Toward a Theory of Organizational Socialization

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I.   Organizational Socialization

Introduction

Work organizations offer a person far more than merely a job. Indeed, from

the time individuals first enter a workplace to the time they leave their member-

ship behind, they experience and often commit themselves to a distinct way of

life complete with its own rhythms, rewards, relationships, demands, and potentials.

To be sure, the differences to be found within and between organizations range

from the barely discernible to the starkly dramatic. But, social research has

yet to discover a work setting which leaves people unmarked by their participation.

By and large, studies of work behavior have, to date, focused primarily

upon the ahistorical or "here and now" behavior and attitudes assumed by individual

members of an organization that are associated with various institutional, group,

interactional, and situational attributes. Relatively less attention has been

given to the manner in which these responses are thought to arise. In particular,

the question of how it is that only certain patterns of thought and action are

passed from one generation of organizational members to the next has been neglected.

Since such a process of socialization necessarily involves the transmission of

information and values, it is fundamentally a cultural matter.[1]

Any organizational culture consists broadly of long standing rules

of thumb, a somewhat special language and ideology that help edit a mem-

ber'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, su-

periors, and outsiders, and a sort of residual category of some rather

plain "horse sense" regarding what is appropriate and "smart" behavior within the organization and what is not. All of these cultural modes of thinking, feeling, and doing are, of course, fragmented to some degree giving rise within large organizations to various "subcultures" or "organizational segments."[2]

Such cultural forms are so rooted in the recurrent problems and common experiences of the membership in an organizational segment that once learned they become viewed by insiders as perfectly "natural" responses to the world of work they inhabit. This is merely to say that organizational cultures arise and are maintained as a way of coping with and making sense of a given problematic environment. That organizations survive the lifetimes of their founders is then to suggest that the culture established by the original membership displays at least some stability through time. Metaphorically, just as biologists sometimes argue that "gene pools" exploit individuals in the interest of their own **survival, organizations, as sociocultural forms, do the same. Thus, the devout believer is the Church's way of ensuring the survival of the Church; the loyal citizen is the State's way of ensuring the survival of the State: the scientific apprentice is Physics' way of ensuring the survival of Physics; and the productive employee is the Corporation's way of ensuring the survival of the Corporation.**

This is not to say, however, that the transfer of a particular work **culture from generation to generation of organizational participants occurs smoothly, quickly, and without evolutionary difficulty. New members always bring with them at least the potential for change. They may, for example, question old assumptions about how the work is to be performed, be ignorant of some rather sacred interpersonal conventions that define authority relationships within the workplace, or fail to properly appre-**

ciate the work ideology or organizational mandate shared by the more ex-
perienced members present on the scene. Novices bring with them differ-
ent backgrounds, faulty preconceptions of the jobs to be performed within
the setting including their own, and perhaps values and ends that are at
odds with those of the working membership.

The more experienced members must therefore find ways to insure that
the newcomer does not disrupt the on-going activity on the scene, embarrass
or cast a disparaging light on others, or question too many of the estab-
lished cultural solutions worked out previously. Put bluntly, new members
must be taught to see the organizational world as do their more experienced
colleagues if the traditions of the organization are to survive. The manner
in which this teaching/learning occurs is referred to here as the organiza-
tional socialization process.

What Is Organizational Socialization?

At heart, organizational socialization is a jejune phrase used by
social scientists to refer to the process by which one is taught and
learns "the ropes" of a particular organizational role. In its most gen-
eral sense, organizational socialization is then the process by which an
individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to
assume an organizational role. Across the roles, the process may appear
in many forms ranging from a relatively quick, self-guided, trial-and-
error process to a far more elaborate one requiring a lengthy preparation
period of education and training followed by an equally drawn out period
of official apprenticeship. [3] **In fact, if one takes seriously the notion**
that learning itself is a continuous and life-long process, the entire
organizational career of an individual can be characterized as a socializa-
tion process (Schein, 1971a; Van Maanen, 1977a). At any rate, given a par-

ticular role, organizational socialization refers minimally, though, as

we shall see, not maximally, to the fashion in which an individual is

taught and learns what behaviors and perspectives are customary and desir-

able within the work setting as well as what ones are not.

Insofar as the individual is concerned, the results of an organizational

socialization process include, for instance, a readiness to select certain

events for attention over others, a stylized stance toward one's routine

activities, some ideas as to how one's various behavioral responses to

recurrent situations are viewed by others, and so forth. In short,

socialization entails the learning of a cultural perspective that can be

brought to bear on both commonplace and unusual matters going on in the

work place. To come to know an organizational situation and act within

it implies that a person has developed some commonsensical beliefs, prin-

ciples, and understandings, or in shorthand notation, a perspective

for interpreting one's experiences in a given sphere of the

work world. As Shibutani (1962) suggests, it provides

the individual with 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. Once developed, a perspective provides a person with the

conventional wisdom that governs a particular context as to the typical

features of everyday life.

To illustrate this highly contingent and contextual process, con-

sider the following hypothetical, but completely plausible exchange between

an experienced patrolman and a colleague in a police department. When

asked about what happened to him on a given shift, the veteran officer

might well respond by saying, "we didn't do any police work, just wrote

a couple of movers and brought in a body, a stand-up, you know." The raw
recruit could hardly know of such things for the description given clearly
presumes a special kind of knowledge shared by experienced organizational
members as to the typical features of their work and how such knowledge
is used when going about and talking about their job. The rookie must
learn of these understandings and eventually come to make use of them in
an entirely matter-of-fact way if he is to continue as a member of the organi-
zation. At root, this is the cultural material with which organizational
socialization is concerned.

At this point, however, it is important to note that not all organiza-
tional socialization can be assumed to be functional for either the individ-
ual or the organization. Organizations are created and sustained by people
often for other people and are also embedded deeply within a larger and con-
tinually changing environment. They invent as well as provide the means
by which individual and collective needs are fulfilled. Whereas learning
the organizational culture may always be immediately adjustive for an
individual in that such learning will reduce the tension associated with
entering an unfamiliar situation, such learning, in the long run, may
not always be adaptive since certain cultural forms may persist long
after they have ceased to be of individual value. Consider, for example,
the pervasive practice in many relatively stable organizations of encouraging
most lower and middle managerial employees to aspire to high position with-
in the organization despite the fact that there will be very few positions
open at these levels. Perhaps the discontent of the so-called
"plateaued manager" can then be seen as a result of a socialization prac-
tice that has outlived its usefulness.

Consider also that what may be adjustive for the individual may not
be adaptive for the organization. [4] Situations in which the careless

assignment of an eager and talented newcomer to an indifferent, disgruntled,
or abrasively cantankerous supervisor may represent such a case wherein
the adjustive solution seized upon by the new member is to leave the organiza-
tion as soon as employment elsewhere has been secured. Socialization prac-
tices must not therefore be taken-for-granted or, worse, ignored on the
basis that all cultural learning is fundamentally functional. The sieve
that is history operates in often capricious and accidental ways and there
is little reason to believe that all aspects of a culture that are manufac-
tured and passed on by members of an organization to other incoming members
are necessarily useful at either the individual or collective levels.

We must note also that the problems of organiza-
tional socialization refer to any and all passages undergone by members
of an organization. From beginning to end, a person's career
within an organization represents a potential series of transitions from
one position to another (Van Maanen, 1977b; Glaser, 1968; Hall, 1976;
Schein, 1971a). These transitions may be few in number or many, they may
entail upward, downward, or lateral movement, and demand relatively mild
to severe adjustments on the part of the individual. Of course, the
intensity, importance, and visibility of a given passage will vary across
a person's career. It is probably most obvious (both to the individual
and to others on the scene) when a person first enters the organization --
the outsider to insider passage. It is perhaps least obvious when an
experienced member of an organization undergoes a simple change of assign-
ment, shift, or job location. Nevertheless, a period of socialization
accompanies each passage. From this standpoint, organizational socializa-

tion is ubiquitous, persistent, and forever problematic.

II. Background and Underlying Assumptions

With few exceptions, observers of organizations have failed to give systematic attention to the problem of how specific bits of culture are transmitted within an organization. The empirical materials that do exist are scattered widely across all disciplines found in the social sciences and hence do not share a common focus or a set of similar concepts. [5] Even within sociology and anthropology, the disciplines most concerned with cultural matters, the published studies devoted to socialization practices of groups, organizations, subcultures, societies, tribes, and so forth tend to be more often than not anecdotal, non-comparative, and based upon retrospective informant accounts of the process rather than the observation of the process *in situ.* Indeed, then, general statements about the process, content, agents, and targets of organizational socialization are grossly impressionistic. In other words, a total conceptual scheme for attacking the problem may be said to be presently non-existent.

In this and the sections to follow, we offer the beginnings of a descriptive conceptual scheme which we feel will be useful in guiding some much needed research in this crucial area. Our efforts are directed toward building a sound theoretical base for the study of organizational socialization and not toward proffering any normative theory as the the "effectiveness" or "ineffectiveness" of any give organizational form. We are interested consequently in generating a set of interrelated theoretical propositions about

the structure and outcome of organizational socialization processes. Such a theory, to be analytically sound, must accomplish at least three things. First, it must tell us where to look within an organization to observe socialization in its most salient and critical forms. Second, such a theory must describe in a fashion generally applicable to a large number of organizational contexts the various cultural forms organizational socialization can take. And, third, the theory must offer some explanation as to why a particular form of a socialization occuring at a given location within an organization tends to result in certain kinds of individual or collective outcomes rather than others. Only in this fashion will it be possible to build a testable theory to direct research in the area. [6]

Some Assumptions

There are, of course, many assumptions that undergird our theory building efforts in this regard. First, and perhaps of most importance, is the well grounded assumption that individuals undergoing any organizational transition are in an anxiety producing situation. In the main, they are more or less motivated to reduce this anxiety by learning the functional and social requirements of their newly assumed role as quickly as possible. The sources of this anxiety are many. To wit, psychological tensions are promoted no doubt by the feelings of loneliness and isolation that are associated initially with a new location in an organization as well as the performance anxieties a person may have when assuming new duties. Gone also is the learned social situation with its established and comfortable routines for handling interaction and predicting the responses of others to oneself. Thus, stress is likely because newcomers to a particular organizational role will initially feel a lack of identifica-

tion with the various activities observed to be going on about them. Needless to say, different kinds of transitions will invoke different levels of anxiety, but any passage from the familiar to the less familiar will create some difficulties for the person moving on.

Second, organizational socialization and the learning that is associated with it does not occur in a social vacuum strictly on the basis of the official and available versions of the new role requirements. Any person crossing into a new organizational region is vulnerable to clues on how to proceed that originate within the interactional zone that immediately surrounds him. Colleagues, superiors, subordinates, clients, and other associates support and guide the individual in learning the new role. Indeed, they help to interpret the events one experiences such that one can eventually take action in one's altered situation. Ultimately, they provide the individual with a sense of accomplishment and competence (or failure and incompetence).

Third, the stability and productivity of any organization depends in large measure upon the ways newcomers to various positions come to eventually carry out their tasks. When the passing of positions from generation to generation of incumbents is accomplished smoothly with a minimum of disruption, the continuity of the organization's mission is maintained, the predictability of the organization's performance is left intact. And, assuming the organizational environment remains reasonably stable, and the survival of the organization is assured -- at least in the short run. It could be said that the various socialization processes carried out within an organization represent the glue which holds together the various interlocking parts of an on-going social concern.

Fourth, the way in which individuals adjust to novel circumstances is remarkably similar though there is no doubt great variation in the par-

ticular content and type of adjustments achieved (or not achieved). In
some cases, a shift into a new work situation may result in a sharply altered
organizational and personal identity for an individual as often occurs
when a factory worker becomes a foreman or a staff analyst becomes a line
manager. In other cases, the shift may result in only minor and insig-
nificant changes in a person's organizational and personal identity as per-
haps is the case when a craftsman is rotated to a new department or a fireman
changes from working the hook-and-ladder to a rescue squad. Yet, in any
of these shifts there is still likely to be at least some surprise or what
Hughes (1958) calls "reality shock" in store for the individual involved
when he first encounters the new working context. When persons undergo a
transition, regardless of the information they already possess about the
new role, their a priori understandings of that role will undoubtedly
change.[7] In short, rarely, if ever, can such learning be complete until
a newcomer has endured a period of initiation within the new role. As
Barnard (1938) noted with characteristic clarity, "there is no instant
replacement, there is always a period of adjustment."

