specific problems in the department?

33. Do women have any specific problems in the department?

34. Do you feel that the increased number of blacks and women pose any problem to the department's tradition of academic excellence? Do you think this view is held by any members of the faculty?

35. Students have many anxieties as they go through graduate programs. What are some of the typical ones that you have experienced?

36. Were you able to obtain emotional or psychological support from your advisor to meet these problems?

37. Would you discuss personal problems with your advisor?

38. What are the greatest difficulties you experience in working with your advisor?

39. What are the greatest satisfactions that you experience in your relationship with your advisor?

40. How would you evaluate your overall experience in graduate school? Your relationship with your advisor?

41. Where do you envision yourself in 5 years?

42. How will the relationship with your advisor aid you in meeting this goal?

43. Have you ever published any papers or participated in any professional meetings?

45. Do you have anything to add to the discussion on faculty-student relations that has not been covered in the interview?

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