Fifth, the analysis that follows makes no so-called functional assump-
tions about the necessity of organizations to socialize individuals to
particular kinds of roles. Indeed, we reject any implicit or explicit
notions that certain organizationally relevant rules, values, or motiva-
tions must be internalized by people as "blueprints for behavior" if they
are to participate and contribute to the organization's continued survival.
Such a view leaves little room for individual uniqueness and ignores the
always problematic contextual nature of the various ways organizational
roles can be filled. While, there are no doubt reasons why certain social-
ization tactics are used more frequently by one organization rather than
another, these reasons are to be located at the human level of analysis,
not at the structural or functional levels. From this perspective, we
are very much committed to a symbolic interactionist view of social life,
one that suggests that individuals, not organizations, create and sustain
beliefs about what is and is not functional (Strauss, 1959). And, as in

all matters individual, what is functional for one actor may be dysfunctional for another.

Sixth, and finally, we assume here that a theory of organizational socialization must not allow itself to become too preoccupied with individual characteristics (age, background, personality characteristics, etc.), specific organizations (public, private, voluntary, coercive, etc.), or particular occupational roles (doctor, lawyer, crook, banker, etc.). To be of value to researchers and laymen alike, the theory must transcend the particular and peculiar, and aim for the general and typical. At least at this stage in the construction of a theory, there are, as we will show, some rather recognizable and pervasive socialization processes used across virtually all organizational settings and all kinds of individuals that can be understood far more quickly and directly if we do not bog ourselves down in the examination of every dimension that conceivably could influence the outcome of a given process. In other words, the theory we sketch out below does not seek to specify its own applications or uniqueness. What we attempt to accomplish here is the identification of the likely effects upon individuals who have been processed into a general organizational location through certain identified means. Our concern is therefore with the effects of what can be called "people processing" devices. The frequency and substantive outcome of the use of these devices across particular types of people, organizations, and occupations are then peripheral to our analytic concern and properly lie beyond the scope of this paper for these are questions best handled by detailed empirical study.

Plan of this Paper

Given this rather lengthy presentation of introductory matters, the following section, Part III, provides a model of the general setting in which organizational socialization takes place. As such, it is a theoretical depiction of an organization within which certain boundaries exist and therefore demark particular transition points where socialization can be expected to occur. In Part IV, several types of individual responses or outcomes to the socialization process are described in terms we believe to be both organizationally and theoretically relevant. That is, these outcomes are potential effects of a given socialization process and are considered largely in terms of how an individual actually behaves in the new organizational role, not in terms of how an individual may or may not feel toward the new role. It is therefore the performance or action of a person that concerns us in this section and not the attitudes, motives, beliefs, or values that may or may not be associated with an individual's handling of a given organizational role. In Part V, we present the basic propositions which comprise the core analytic materials of this paper and specify a set of strategic or tactical means by which organizational socialization is typically accomplished. Each strategy or tactic is discussed generally and then related systematically to its probable absence or presence at a given boundary as well as its probable effect upon individuals who are crossing a particular boundary. Part VI concludes the paper with a brief overview and guide to future research in this area.

III.   The Organizational Setting: Segments and Boundaries

Perhaps the best way to view an organization follows the anthropological line suggesting that any group of people who interact regularly over an

extended period of time will develop a sort of unexplicated or tacit mandate

concerning what is correct and proper for a member of the group to undertake as

well as what is the correct and proper way to go about such an undertaking. At

a high level of abstraction, then, members of on-going business organizations, for

example, orient their efforts toward "making money" in socially prescribed

ways just as members of governmental agencies orient their efforts toward

"doing public service" in socially prescribed ways. More concretely, however,

organizations are made up of people each following ends that are to some

degree unique. But, since these people interact with one another and

share information, purposes, and approaches to the various everyday problems

they face, organizations can be viewed as arenas in which an almost infinite

series of negotiated situations arise over who will do what, when, where,

and in what fashion. Over time, these negotiations result in an emerging

set of organizationally defined roles **for people to fill (Manning 1970). These roles**

may or may not be formalized and fully sanctioned throughout the organization

yet they nonetheless appear to have some rather stable properties associated

with them which tend to be passed on from role taker to role taker. Of

course, these organizationaly defined roles hardly coerce each role taker

to perform in identical ways. Certainly, whenever a novel problem arises,

people come together acting within their roles to confront and make sense

of the shared event. Such events, if serious enough, give rise to altered

definitions of both the organizational role and the organizational situation

in which the role is carried out. From this standpoint, an organiztion is

little more than a situated activity space in which various individuals

come together and base their efforts upon a somewhat shared, but continually problematic, version of what it is they are to do, both collectively and individually.[8]

The problem we face here concerns the manner in which these versions of what people are to do -- organizationally defined roles -- are passed on and interpreted from one role occupant to the next. To do so, however, requires a model of the organization such that members can be distinguished from one another and from outsiders on the basis of as few organizational variables as possible. Furthermore, we need a model that is flexible enough to allow for as much descriptive validity as possible across a wide variety of organizational contexts.

Schein (1971a) has developed a model of the organization that provides a quite useful description of an organizationally defined role in terms of three dimensions that are discernable empirically. The first dimension is a functional one and refers to the various tasks performed by members of an organization. Thus, most organizations have departmental structures which for enterprises located in the business sector of the economy might include the functions of marketing, finance, production, administrative staff, personnel, research and development, and so forth. In the public sector, an organization like a police department might have functional divisions corresponding to patrol, investigations, communications, planning, records, custody, and the like. Visually, we can map the functional domains of an organization along departmental and subdepartmental or program lines as if each function and sub-function occupied a part of a circle or pie-shaped figure. Each function then covers a particular portion of the circumference

of the circle depending upon its proportionate size within the organization.

Consider, for example, the XYZ Widget Company as depicted in Figure 1.

(INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE)

Each slice in the figurative representation is a functional division
with relatively distinct boundaries such that most persons in the organiza-
tion could easily locate themselves and others within a slice of the circle.
Clearly, no two organizations would be precisely the same because even if
the department and subdepartment structures were identical, the numbers of
people contained within each slice would no doubt differ.

The second dimension identified by Schein concerns the hierarchical
distribution of rank within an organization. This is essentially a matter
of who, on paper, is responsible for the actions of whom. It reflects the
official lines of supervisory authority within an organization, but does
not presume that such authority automatically carries with it the power
to direct the behavior of underlings.

According to the model, very decentralized organizations will have,
for example, relatively few hierarchical distinctions whereas very centralized
organizations will have many. Mapping this dimension on paper, it would
typically take a triangular shape (the traditional organizational pyramid)
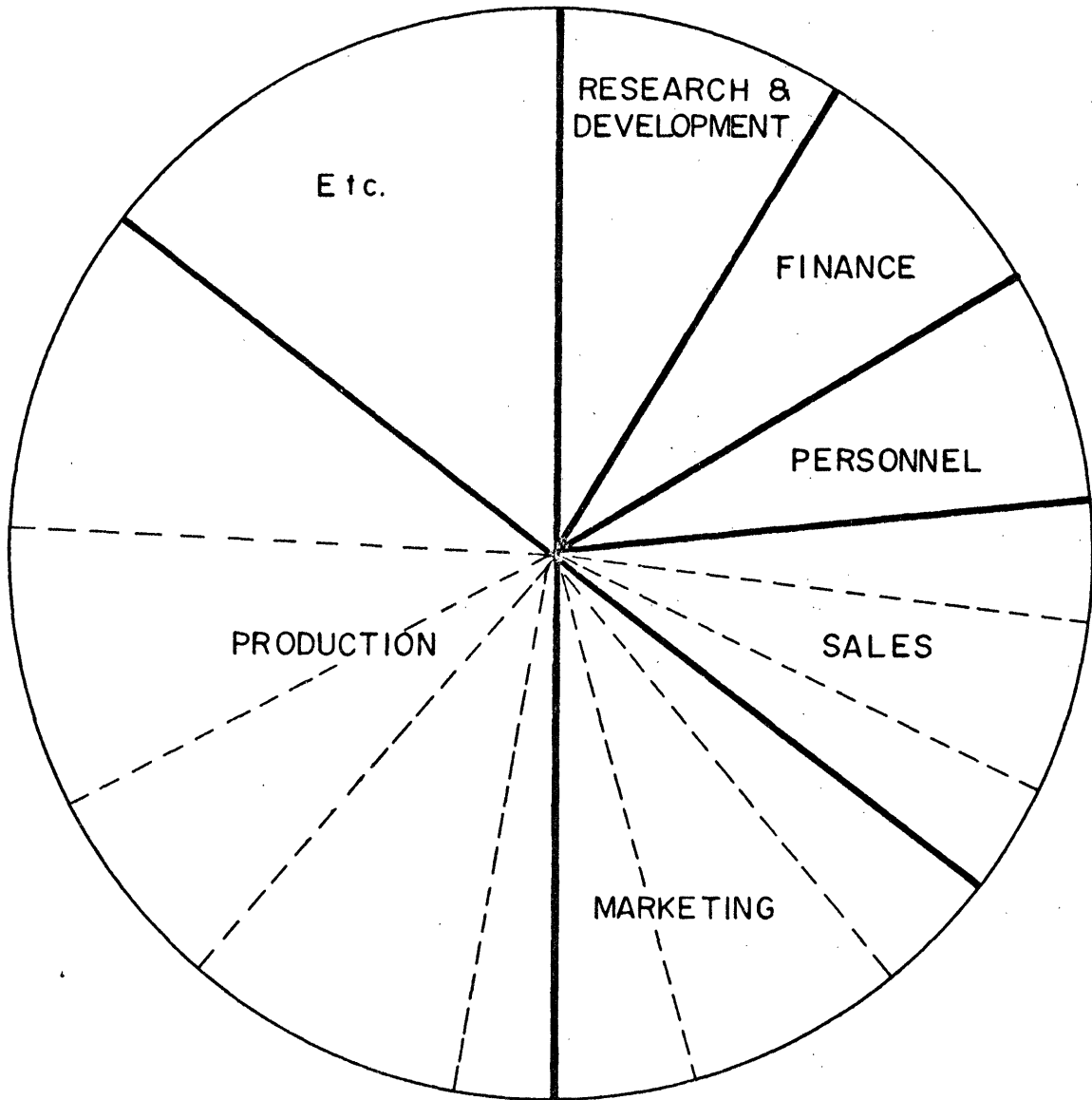wherein the highest ranks are held by relatively few people located at the

XYZ WIDGET CO.

Figure I: Functional Domains of Organizations

apex. For example, Figure 2 illustrates a graphic representation of the hierarchical dimension in five hypothetical, but possible, organizations.

(INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE)

As Figure 2 suggests, a vast number of hierarchical possibilities exist. The XYZ Widget Company (2-A) is perhaps the most typical in that it fits textbook models of a management structure wherein increasing rank is assumed by decreasing numbers of people in a relatively smooth way. Metropolitan Police Department (2-B) is representative of a large number of service bureaucracies. These agencies have been tagged "street level" organizations because, in part, most of their membership occupies positions that carry low rank. To wit, over 75 percent of the employees in most police organizations work as patrolmen or investigators, the lowest ranked positions in these organizations (Van Maanen, 1974; Lipsky, 197|). Zipper Sales, Inc. (2-C) illustrates an organization with a very steep authority structure within which each rank supervises relatively few people but there are many ranks. Pyramid sales organizations and peacetime armies are good examples in this regard. The Zero Research Institute (2-D) displays what a relatively flat hierarchical structure looks like in this scheme. Here there are few ranks for members to seek to ascend. Finally, the Stuffed Mattress Corporation (2-E) is included here to demonstrate something of the range of possiblities available to describe the hierarchical spread which potentially can characterize an organization. As can be seen, the Stuffed Mattress Company has a bulging number of middle managers. In fact, there are more managers than workers in this hypothetical firm.

A: XYZ Widget Co.

RANK
high

low

B: Metro Police Dept.

C: Zipper Sales Inc.
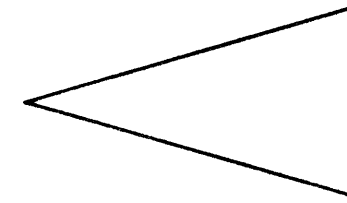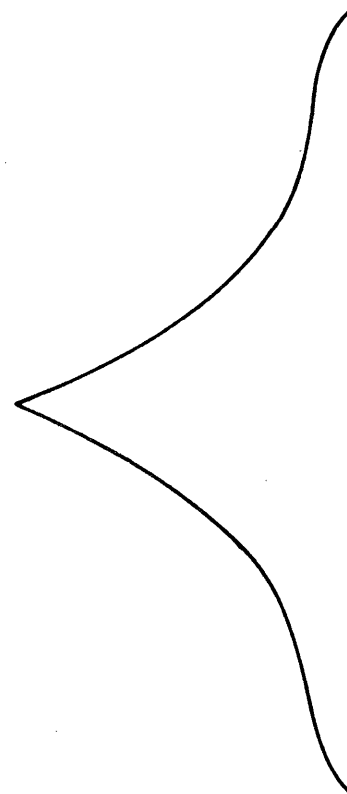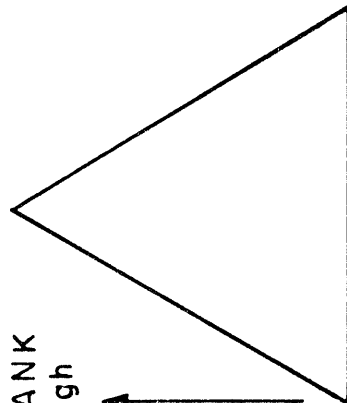
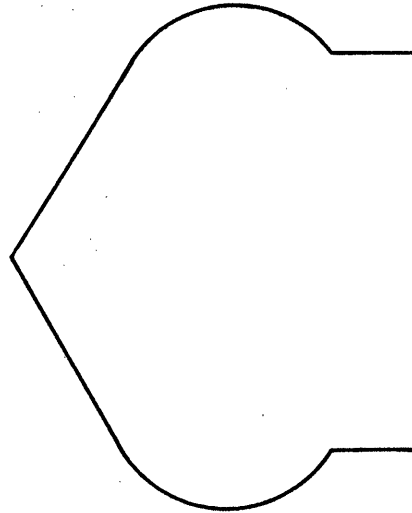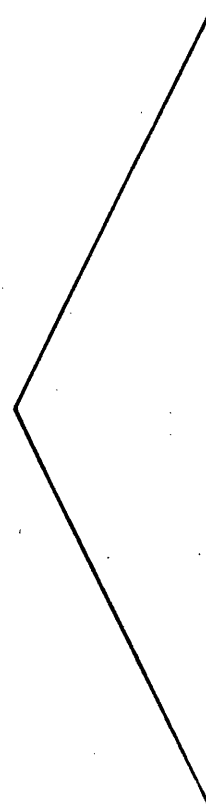D: Zero Research Institute

E: Stuffed Mattress Co.

Figure 2. Hierarchical Domains of Organizations

The third dimension in Schein's model is the most difficult to con-
ceptualize and concerns the social fabric or interpersonal domain of
organizational life. This is fundamentally an interactional dimension
and refers to a person's inclusion within the organization. It can be
depicted as if it were a radial dimension extending from the membership
edge of a slice of organizational members in toward the middle of the
functional circle. As Figure 3 indicates, movement along this dimension
implies that a member's relationship with others in some segment of the
organization changes. One moves toward the "center of things" or away
toward the "periphery." When examining this dimension, the question must
be asked how important to others on the immediate scene is a given member's
role in the workings of a particular group, department, or organization?
Thus, this radial dimension must involve the social rules, norms, and values
through which a person's worthiness to a group is judged by members of that
group. It concerns in part, then, the shared notions of what the "realwork"
of any organizational segment is at any given time. To move along this
dimension is to become accepted by others as a central and working member
of the particular organizational segment and this can normally not be
accomplished unless the member-in-transition demonstrates that he or she

too shares the same assumptions as others in the setting as to what is
organizationally important and what is not.

(INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE)

Newcomers to most hierarchical levels and functional areas in
virtually all organizations inevitably remain "on the edge" of organiza-
tional affairs for some time after entrance for a host of reasons. They
may not yet be deemed trustworthy by other members on the scene. They may

Central Figure   Leader

Confidant

     Tenure Granted
     Permanent Membership

Confederate

Proviso Member

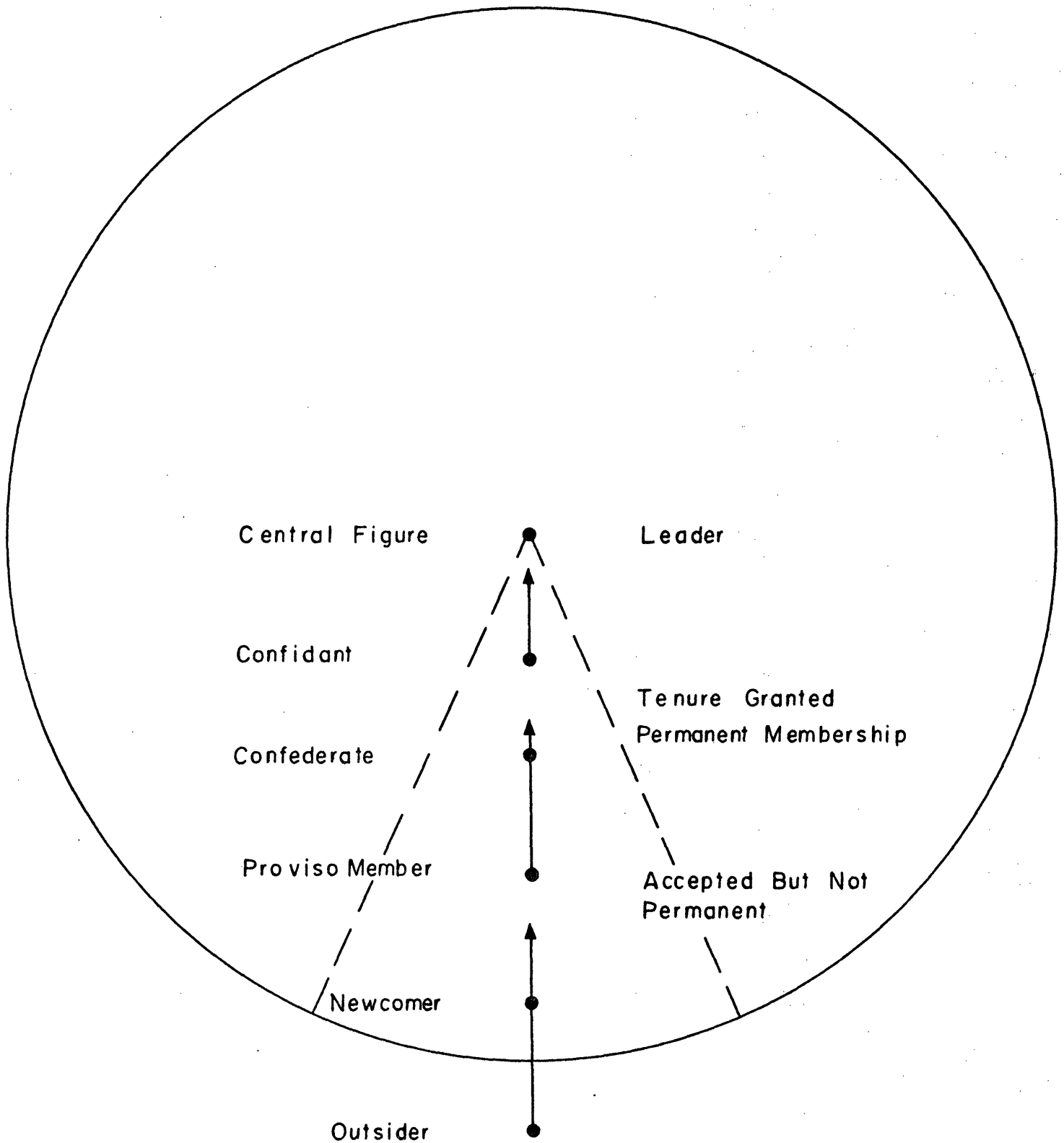   Accepted But Not
     Permanent

Newcomer

Outsider

Figure 3: Inclusionary Domains of Organizations

not yet have had time to develop and present the sort of affable, cynical,
easy going, or hard-driving front maintained and expected by critical
others in the setting which marks membership in the particular segment of
the organization to which the newcomer has been assigned. Or, quite typically,
newcomers must first be tested either informally or formally as to their
abilities, motives, and values before being granted inclusionary rights
which then permit them: 1) to share organizational secrets, 2) to separate
the presentational rhetoric used on outsiders to speak of what goes on in
the setting from the operational rhetoric used by insiders to communicate
with one another as to the matters-at-hand, and/or 3) to understand the
unofficial yet recognized norms associated with the actual work going on
and the moral conduct expected of people in the particular organizational
segment.

In other words, movement along the inclusionary dimension is
analogous to the entrance of a stranger to any group. If things go well,
the stranger is granted more say in the group's activities and is given
more opportunity to display his or her particular skills thus becoming in the
process more central and perhaps valuable to the group as a whole. In
short, to cross inclusionary boundaries means that one becomes an insider
with all the rights and privileges that go with such a position. To
illustrate, given a particular function and hierarchical level, passing
along the inclusionary dimension can be characterized as going from an
outsider, to a marginally accepted novice group member, to a confederate
of sorts who assists other members on certain selected matters, to a
confidant or intimate of others who fully shares in all the social,
cultural, and task related affairs of the group. In certain educational
institutions, the granting of university tenure represents the formal
recognition of crossing a major inclusionary boundary, as well as the more
obvious hierarchical passage.

When the three dimensions -- functional, hierarchical, and inclusionary -- are combined, the model of the organization becomes analytically most useful and interesting. From a Weberian, ideal-type perspective, organizations are conical in shape and contain within them three generic types of boundaries across which a member may pass (see Figure 4-A). And, as Schein suggests, these boundaries will differ within and between organizations as to both their number and permeability (i.e., the ease or difficulty associated with a boundary passage). Relatively tall organizations (4-B) may have, for example, many hierarchical boundaries yet relatively few functional and inclusionary ones. By implication, members moving up or down in such organizations must orient themselves more to rank and level distinctions among the membership than to the distinctions which result from either functional specialization or social status within a given rank. Military organizations and the elaborate pageantry that surrounds the hierarchical realms within them are unusually good examples of this type. On the other hand, flat organizations (4-C) such as some consulting firms have few hierarchical boundaries but many functional and inclusionary ones. Indeed, in such firms, turnover is high and few members are allowed (or necessarily desire) to pass across the relatively stringent radial dimensions to become central and permanent fixtures within the organization. Prestigious universities represent another good illustration wherein functional boundaries are exceedingly difficult to rotate through and inclusionary boundaries are guarded by the most rigorous of tenuring policies.

(INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE)

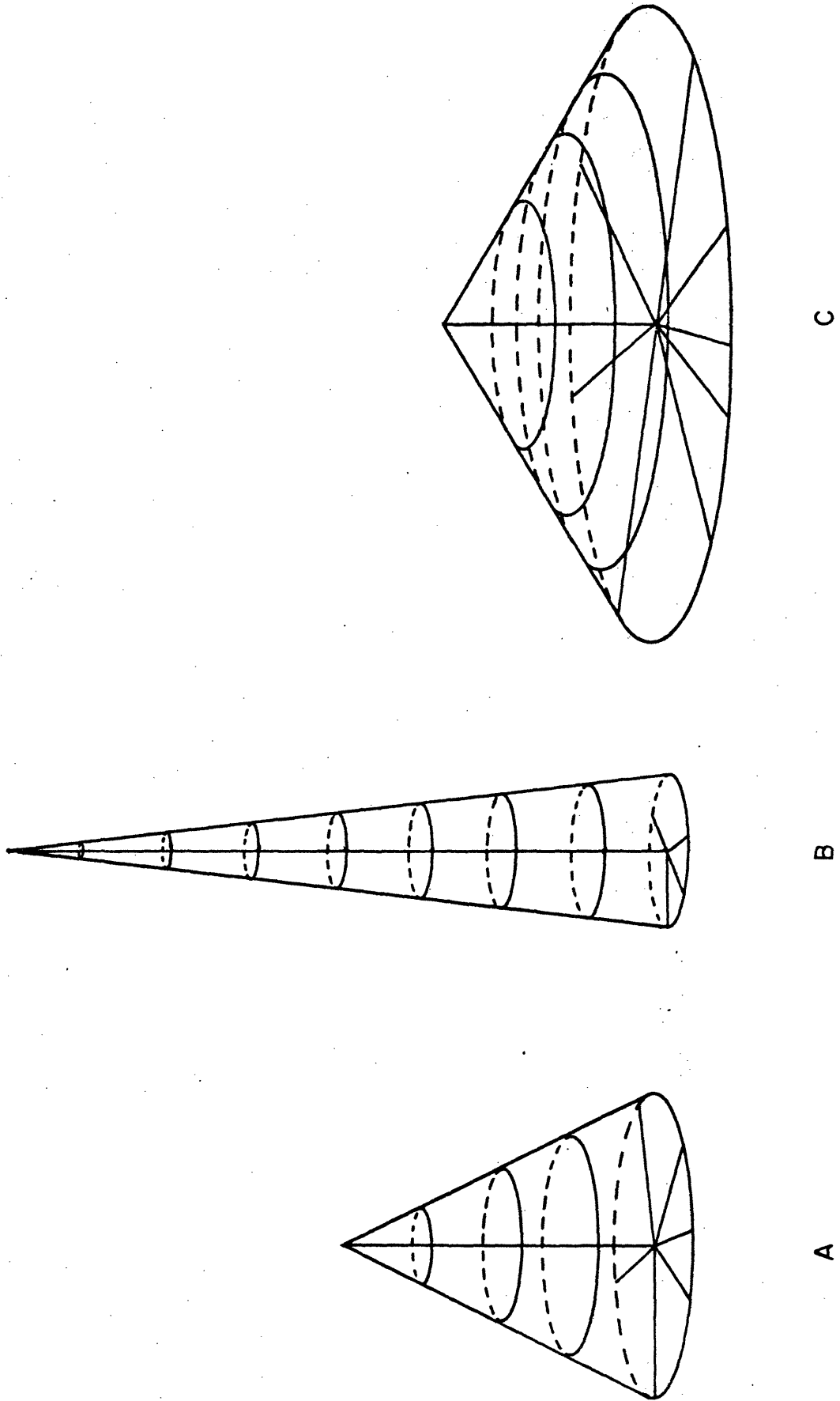Organizations also differ in the sorts of filtering processes they use

Figure 4. Variations I

to screen, select, and process those members who pass across particular boundaries. Hierarchical boundaries crossed by persons moving upward are associated usually with filtering processes carrying notions of merit, potential, and judged past performance, although age and length of service are often utilized as surrogate measures of "readiness" to move upward in an organization. Functional boundaries usually filter people on the basis of their demonstrated skill or assumed aptitude to handle a particular task. However, when functional boundaries are relatively permeable, as they often are, the filtering process may operate on the premise that there are people in the organization who "need" or "wish" to broaden their work experiences. Finally, inclusionary filters, in the main, represent evaluations made by others on the scene as to another's "fitness" for membership. Of course, such evaluations may be formal, informal, or both. Consider the new patrolman in a large urban police department who must not only serve out a period of official probation successfully but also must pass a number of unofficial colleague-initiated tests on the street before others in the department will view him as a desirable member of the patrol division (and assigned squad within that division) within the organization (Van Maanen, 1973; Rubenstein, 1973).

Given this model, some key postulates about the socialization process in organizations can be stated.

First, socialization, although continuous throughout one's career within an organization, is no doubt more intense and problematic for a member (and others) just before and just after a particular boundary passage. That is, an individual's anxiety and hence vulnerability to organizational influence are likely to be highest during the anticipatory and initiation phases of an organizational boundary passage.

Similarly, the more boundaries that are crossed by a person at any one time, the more profound the experience is likely to be for the person. This is one reason why the outsider-to-insider passage in which an individual crosses over all three organizational boundaries at once is so often marked by dramatic changes in a person, changes of a sort that are rarely matched again during other internal passages of the individual's career (Van Maanen, 1976; Glaser, 1968; Becker et al., 1961; Hughes, 1958).

Second, a person is likely to have the most impact upon others in the organization, what Porter, Lawler, and Hackman (197$) call the "individualization" process and what Schein (1968) refers to as the "innovation" process, at points furthest from any boundary crossing. In other words, the influence of the organization upon the individual peaks during passage, whereas the individual's influence upon the organization peaks well after and well before any further movement.

Third, because of the conical shape typically displayed by organizations, socialization along the inclusionary dimension is likely to be more critical to lower placed members than higher placed members since, according to the model, to move up in the organization indicates that some, perhaps considerable movement has already occurred inward. This presumes, however, an ideal - type, symmetrically shaped organizations wherein central members from the top to the bottom of the organization all share roughly the same norms and values. In fact, as Figure 5-A shows, organizations may be

non-symmetrically skewed, thus, hierarachically favoring the movement up
of only those persons coming from a particular functional or inclusionary
location. Consider, for example those business concerns whose top executives
invariably come from only certain functional areas of the organization.
Similarly, organizations may also be tipped radically to the side (5-B).
In such cases, certain inclusionary prerequisites for career movements and
their associated boundary passages have been more or less altered because
"insiders" at one level are "outsiders" at another. Nor are "insiders" in
a favorable position to move upward in the organization as might be the case
in more symmetrically shaped firms where certain key values are
shared by all "insiders" regardless of level. To take an example, certain
organizations headed by reform minded top officials may make "mountain
climbers" out of some members who literally scale the vertical dimension of
the organization from an outsider's or non-inclusionary position. Yet, it
is probably also true that during such a climb the climber has little effect
upon any of the various groups in which he or she may have claimed membership
since the climber will never have developed a persuasive or influential position
within these organizational segments.[10]

(INSERT FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE)

We have now reached the stage where it makes sense to return to the
individual level of analysis for a time and consider the ways in which people
can respond to an organizational socialization process. And, after consider-
ing this problem briefly, we can then proceed to the central matters of our
concern, the examination of various processes through which organizationally

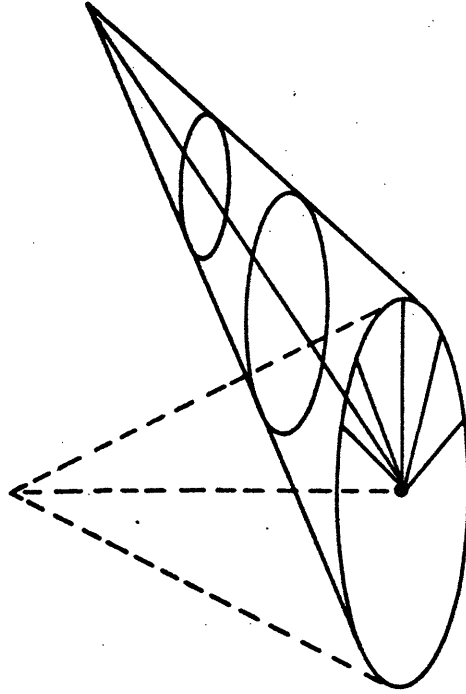A: Non-Symmetric, Skewed
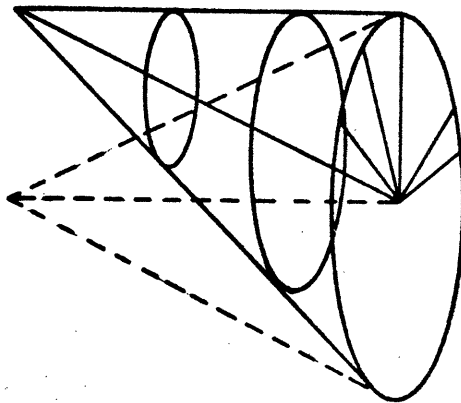
B: Non-Symmetric, Tilted

Figure 5: Variations II

defined roles (consisting of hierarchical, functional, and inclusionary

properties) are passed on from generation to generation of organizational

members.

IV. Individual Responses to Organizational Socialization

Role Components -- Knowledge, Strategy, and Mission

Any organizationally defined role includes what Hughes (1958) called

a "bundle of tasks". Whether one is a lathe operator, dentist, beauty

operator, or computer programmer, each role includes many specific

actions and tasks to be performed ranging from perhaps sweeping the

floor to mediating disputes between colleagues, or, from filling in for

an absent coworker to utilizing one's own somewhat special and unique

skills in the performance of a given task. In general, then, a role is

merely the set of often diverse behaviors that are more or less expected of

persons who occupy a certain defined position within a particular social

system, in this case, an organization (Parsons, 1951; Newcomb, 1952; Biddle

and Thomas , 1966). Moreover, it usually follows that if these expectations

are met or exceeded, certain organizational rights and rewards are passed on

to the person performing the role. If not, however, it usually follows

that certain remedial actions are taken or punishments meted out.

All roles which are created, sustained, and transmitted by people

include both content characteristics (ie, what it is people should do) and

process characteristics (ie, how it is they should do it). The content of

a particular role can be depicted both in terms of a general, almost

ideological mandate that goes with it and in terms of the practical set

of mandate-fulfilling actions that are supposed to be performed by the

role occupant. Thus, doctors are thought to "heal the sick" by prescribing

available "cures" to be found somewhere within the vast catalogue of "medical"

knowledge." Similarly, the process associated with the performance of

a role also has associated with it general strategies and specific practices.

The doctor "does diagnosis" by taking a patient's blood pressure, eliciting

a history, reading an X-ray, and so forth. Finally, linked to all these

concerns are social norms and rules which suggest, for example, the appropriate

mannerisms, attitudes, and social rituals to be displayed when performing

various parts of the "bundle of tasks" called a role. Doctors, to continue

our illustration, have "bedside manners," often assume a pose of distance

or remoteness toward certain emotionally trying events in the lives of

their patients, and take a characteristically "all knowing" stance toward

most of the nursing personnel with whom they come into contact.

Putting these conceptual matters together, organizationally defined

roles can be seen to possess, <u>first</u>, a <u>content or knowledge base</u> which,

if accepted by the role occupant, indicates the range of existing solutions

to the given problems encountered regularly on the job. Engineers know,

for instance, the heat limits to which certain metals can be exposed before

the molecules of the metals rearrange themselves. <u>Second</u>, an organizationally

defined role includes a <u>strategic base</u> which suggests the groundrules for the

chosing of particular solutions. Hence, engineers may be out to "cut costs"

or "beat the competition" in some organizations when designing a particular

product or piece of machinery. <u>Third</u>, organizationally defined roles are

invested historically with something of an <u>explicit and implicit mission,</u>

<u>purpose, or mandate</u> which is, in part, traceable to the knowledge and strategy

bases of the role, but, also is grounded in the total organizational mission

and in the relationships that a particular role has with other roles within

and outside the organization. Engineering roles, to wit, are defined and

supported by other managerial, technical support, and sales roles in both organ-

izational and client contexts, and hence are influenced by their relative position

in the overall scheme of things. While the professionalization of a particular

occupational role can be viewed as an attempt to reduce such dependencies

through the claim made by role practitioners to have an autonomous and special

knowledge base, such professionalization in an organizational society such

as ours is very incomplete.[11] At any rate, the 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.

These three features of an organizationally defined role -- knowledge

base, strategy, and mission -- and the norms that surround them are of course

highly intertwined. A change in the knowledge base of a given role may

alter the means and end followed by practitioners. Indeed, the recognized

failure to achieve a given end may provoke the development of new knowledge.

Strategic failures are not unknown either and may lead to the disenchantment

and change in the mission and knowledge bases of a particular role. Nevertheless,

given the situation in which a newcomer is asked to take on an organizationally

defined role, that newcomer must respond in some fashion to these three

elements.

Responses to Socialization --

A. Custodianship, Content Innovation, and Role Innovation

Perhaps the easiest or most expedient response of a newcomer to a given

role is to assume a custodial or caretaker stance toward the knowledge, strategies,

and missions associated with the role (Schein, 1971b). Taking such a stance,

the newcomer does not question but accepts the status quo. Certainly, there

are powerful reasons for adopting such a custodial or conforming orientation.

First and foremost among them is the plain fact that the inherited past

assumed by the newcomer may have much to recommend it in terms of functional

achievement. If the enterprise has been successful, why "rock the boat"?

One simply learns the substantive requirements of the job and the customary strategies that have been developed to meet these requirements (and the norms of use that surround them) and the successful accomplishment of the mission is assured.

On the other hand, as a newcomer one may feel for a variety of reasons somewhat impatient with or uneasy about the knowledge base of a particular organizational role that is transmitted   and, hence, be unwilling to limit oneself to the use of such knowledge in the performance of the role. A newly promoted marketing manager may, for instance, take issue with the quality of some of the regional reports used by his or her predecessor to inform his decision making. The new manager may then aggresively seek out other information on which to base his decisions. As a result, new strategies and perhaps even new objectives may eventually develop in this department. Similarly, tactical alternatives as to the means to certain ends may be sought out by individuals after assuming a new role. The new marketing manager may decide to involve more salesmen and engineers in group meetings devoted to developing new product lines instead of relying only on his or her own marketing people.

Schein (1971b) refers to this response as "content innovation." It is marked by the development of substantive improvements or changes in the knowledge base or strategic practices of a particular role. The "reformer" in public service agencies, for example, rarely seeks to change the stated objectives of the agency mission, but rather seeks to improve, make more efficient or less corrupt the existing practices by which given ends are collectively sought. In such cases, traditional ends and norms of practice are accepted by the newcomer, but the person is troubled by the existing strategies or technologies-in-use for the achievement of these ends and

perhaps is troubled too by the degree to which the traditional norms are circumvented in practice.

Pushing the analysis one more step, an individual may seek to redefine the entire role by attacking and attempting to change the mission associated traditionally with that role. This response is characterized by a complete rejection of most of the norms governing the conduct and performance of a particular role. The "Rebel" or "Guerrilla" or "Insurgent" are popular tags we attach to and associate with such responses. Take, for example, Ralph Nader's attempts within certain communities of lawyers who work for the federal government to create and sustain an organizationally defined role of consumer advocate, industrial safety proponent, or even whistleblower. Also note the recent questioning raised by health care officials as to the appropriate aims of medical practice. Some doctors have in fact argued virgorously in both words and deeds for professional roles that are proactive and preventative centered rather than the historically fixed reactive and treatment centered roles. Schein (1971b) has called this response "role innovation" in that a genuine attempt is made by a role holder to redefine the ends to which the role functions.

Thus, there are two poles toward which a newcomer's response to an organizationally defined role can gravitate. At one extreme is the caretaking response, marked by an acceptance of the role as presented and traditionally practiced by role occupants. We will label this response and the various forms it can take as "custodial". At the other extreme, we can group responses of an "innovative" nature. Perhaps most extreme are those responses which display a rejection and redefinition of the major premises concerning missions and strategies followed by the majority of the role occupants to both practice and justify their present role -- what we label here "role innovation". Less

extreme, but perhaps equally as innovative in some cases are those responses indicative of an effort to locate new knowledge on which to base the organizationally defined role or improved means to perform it -- what we label here "content innovation." Of course, such new knowledge, if discovered, may lead only to a further rationalization of the present practices and goals, but, nevertheless, the search itself, to differing degrees, represents something of an innovative response. For our purposes then, those individuals who after assuming a given role, seek actively to alter its knowledge base, strategic practices, or historically established ends display a generic response type we will label "innovative" and which can be further broken down into role innovation and content innovation.

The central but still nagging question remains, of course, as to the reasons that provoke one or the other response types. Certainly, individuals vary in their backgrounds, value systems, and predispostions to calmly accept things as they are or to vigorously strive to alter them. It is true too that changes in the larger environment within which organizationally defined roles are played out may force certain changes upon role occupants despite perhaps vehement resistence or whatever particular backgrounds, values, or predispositions define those who presently perform a given role. But, these factors go well beyond our interests here for they essentially lie outside an organizational analysis. The causal mechanism we seek to examine here is the organizational socialization process itself. Therefore, the arguement to follow suggests that there are particular forms of socialization that can enhance or retard the likelihood of an innovative or custodial response to an organizationally defined role no matter what the attributes of the people being processed or how the particular environment is characterized within which the process occurs. What these forms are and how they work is the topic now to be addressed.

V. People Processing -- The Tactical Dimensions of Organizational

Socialization and Their Effects

The phrase, "tactics of organizational socialization" refers to the ways in which the experiences of an individual in transition from one role to another are structured for him by others in the organization. (Van Maanen, 1978). These tactics may be selected consciously by the management of an organization such as the requirement that all newcomers attend a formal training session or orientation program of some kind before assuming the duties of a particular role. Or, they may be selected "unconsciously" by management, representing merely precedents established in the dim past of an organization's history such as the proverbial "sink or swim" method of socialization used on certain jobs by which individuals must learn how to perform the new role on their own. From the perspective of those learning the role, the selection of teaching methods is often made by persons not of their own situation but rather by those long gone. Yet, these choices may still bind contemporary members of the organization. Or, teaching methods may arise simply from certain latent and unexamined premises or assumptions underlying present practices. However, regardless of the manner of choice, any given tactic represents a distinguishable set of events which influence the individual in transition and which may make innovative responses from that individual more likely than custodial (or vise-versa). It is possible therefore to denote the various tactics used by organizations and then to explore the differential results of their use upon the people to whom they are directed.

The analysis presented in this section explores these tactics from primarily a structural standpoint. That is, we are interested in describing various forms and results of socialization as they occur when persons move across hierarchical, functional, and inclusionary boundaries. The main focus

is consequently upon the external or structural properties peculiar to a specified tactic. The tactics are essentially process variables akin to, but more specific than such general transitional processes as education, training, apprenticeship, or sponsorship. Furthermore, the process variables themselves are not tied to any particular type of organization. Theoretically, at least, they can be used in virtually any setting in which individual careers are played out be they business careers, school careers, political careers, service careers, blue, white, or pink collar careers, civil service careers, and so on. The analysis follows, then, the most fundamental premise that people respond to particular organizationally defined roles differently not only because people and organizations differ, but also because socialization processes differ. And, like a sculptor's mold, certain forms of socialization can produce remarkably similar outcomes no matter what individual ingredients are used to fill the mold or no matter where the mold is typically set down.

Each tactic we discuss below operates in a way that somewhat uniquely organizes the learning experiences of a newcomer to a particular role. Although much of the evidence presented here on the effects of a given strategy comes from studies conducted on the outsider-to-insider passage wherein a person first becomes a member of the organization, the analysis seems to go beyond these transitions by examining the effects of each tactic across the three organizational boundaries separately, reinforcing, at the same time, the proposition that socialization occurs periodically throughout the organizational careers of individuals.

The various tactics we will describe are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, they are usually combined in sundry and sometimes inventive ways. The effects of the tactics upon people are consequently cumulative. Except

for a short summary section, we discuss each tactic in relative isolation.

However, the reader should be aware that any recruit to an organizational

position often encounters all the listed tactics simultaneously. Additionally,

each tactic is discussed along with its counterpart or opposing tactic. In

other words, each can be thought of as existing on a continuum where there

is a considerable range between the two poles.

The term "tactic" is used here to describe each of the listed processes

because the degree to which any one tactic is used by an organization is not

in any sense a "natural" or prerequisite condition necessary for social-

ization to occur. In other words, socialization itself always takes place

at boundary transitions by some means or other. And, whether the tactics

used are selected by design or accident, they are at least theoretically

subject to rapid and complete change at the direction of the

management of an organization. In other words, the relative use of a

particular tactic upon persons crossing given organizational boundaries

can be, by and large, a choice made by organizational decision

makers on functional, economic, technical, humanistic, expedient,

traditional, or perhaps purely arbitrary grounds. This is an important point

for it suggests that we can be far more self-conscious about employing certain

"people processing techniques" than we have been in the past. In fact, a

major purpose of this paper is to heighten and cultivate a broader awareness

of what it is we do to people under the guise of "breaking them in" to an

organizationally defined role. Presumably, if we gain a greater under-

standing and appreciation for the sometimes unintended consequences of

a particular tactic, we can alter the strategy for the betterment of

both the individual and the organization.

Van Maanen (1978) has identified at least six major tactical dimensions which characterize the structural side of organizational socialization. These **dimensions or processes were deduced logically from empirical observations** and from accounts found in the social science literature. We do not assert here that this list is exhaustive or that the processes are presented in **any order of relevance to a particular organization or occupation. These are fundamentally empirical questions that can be answered only by further research. We do assert however and attempt to demonstrate that these tactics are quite common to a given boundary passage and of substantial consequence to people in the organization in that they partially determine the degree to which the response of the newcomer will be custodial or innovative.**

Lastly, we should note that there is seemingly no logical or conclusive end to a list of organizational socialization tactics. The list may well be infinite for these are essentially cultural forms that are continually subject to invention and modification as well as stabilization and continuity. At least at this juncture in the development of theory, questions concerning the use of and change in the various tactics of socialization are just beginning to be answered by carefully designed research. Our reasons for choosing these particular tactics are simply the visible presence (or omni-presence) of a tactic across what appears to be a wide variety of organizations as **well** as the seeming importance and power of that tactic on persons who are **subjected to it.**

The six dimensions we will analyze are:

1) Collective vs. individual socialization processes
2) Formal vs. informal socialization processes
3) Sequential vs. random steps in the socialization process
4) Fixed vs. variable socialization processes
5) Serial vs. dis;uctive socialization processes
6) Investiture vs. divestiture socialization processes

A. Collective vs. Individual Socialization Processes

Definition

Collective socialization refers to the tactic of taking a group
of recruits who are facing a given boundary passage and putting them through
a common set of experiences together. A number of good examples of this
process are readily available: basic training or boot camp
in military organizations, pledging in fraternal orders, education in
graduate schools for the scholarly and professional trades, intensive group
training for salesmen in business firms, management training courses to
which groups of prospective or practicing managers are sent for an
extended period of common education, and so forth.

At the other extreme, socialization in the individual mode refers to
the tactic of processing recruits singly and in isolation from one another
through a more or less unique set of experiences. Apprenticeship programs,
specific intern or trainee assignments, and plain "on-the-job training"
wherein a recruit is expected to learn a given organizationally defined role on
his or her own accord are typical examples. As Wheeler (1977) notes, the difference

between the two tactical forms is analogous to the batch versus unit
styles of production. In the batch or mass production case, recruits are
bunched together at the outset and channeled through an identical set of
events with the results being relatively uniform. In the unit or made-to-
order case, recruits are processed individually through a rather different
series of events with the results being relatively variable.

As Becker (1964) and others have argued quite persuasively, when
individuals experience a socialization program collectively, the thoughts,
feelings, and actions of those in the recruit group almost always reflect
an "in the same boat" consciousness. Individual changes in perspective are

therefore built upon an understanding of the problems faced by all group members. In Becker's words, "as the group shares problems, various members experiment with possible solutions and report back to the group. In the course of collective discussions, the members arrive at a definition of their situation and develop a consensus."

Collective socialization processes often promote and intensify the demands of the socialization agents. Indeed, army recruits socialize each other in ways the army could never do, or, for that matter, would not officially be permitted to do. Similarly, graduate students are often said to learn more from one another than from the faculty. And, while the socialization agents may have the power to define the nature of the collective problem, the recruits often have more resources available to them to define the solution -- time, experience, motivation, expertise and patience (or lack thereof). In many cases, collective tactics result in formation of an almost separate subworld within the organization comprised solely of recruits, complete with its own argot, areas of discourse, and unique understandings. A cultural perspective is developed that can be brought to bear upon common problems faced by the group.[13] Dornbush (1955) suggested, for example, that a "union of sympathy" developed among recruits in a Coast Guard Academy as a result of the enforced regimentation associated with the training program. Sharing similar difficulties and working out collective solutions clearly dramatized to the recruits the worth and usefulness of colleagual relationships.

Individual strategies also induce personal change. But the views adopted by people processed individually are likely to be far less homogeneous than the views of those processed collectively. In psychoanalytic training, for example, the vocabulary of motives a recruit-patient develops

to interpret his or her situation is quite personal and specific compared to the vocabulary that develops in group therapy (Laing, 1960). Of course, such socialization can result in deep individual changes -- what Burke (1950) refers to as "secular conversion" -- but they are lonely changes and are dependent solely upon the particular relationship which exists between agent and recruit.

Apprenticeship modes of work socialization are sometimes quite similar to the therapist-patient relationship. If the responsibility for transforming an individual to a given status within the organization is delegated to only one person, an intense, value-oriented process is most likely to follow. This practice is common whenever a role incumbent is viewed by others in the organization as being the only member capable of shaping the recruit. Caplow (1964) notes the prevalence of this practice in the upper levels of bureaucratic organizations. Since the responsibility is given to only one organizational member, the person so designated often becomes a role model whose thoughts and actions the recruit emulates. Police departments, craft-like trades, and architectural firms all make extensive use of the individual socialization strategy. Outcomes in these one-on-one efforts are dependent primarily upon the affective relationships which may or may not develop between the apprentice and master. In cases of high affect, the new member is liable to quickly and fully appreciate and accept the skills, beliefs, and values of his or her mentor and the process works relatively well. However, when there are few affective bonds, the socialization process may break down and the hoped for transition will not take place.

From this standpoint, individual socialization processes are most likely to be associated with complex roles. Further, such modes are most frequently followed when there are relatively few incumbents compared to many aspirants

for a given role and when a collective identity among recruits is viewed

as less important than the recruit's learning of the operational specifics

of the given role.

On the other hand, collective socialization programs are usually

found in organizations where there are a large number of recruits

to be processed into the same organizationally defined role; where the content

of this role can be fairly clearly specified; and, where the organization

desires to build a collective sense of identity, solidarity, and loyalty

within the cohort group being socialized. Overall, the individual processes

are expensive both in time and money. Failures cannot be easily recycled

or rescued by reassignment. And, with growing bureaucratic structures,

collective socialization tactics, because of their economy, ease, efficiency,

and predictability, have tended to replace the more traditional individual

modes of socialization such as apprenticeship and "on-the-job training" in

the modern organization (Salaman, 1973; Perrow, 1972; Blau and Schoenherr, 1971)

Given these considerations, we can now derive some propositions about

the relationship of this socialization dimension to boundary passages and

recruit responses.

Propositions

A.1. Collective socialization is most likely to be associated with

functional boundaries (where new skills of a technical or functional nature

have to be learned) or with the external -- non-member to member -- inclusionary

boundary of a given organizational segment (where some period of orientation

or training is required before it is felt recruits are capable of entering

into even the simplest of role relations associated with the new role).

A.2. Individual socialization is most likely to be associated with

hierarchical boundaries where preparation for promotion requires the complex

learning of skills, attitudes, and values, and where specific judgments of

a given individual must be made by certain others in the organization as to the person's "fitness" for promotion (or demotion). Similarly, one would expect individual socialization to precede passage through the innermost inclusionary boundaries within an organizational segment. To be granted tenure or a very central position in any organizational segment implies that the individual has been evaluated by others on the scene as to his or her trustworthiness and readiness to defend the common interests of other "insiders." Clearly, such delicate evaluations can only be accomplished on a relatively personal and case-by-case basis.

A.3. Whatever the boundary being passed, collective socialization is most likely to produce a custodial (or, at best, a content innovative) orientation among newcomers. It is least likely to produce role innovative outcomes because the group perspective which develops as a result of collective socialization acts as a constraint upon the individual.[14] The likelihood of rebellion must be mentioned however because the consensual character of the solutions to the boundary passage problems worked out by the group may allow the members to collectively deviate more from the standards set by the agents than is possible under the individual mode of socialization. Collective processes provide therefore a potential base for recruit resistance.

Classic illustrations of the dilemma raised by the use of the collective strategy can be found in both educational and work environments. In educational settings, the faculty may beseech a student to study hard while the student's compatriots exhort him to relax and have a good time. In many work settings, supervisors attempt to insure that each employee works up to his level of competence while the worker's peers try to impress upon him that he must not be a "rate buster." To the degree that recruits are backed

into the proverbial corner and can not satisfy both demands at the same time, they will typically follow the dicta of those with whom they spend most of their time. Thus, in collective modes, the congruence between agent objectives and the actual perspectives and practices adopted by the group is always problematic. "Beating the system" by selectively ignoring or disobeying certain agent demands is far more likely to occur in a collective socialization process than in an individualized one wherein agent surveillance is closer at hand to correct whatever "wrongs" the newcomer may be learning.

A.4. Individual socialization is most likely to produce the specific outcomes desired by the socialization agent(s). Because of the relatively greater control an agent has over a recruit in the individual mode, these outcomes can be custodial, content innovative, or role innovative.

The implication here is simply that if one is attempting to train for content or role innovation (i.e., set up socialization situations which will maximize the likelihood of innovative responses, it is probably essential to minimize as much as possible any collective processes thus avoiding the formation of recruit group norms based on a common or shared fate. More so than individual norms, group norms are likely to be both traditional and custodial in orientation (often reflected by the popular idioms, "the path of least resistance" or the "lowest common denominator") which serve to severely limit the newcomers' potential responses to their novel work situation.

B. Formal vs. Informal Socialization Processes

Definition

Formal socialization refers to those processes in which a newcomer is more or less segregated from regular organizational members while being

put through a set of experiences tailored explicitly for the newcomer.

Formal processes, then, leave no doubt as to the recruit's "special" role

in the scheme of things organizational (Wheeler, 1966). These processes are

illustrated by such socialization programs as police academies, professional schools,

various sorts of internships, and apprenticeships in which the activities

that are to be engaged in by the apprentice are prescribed officially and

clearly.

Informal socialization processes, in contrast, do not distinguish the

the newcomer's role specifically nor is there an effort made in such programs

to rigidly differentiate the recruit from other more experienced organizational

members. As such, informal tactics provide a sort of laissez-faire socialization

for recruits whereby new roles are learned, it is said, through trial and

error. Examples here include those proverbial "on-the-job-training" assignments,

apprenticeship programs in which the apprentice's role is not tightly specified,

and, more generally, any situation where the newcomer is accepted from the

outset as at least a provisional member of a work group and not officially

placed into a recruit role by the use of specific labels, uniforms, assignments,

or other symbolic devices designed to distinguish newcomers from others on

the scene.

This dimension is related closely to the collective-individual

dimension but it is, in principle, different. While most collective social-

ization processes are also formal ones, there are some which are informal.

To wit, there are those situations where a cohort of new employees is brought

into an organization together, where meetings are held periodically to assess

how the group is collectively getting along, but, where the work assignments

of each member of the cohort are to different departments within which each

member of the cohart is trained through informal means. On the other hand,

one can also imagine a very formal socialization program existing for an

individual which entails the labelling of the person as a recruit and also

specifies quite minutely a series of activities that must be performed as part of the training regime. Would-be partners in law firms are often subject to such socialization tactics whereby they must first handle the "dirty work" of the firm for some period. Certainly this sort of "pledge class of one" is not that uncommon in many occupational spheres.

Formal socialization processes are typically found in organizations where specific preparation for new status is involved and where it is deemed important that a newcomer learn the "correct" attitudes, values, and protocol associated with the new role. To put the matter bluntly, the more formal the process, the more concern there is likely to be shown for the recruit's absorption of the appropriate demeanor and stance associated with the target role -- that one begins to think and feel like a United States Marine, an I.B.M. executive, or a Catholic priest.

The greater the separation of the recruit from the day-to-day reality of the work setting, the less the newcomer will be able to carry over and generalize any abilities or skills learned in the socialization setting (Bidwell, 1962; Schein and Bennis, 1965). Formal processes concentrate therefore more upon attitude than act. Such results may be implicit or unintended however. Consider, for example, the research which suggests that police recruits, student nurses, and sales trainees commonly denounce their formal training as irrelevant, abstract, and dull. Paradoxically, these newcomers are also expressing in their attitude precisely those components of the valued subcultural ethos that characterizes their particular occupation -- autonomy, pragmatism, and the concern for personal style (Van Maanen, 1974; Shafer, 1975; Olsen and Whittiker, 1967).

It is important to note too that formal periods of socialization not only serve to prepare recruits to assume particular statuses in an organizational world, they also serve to provide an intensive period in which others in

the organization can rather closely judge the newcomer's commitment and deference to the critical values of the occupation. Recruits in police academies are, for example, assessed quite thoroughly by staff members as to their loyalty to not only the organization, but to their fellow recruits as well. And, those who do not adhere to particular norms thought crucial to the trade (e.g., the "no rat rule") are ushered as unceremoniously out of police departments as they were ushered ceremoniously in (Manning and Van Maanen, 1978). It is true of course that merely passing through a rigorous formal process serves also as a test of the recruit's willingness to assume the new role. Often, simply the sacrifice and hard work it takes a recruit to complete a very long formal process serves to effectively fuse the newcomer to the prepared-for role. Thus, given a lengthy and demanding formal process, it is unlikely that one will later wish to jeopardize the practical value of such a course by quitting or appearing to forget occupational lessons once learned.

Learning through experience in the informal socialization mode is an entirely different matter. First, such tactics place recruits in the position where they must select their own socialization agents. The value of this mode to the newcomer is then determined largely by the relevant knowledge possessed by an agent and, of course, the agent's ability to transfer such knowledge. The freedom of choice afforded recruits in the more informal processes has therefore a price: they must force others in the setting to teach them.[15] Second, mistakes or errors made by recruits in an informal socialization process must be regarded as more costly and serious than mistakes occuring in formal processes. Because real work is interfered with, a recruit who makes a mistake may create considerable trouble for both himself and others. The rookie patrolman who "freezes" while he and his partner strive to settle a tavern brawl on the street rather than in an academy role playing

exercise may find himself ostracized from the inner circle of his squad. The forgetful novice beautician who provokes a customer by dyeing her hair the wrong color may be forced to look elsewhere for an organization in which to complete the mandatory licensing requirement of the trade. Experienced organizational members know full well that "mistakes happen" but a recruit is under a special pressure to perform well during an informal initiation period -- or to at least ask before acting.

With these considerations in mind, the following general propositions can now be stated.

Propositions

B.1. Formal socialization is most likely to be associated with hierarchical and inclusionary boundary passages wherein a newcomer is expected to assume a new status or rank in the organization (complete with the values, attitudes, and demeanor that go with such new status). Informal socialization, on the other hand, is most likely to be associated with functional boundary passages wherein the newcomer must learn new skills, methods, or practical abilities. If, however, the new skills to be learned also require a new knowledge base, a formal training period dealing specifically with such knowledge and its use may precede the boundary passage. Since the teaching of such knowledge is likely to occur in idealized or "theoretical" situations in a formal process, an informal process of socialization dealing with the applications of the knowledge will still be required upon the recruit's entrance into the new role.[16]

In effect, this proposition alerts us to the apparent functional necessity for the use of formal socialization tactics when there exists a cultural gap between the organizational segments to be traversed by the individual. For example, a company sending an American manager to head an overseas subsidiary should probably allow for a formal period of socialization

including perhaps language training, briefings on the new culture, guided

tours of the key areas, and so forth. All of this must occur under the

formal tutelage of someone who knows what sorts of culture shocks are likely

to be encountered during the transition. Such movements are not limited

theoretically to hierarchical or inclusionary boundaries, but rather reflect

the size of the cultural differences that exist at any boundary. In some

organizations, a move from engineering to sales may involve as much culture

shock for an individual as a promotion from project leader to group supervisor

or a transfer from staff analyst to line manager.

B.2. Formal socialization tactics are most likely to be found where

the nature of the work and/or the values surrounding the work to be

performed in the target role are seen to involve high levels of risk

for the newcomer, colleagues of the newcomer, the organization itself, and/or

clients of the organization.

Thus the training of doctors, professional pickpockets, lawyers, and

airline pilots involves long periods of formal socialization largely because

the work involved in all these cases is complex, difficult, and usually entails

a very high penalty for the making of a mistake. Formal training for elec-

tricians, soldiers, and machinists is also predicated on the need to minimize

the minimizable risks such as damaging expensive equipment -- human or otherwise.

Where the cost of a mistake is relatively low, informal socialization processes

are more likely to be found.

B.3. Whatever the boundary passage, formal socialization is most

likely to produce a custodial orientation.

As implied above, formal tactics tend to emphasize the "proper" or "accepted" ways

to accomplish things in an organization. Even the fact that the target role can

be presented in isolation from its everyday performance implies that there are

available various traditional means of accomplishing the task. However,

a caveat is appropriate here,for it is often the case that once recruits have

begun to perform the role in an official capacity, they "unlearn" much

of what they learned in the formal process and begin to substitute "practical"

or "smart" ways of doing things for-the "proper" or "standard" strategies

they were once taught. From this standpoint, formal socialization processes

represent frequently only the "first wave" of socialization and are followed

by a "second wave" of informal socialization once the newcomer is located in

a particular organizational slot and begins to discover the actual practices

that go on there (Inkeles, 1966).[17] Whereas the first wave stresses a broad

stance toward the job, the second wave emphasizes specific actions, unique

applications of the general rules, and the odd nuances thought necessary by

others on the scene to perform the role in the work setting. When the gap

separating the two sorts of learning is rather large, disillusionment with the

first wave may set in,causing the newcomer to disregard virtually everything

learned in the formal socialization process. Thus, while formal processes

tend to produce custodial orientations among recruits, these orientations may

not be all too stable unless the lessons of the formal process are reasonably

congruent with those of the informal process which may follow.

B.4. Informal socialization, like individual socialization, carries
with it the potential for producing more extreme responses in either the
custodial or innovative directions than formal socialization.

If, for example, a recruit is assigned in the informal mode to a work group
or a boss characterized by an "organization man" orientation, he or she is
likely to become very custodial in orientation -- at least in the short run. On
the other hand, if that same recruit is assigned to a work group or boss char-
acterized by an innovative orientation, he or she might then become quite

innovative too. What we are saying, in effect, is that individual and informal socialization are potentially more powerful techniques of shaping work behavior than formal and collective modes because they involve on-the-job contingencies as well as teaching by people who are clearly doing the work. In contrast, formal processes artificially divide up concerns that must be approached simultaneously on the job and are often under the control of instructors (agents) whose credibility is lacking. It would appear then that if formal and collective processes are to "succeed" from an agent's perspective, first, they must be long enough to almost force recruits to learn their lessons well and perhaps practice them too and, second, they must be run by persons who have considerable legitimacy in the eyes of the recruits.

C. Sequential vs. Random Steps in the Socialization Process

Definition

The degree of formality and the degree to which the process of social-ization is collective are, as indicated, associated with major boundary passages, with basic orientation activities, and, most often, with the initial entry of a recruit into the organization. However, for some roles in an organization, the socialization process may cover a broad spectrum of assignments and experi-ences taking sometimes many years of preparation. The person wishing to become a medical specialist has, for instance, to go through an undergraduate pre-med program, medical school, internship, and residency before becoming eligible to simply take the specialist board examinations. Similarly, a person being groomed for a general manager position may have to rotate through several staff positions as a junior analyst, through various functional divisions in order to learn the "areas of the business," and through various supervisory levels to build up experiences and a so-called "good track record" which would then warrant the ultimate "goal job" (Gordon, 1977).

Sequential socialization refers to the degree to which the organization or occupation specifies a given sequence of discrete and identifiable steps leading to the target role. **Random** socialization occurs when the sequence of steps leading to the target role is unknown, ambiguous, or continually changing. In the case of most professional training such as medicine, we have a very sequential process in that the steps leading to the professional role must be negotiated in a specific order. In the case of the general manager however, we have a sequential process only with respect to supervisory or rank levels, but the sequence of rotating through functional positions and divisions is often unspecified and, in some organizations, left more or less to "random" events. Thus, in random processes, while there may be a number of steps or stages leading to the taking of certain organizational roles, there is no necessary order specified in terms of the steps that are to be taken.

When examining sequential strategies, it is crucial to note the degree to which each stage builds or expands upon the preceding stage. For example, the courses in most technical training programs are arragned in what is thought to be a simple-to-complex progression. On the other hand, some sequential processes seem to follow no internal logic. Management education is, for instance, quite often disjointed, with the curriculum jumping from topic to topic with little integration across stages. In such cases, what is learned by a recruit in the program is dependent simply upon what is liked best in the sequence. If, however, the flow of topics or courses is harmonious and connected functionally or logically in some fashion, what may seem like minor alterations required of an individual at each sequential stage will accumulate so that at the end, persons will "discover" themselves to be considerably different than when they began (e.g., in training for a specific skill). One sees this effect most clearly in the acquisition of complex skill or in the formation of a complete "professional" perspective or in the value systems built up after many years of graduate study. [18]

Relatedly, if several agents handle various portions of a sequential process, the degree to which the aims of the agents are common is very important. For example, in some officer's training schools of peacetime military organizations, the agents responsible for physical and weapons training tend to have very different perspectives toward their jobs and toward the recruits than those agents who are in charge of classroom instruction (Wamsley, 1972). Recruits quickly spot such conflicts when they exist and sometimes exploit them, playing agents off against one another. Such incongruities often lead to a more relaxed situation for the recruits, one in which they enjoy watching their instructors pay more attention to each other than they pay to the training program.

We should note that many of these concerns apply to random processes as well. In both random and sequential arrangements, agents may be unknown to one another, they may be quite far apart spatially, and may have thoroughly different images of their respective tasks. Both Merton (1957) and Glaser (1964) have remarked upon the difficulty many scientists apparently have when moving from a university to an industrial setting to practice their trade (a random socialization process). The pattern is seemingly quite disconcerting for many scientists when they discover that their academic training emphasized a far different set of skills, interests, and values than is required in the corporate environment. As Avery (1968) observed, to become a "good" industrial scientist, the individual has to learn the painful lesson that to be able to sell an idea is at least as important as having one in the first place. From this standpoint, empathy must certainly be extended to the so-called juvenile delinquent who receives "guidance" at various times from the police, probation officers, judges, social workers, psychiatrists, and correctional officals. Such a process, sometimes sequential but typically random, evocatively suggests that the person may

well learn to be only whatever the immediate situation demands.

In a sequential process, there is likely to be a strong bias in the presentation by each agent to make the next stage appear benign. Thus, a recruit is told that if he will just "buckle down and apply himself" while in Stage A, Stages B, C, D, and E will be easy. Agents usually mask, unwittingly or wittingly, the true nature of the stage to follow, for, if recruits feel that the future is bright, rewarding, and assured, they will be most cooperative at the stage they are in, not wishing to risk the future they think awaits them. To wit, note the tactics of high school mathematics teachers who tell their students that if they will just work hard in algebra, geometry will be a "cinch." An extreme case of this sequential "betrayal" occurs in state executions where condemned persons are usually told by their "coaches" on the scene that their demise will be quick, painless, and likely to speed them on their way to a "better place" (Eshelman, 1962).

Given these sensitizing definitions and the qualifications that apply to this socialization tactic, some theoretical propositions can now be stated.

Propositions

C.1. Sequential socialization is most likely to be associated with hierarchical boundaries.

Hierarchies are typically organized from the outset on the assumption that higher level positions cannot be fulfilled adequately until lower level ones have first been fulfilled. Such an assumption is not built into functional or inclusion boundaries where a person can demonstrate a readiness for passage at any given time. At least in part, hierarchies preserve sequential socialization processes in order to maintain the image that the hierarchy itself is a valid base for the distribution of authority. If one

could skip levels, the whole concept of authority, it is thought, would be undermined. Of course, in some executive promotions, skipping is accomplished for all practical purposes through the extremely rapid advancement of someone viewed as unusually talented, "fast tracked," fortuitously connected, just plain lucky, or all of these attributions together.

To pass inclusion boundaries may take a long time while one is proving oneself to be trustworthy to many different people, but the process typically does not specify a sequence in which such a test can or must be passed. In the case of functional boundaries, there may be many specific steps associated with the education or training activities involved in preparing to cross the boundary, but, sometimes at least, one may be given a job on the basis of education received at a much earlier time or on the basis of certain exper- iences which are seen as "equivalent" to education or training. Inclusionary and functional boundary passages are, therefore, associated more with various sorts of random socialization processes.

C.2. Sequential socialization is more likely to produce custodial orientations among recruits than innovative orientations because the recruits remain "locked in," as it were, to the conforming demands of others in the organization for a long period of time before the target role is achieved. Even the ability of the organization to specify a sequence implies a set of fairly clear norms about what is required to perform the target role. And, the clearer the role, the more likely it is that the training for that role will produce a custodial response.

On the other hand, recruits who encounter various socialization experiences in a random fashion may find themselves exposed to a wide and diverse variety of views and perceptions of the target role which would make it more likely than is true of sequential socialization to lead to

innovative orientations. It would seem therefore that a company who wishes to groom innovative general managers would do well to avoid sequential processes and encourage more ad hoc decision making procedures in the organization concerning managerial job moves and training experiences.

D. Fixed vs. Variable Socialization Processes

Definition

This dimension refers to the degree to which the steps involved in a socialization process have a timetable associated with them that is both adhered to by the organization and communicated to the recruit. Fixed socialization processes provide a recruit with the precise knowledge of the time it will take to complete a given passage (Roth, 1963). Thus, while organizations may specify various career paths having different timetables, all of these paths may be more or less fixed in terms of the degree to which the recruit must follow the determined timetable. Some management trainees, for instance, are put on so-called "fast tracks" and required to accept new rotational assignments every year or so despite their own wishes. Similarly, others said to be on "slow" or "regular" tracks may be forewarned not to expect an assignment shift for at least four or five years. Consider also that promotional policies in most universities explicitly specify the number of years a person can be appointed to a given rank. They also spell out precisely when a tenure decision must be reached on a given individual. The process can sometimes be speeded up but rarely can it be slowed down.

Variable socialization processes give a recruit few clues as to when to expect a given boundary passage. Thus, both the prisoner of war who is told by his captors that he will be released only when he has "learned the truth" and the patient in a psychiatric hospital who cannot return home until he is again judged "normal" are in pure versions of the variable process. On a more mundane

level, most upwardly mobile careers in business organizations are marked by
variable socialization processes rather than fixed ones because many uncontrolled
factors such as the state of the economy and the turnover rates in the upper
echelons of management may partially determine whether and when any given person
will be promoted to the next higher level.

Futhermore, what may be true for one person is not true for another in
variable socialization processes. Such a situation requires a recruit to
search out clues as to the future. To wit, apprenticeship programs often
specify only the minimum number of years a person must remain in the appren-
tice role and leave open the time a person can be expected to be advanced into
the journeyman classification. However, since the rates of passage across
any organizational boundary are a matter of some concern to people, transi-
tional timetables may be developed by recruits anyway on the most flimsy and
fragmentary information. Rumors and innuendos about who is going where and
when they are going characterize situations marked by the presence of the
variable strategy of socialization. Indeed, the would-be general manager often
pushes quite hard to discover the signs of a coming promotion (or demotion).
The individual listens closely to stories concerning the time it takes one to
advance in the organization, observes as carefully as possible the experiences
of others, and, in general, develops an age conciousness delineating the range
of appropriate ages for given positions. And, whether or not this age con-
sciousness is accurate, the individual will measure his or her progress against
such beliefs.

Relatedly, Roth (1963) suggests that a special category of "chronic
sidetrack" may be created for certain types of role failures. Thus, in the
fixed socialization processes of public schools, the retarded are shunted off
to distinct classes where the notion of progress does not exist. Similarly,
in some police agencies, recruits unable to meet certain agent demands,
particularly during that portion of the socialization process which is fixed

and takes recruits typically through the academy to the patrol division, are provided long-term assignments as city jailers or traffic controllers, not as patrolmen. Such assignments serve as a signal to the recruit and others in the organization that the individual has left the normal career path. To the extent that such organizational "Siberias" exist and can be identified with certainty by those in the setting, chronic sidetracking from which there is rarely a return is a distinct possibility in fixed socialization processes. On the other hand, sidetracking is usually more subtle and problematic to a recruit operating in a variable socialization track. Indeed, many people who are working in the middle levels of management are often unable to judge just where they are, where they are going, or how they are doing. Consequently, variable processes are likely to create much anxiety and perhaps frustration for individuals who are unable to construct reasonably valid timetables to inform them of the appropriateness of their movement (or lack of movement) in the organization.

It also should be noted that variable processes are a very powerful antidote to the formation of group solidarity among potential recruits to certain organizationally defined roles. The movement of people at different rates and according to different patterns makes it virtually impossible for a cohort group to remain cohesive and loyal to one another. Indeed, in highly competitive situations, recruits being processed in a variable mode tend to differentiate themselves, both socially and psychologically, from each other. Furthermore, they often are obsequious to authority, suspicious of colleagues, and, more generally, adopt strategies of passage that minimize risk. Therefore, if, from the organization's point of view, peer group solidarity in a recruit pool is desireable, care should be taken to use only fixed timetables in the socialization processes.

We look now to certain propositions which arise on the basis of this discussion of fixed and variable socialization tactic.

Propositions

D.1. Fixed timetables for socialization processes are most likely to be associated with hierarchical boundary passages and least likely to be used with inclusionary boundary passages; functional boundaries present a mixed case.

Thus, in some organizations, one can almost guarantee that after a certain number of years to the day, one will be promoted to a higher rank. Consider here the military and certain civil service bureaucracies. To the contrary, one cannot guarantee that after a certain length of time a person will have learned what is necessary to make a functional move or will have acquired the trust and support required to move closer to the core of the organization. Those latter moves are more likely to be made on the basis of situational or in situ assessments and can involve very long or very short periods of time.

D.2. Fixed socialization processes are most likely to produce innovative responses; variable socialization processes are most likely to produce custodial responses.

The logic behind this proposition is simply that a variable situation leads to maximum anxiety and this anxiety operates as a strong motivator toward conformity. Intuitively, most managers utilize this principle when they attempt, for example, to control their most rebellious or difficult subordinates by telling them that their next career move "may or may not happen" within a given time frame. Doctors too use this tactic to induce patients to "get well" by refusing to provide them with any kind of timetable for their release from the hospital. And, of course, interrogators in police organizations and prison camps use the vagueness that surrounds one's expected length of sentence to pressure prisoners to make confessions and change attitudes (Schein, 1961; Goffman, 1961).

Variable socialization processes keep a recruit maximally off balance and at the mercy of socialization agents. In effect, the agent says to a recruit, "I will pass you along to the next stage when you are ready, but I will decide when you are ready." In fixed processes, such as a four-year medical school program, a three-month boot-camp, a one year apprenticeship, a set two-year tour of duty in another geographical district of a business firm, persons can usually gear themselves into the situation better than in the variable case and therefore can plan innovative activities to fit the timetable. It should also be noted, however, that a fixed process may undermine the power of the innovator vis-a-vis the group of which he is a part. This is particularly the case near the end of a given stage since others in the organization typically also know that the innovator is now in a "lame duck" period. Consequently, from the point of view of the innovator in certain roles, it is desireable to be in a position to know one's own timetable but to conceal this knowledge from others on the

E. Serial vs. Disjunctive Socialization Processes

Definition

A serial socialization process is one in which experienced members of the organization groom newcomers who are about to assume similar kinds of positions in the organization. In effect, these experienced members serve as role models for recruits. In the police world, for example, the serial mode -- whereby rookies are assigned only older veteran officers as their first working partners on patrol -- is virtually taken for granted, and some observers have suggested that it is this aspect of policing that accounts for the remarkable intergenerational stability of patrolmen behavior patterns (Westley, 1970; Rubenstein, 1973; Manning and Van Maanen, 1978). Serial modes create something analogous to Mead's (1956) notion of a post-figurative culture. Just as children in stable societies are able to gain a sure sense of the future that awaits them by seeing

in their parents and grandparents an image of themselves grown older, employees
in organizations can gain a surer sense of the future by seeing in their more
experienced elders an image of themselves further along in the organization. A
danger exists, of course, that this image will be neither flattering nor
desireable from the perspective of the recruits and many newcomers may leave the
organization rather than face what appears to be an agonizing future. In
industrial settings where worker morale is low and turnover is high, a serial
pattern of initiating newcomers into the organization would maintain and perhaps
amplify an already poor situation.

When newcomers are not following the footsteps of immediate or recent
predecessors, and when no role models are available to recruits to inform them
as to how they are to proceed in the new role, the socialization process is a
disjunctive one. Many examples can be cited. Take, for instance, the case of a
black firefighter entering a previously all white engine company or a woman
entering managerial ranks in a firm that had previously been occupied only by
males. In these cases, there are few, if any, persons on the scene who have
shared the unique problems faced by the recruit. Certainly such situations make
things extremely difficult and anxiety provoking for the newcomer. An
interesting illustration is also provided by the "heroic myth" to be found in
many cultures and presented by Campbell (1956). In most versions of this saga,
a young man is deliberately sent away from his homeland and "suffers" through a
series of trials and tribulations in order to discover new ways of thinking
about and doing things. Typically, after some most disjunctive adventures and
misadventures, the hero is given some sort of magic gift and brings it back to
his home society as a way of revitalizing it. Such disjunctive themes are also
central ones in western fairy tales (Bettelheim, 1976).[19]

The analytic distinction between serial and disjunctive socialization processes is sometimes brought into sharp focus when an organization undertakes a "house cleaning" whereby old members are swept out the back door and new members brought in the front door to replace them. In extreme cases, an entire organization can be thrown into a disjuctive mode of socialization with the result that the organization will no longer resemble its former self. It is also true that occasionally the person who is presumably being socialized by another organizational member has more experience and knowledge than the one doing the socializing. To wit, in colleges where faculty members are constantly entering and exiting, long term students exert much control over the institution. Certainly, in other organizations such as prisons and mental hospitals, recruit turnover is often considerably smaller than staff turnover. It should not be surprising then that these organizations are often literally run by the inmates.

Sometimes, what appears to be a serial process is actually disjunctive. In many work organizations, it is the case that if someone is exceptionally good and is promoted to project leader by age 25, that same person must be exceptionally mediocre to be in that same position at age 50 or 55. Because of such circumstances, the age-graded stereotype of the youthful, naive, and passive junior member of the firm being coached wisely by a mature, informed, and active mentor is frequently false. The process may have been designed as a serial one, but, to the recruit, the process may be disjunctive if he or she is unwilling to take the mentor seriously. Roth (1963) labels this problem "gapping" and it appears to be a serious one associated with serial strategies. Gapping refers to the historical, social, or ideological distance between recruits and agents. And, when the past experiences, reference groups, or values of the agents are quite removed from those of the recruits, good intentions aside, the serial process may become a disjunctive one.

In summary, it is generally true that recruits representing the first class will set the tone for the classes to follow. It is not suggested that those who follow are paginated seriatim, but simply that for those to come, it is easier to learn from others already on hand than it is to learn on their own as originators. As long as there are others available in the socialization setting whom the newcomers consider to be "like them", these others will act as guides, passing on consensual solutions to the typical problems faced by a recruit. Mental patients, for example, often report that they were only able to survive and gain their release because other, more experienced patients "set them wise" as to what the psychiatric staff deemed appropriate behavior and indicative of improvement (Stanton and Schwartz, 1959; Goffman, 1961).

We can now state some propositions which relate these above considerations to the theoretical variables of interest.

Propositions

E.1. Serial socialization is most likely to be associated with inclusionary boundary passages.

This association results because to become a central member of any organizational segment normally requires that others consider one to be affable, trustworthy, and, of course, central as well. This is unlikely to occur unless these others perceive the newcomer to be, in most respects, similar to themselves. Recruits must at least seem to be taking those with whom they work seriously or risk being labelled deviant in the situation and hence not allowed across inclusionary boundaries.

E.2. Serial socialization processes are likely to be found only at those functional or hierarchical boundary passages which are seen by those in control of the process as requiring a continuity of skills, values, and attitudes. Disjunctive processes are most likely to be found at those functional and hierarchical boundary passages which are seen as not requiring such continuity.

other words, there is no _apriori_ reason why serial or disjunctive processes

would be found at either of these two types of boundaries. Organizations

seemingly can arrange for a serial or disjunctive process at these locations

according to criteria of their own making.

E.3, Serial socialization processes are most likely to produce a

custodial orientation; disjunctive processes are most likely to produce

an innovative orientation.

Whereas the serial process risks stagnation and contamination, the dis-

junctive process risks complication and confusion. But, the disjunctive pat-

tern also creates the opportunity for a recruit to be inventive and original.

Certainly newcomers left to their own devices may rely on inappropriate

others for definitions of their tasks. Without an old guard around to hamper

the development of a fresh perspective, the conformity and lockstep pressures

created by the serial mode are absent. Entrepreneurs, for example, almost

automatically fall into a disjunctive process of socialization as do those

who fill newly created organizational roles. In both cases, there are few

role models available to the individual who have had similar experiences

and could therefore coach the newcomer in light of the lessons they have

learned. Consequently, if innovation is to be stimulated, for whatever reason,

the socialization process should minimize the possibility of allowing incum-

bents to form relationships with their likely successors, for these role incum-

bents will typically teach the recruit the "old" ways of doing things. Instead,

the process should maximize either a very broad range of role models such

as might be created through the use of individual, informal, and random

tactics of socialization or deliberately create situations where gaps occur

between role model and recruit, or construct brand new roles to keep the re-

cruits "loose" in their orientation.

F. Investiture vs. Divertiture Socialization Processes

Definition

The final strategy to be discussed here concerns the degree to which a socialization process is constructed to either confirm or disconfirm the entering identity of the recruit. Investiture processes ratify and document for recruits the viability and usefulness of those personal characteristics they bring with them to the organization. An investiture process says to the newcomer, "we like you just as you are." Indeed, the organization through the use of this tactic does not wish to change the recruit. Rather, it wishes to take advantage of and build upon the skills, values, and attitudes the recruit is thought to possess already. From this perspective, investiture processes substantiate and perhaps enhance the newcomer's view of himself. To wit, most young business school graduates are on an investiture path, though at certain boundaries they may run into certain disconfirming experiences. At times, positions on the bottom rungs of organizational ladders are filled by the use of this tactic wherein newcomers to these positions are handled with a great deal of concern. Investiture processes attempt to make entrance into a given organizationally defined role as smooth and trouble free as possible. Orientation programs, career couseling, relocation assistance, social functions, even a visit to the president's office with the perfunctory handshake and good wishes systematically suggest to newcomers that they are valuable to the

Divestiture socialization processes, in contrast, seek to deny and strip away certain personal characteristics of a recruit. Many occupational and organizational communities almost require a recruit to sever old friendships, undergo extensive harrassment from experienced members, and engage for long periods of time in doing the "dirty work" of the trade typified by its low pay, low status, low interest value, and low skill requirements. Many aspects of professional training such as the first year of medical school

and the novitiate period associated with religious orders are organized

explicitly to disconfirm many aspects of the recruit's entering self-image,

thus beginning the process of rebuilding the individual's self-image based

upon new assumptions. Often these new assumptions arise from the recruit's

own discovery, gradual or dramatic, that they have an ability to do things

they had not thought themselves able to do previously.

Ordinarily, the degree to which the recruit experiences the socialization

process as an ordeal indicates the degree to which divestiture processes

are operating. Goffman's (1961) "total institutions" are commonly thought

typical in this regard in the deliberate "mortifications to self" which entry

into them entails. But, even in total instutitions, socialization processes

will have different meaning to different recruits. Thus, the degree to which

the process is a divestiture of investiture one to a recruit is, in part, a

function of the recruit's entering characteristics and orientation toward the role.

Perhaps Goffman and others have been overimpressed with the degree of humiliation

and profanation of self that occurs in certain organizations. Even in the

harshest of institutional settings, some recruits will undergo a brutal divestiture

process with a calculated indifference and stoic nonchalance. Some recruits

too will have been through divestiture processes so frequently that new

socialization attempts can be undergone rather matter-of-factly. Furthermore,

"total institutions" sometimes offer a recruit a sort of home-away-from-home

that more or less complements the recruit's entering self-image. Thus, for

convicted robbers, becoming a member of, say, a thief subculture in a prison

acts more as an investiture than a divestiture process. In such situations, one's

preinstitutional identity can be sustained, if not enhanced, with ease.

Yet, the fact remains that many organizations consciously promote ordeals

designed to make the recruit whatever the organization deems appropriate,

what Schein has described as "up-ending" experiences (Schein, 1964). In extreme circumstances, recruits are forced to abstain from certain types of behavior, must publicly degrade themselves and others, and must follow a rigid set of rules and regulations. Furthermore, measures are often taken to isolate recruits from former associates who presumably would continue to confirm the recuit's old identity. This process, when voluntarily undergone, serves to commit and bind the person to the organization and is typically premised upon a strong desire on the part of the recruit to become an accepted member of the organization (or an organizational segment). In brief, the recruit's entrance into the role or system is aided by his or her "awe" of the institution and this "awe" then sustains the individual's motivation through subsequent ordeals of divestiture. Consider here, first year law students at elite universities (Turow, 1977) or young women entering religious orders (Hulme, 1956).

There are many familiar illustrations of organizations in this society that require a recruit to pass robust tests in order to gain privledged access into their realms: religious cults, elite law schools, self-realization groups, professional athletic teams, many law enforcement agencies, military organizations, and so on. Even some business occupations such as certified public accounting have stiff licensing requirements which, to many recruits, appear much like a divestiture process. It should be kept in mind however that these stern tactics provide an identity-bestowing as well as an identity-destroying process. Coercion is not necessarily a damaging assault on the person. Indeed, it can be a device for stimulating many personal changes that are evaluated positively by the person and others. What is of course problematic with coercion is its non-voluntary aspects and the possibility of mis-use in the hands of irresponsible agents.

Given these concerns, some propositions can now be presented which seek to further explicate the workings of this socialization tactic in organizational settings.

Propositions

F.1. Divestiture processes are most likely to be found (1) at the point
of initial entry into an organization or occupation, and (2) prior to the
crossing of major inclusionary boundaries where a recruit must pass some basic
test of worthiness for membership in an organizational segment.

Once the person has passed these initial boundaries, subsequent boundary
passages are much more likely to be of an investiture nature unless movement
from one segment of the organization to another involves a major change of
skills, values, or self-image. For example, one can imagine a college graduate
engineer going into an engineering department of a company and experiencing
this process as basically an investiture one. If, at a later time, this person
decides to move into line management and goes through an extensive formal or
informal management training process, such training may well be experienced
as a divestiture process because it may challenge many of the individual's
cherished values which were associated with and rooted in the old engineer-
ing role.

F.2. Divestiture processes are most likely to lead to a custodial
orientation; investiture processes are most likely to lead to an innovative
orientation (unless the recruit enters and is rewarded for holding a custo-
dial orientation at the outset).

Divestiture processes, in effect, remold the person and, therefore, are
powerful ways for organizations and occupations to control the values of
incoming members. It is such processes which lie at the heart of most pro-
fessional training thus helping to explain why professionals appear to be
so deeply and permanently socialized. For, once a person has successfully
completed a difficult divestiture process and has constructed something of a
new identity based on the role to which the divestiture process was directed,
there are strong forces toward the maintenance of the new identity. The
strongest of these forces is perhaps the fact that the sacrifice involved in

building the new identity must be justified, consequently making any disclaimers

placed on the new identity extremely difficult for the person to accomplish.

Furthermore, since the person's self-esteem following the successful completion

of a divestiture process comes to rest on the new self-image, the individual

will organize his present and future experiences to insure such that his self-

esteem can be enhanced or at least maintained (Goffman, 1959; Schein, 1961;

Schein and Bennis, 1965). In short, the image becomes self-fulfilling.

G. Interaction of the Socialization Tactics

In the preceding portions of this "people processing" discussion, we identi-

fied some of the major tactical dimensions of socialization processes. These

tactics were presented as logically independent of each other. Furthermore, we

examined, through a series of propositional sets, the likelihood that each tac-

tic would be associated with certain kinds of organizational buondary passages

and the likelihood that each tactic would lead to either a custodial or inno-

vative response. On examining real organizations, it is empirically obvious

that these tactical dimensions are associated with one another and that the

actual impact of organizational socialization upon a recruit is a cumulative

one, the result of a combination of socialization tactics which perhaps enhance

and reinforce or conflict and neutralize each other. It is also obvious that awareness
of these tactical
dimensions makes it possible for managers to design socialization processes

which maximize the probabilities of certain outcomes. In the following section,

we suggest some propositions about strategic combinations of socialization

tactics in relation to the critical search for the conditions under which an

organization can expect to promote from its recruits custodial, content in-

novative, or role innovative responses.[20]

Propositions

G.1. A CUSTODIAL response will be most likely to result from a social-

ization process which is (1) sequential, (2) variable, (3) serial, and (4)

involved divestiture processes.

In other words, the conditions which stimulate a custodial orientation derive from processes which involve the recruit in a definite series of cumulative stages (sequential); without set timetables for matriculation from one stage to the next thus implying that boundary passages will be denied the recruit unless certain criteria have been met (variable); involving role models who set the "correct" example for the recruit (serial); and processes which, through various means, involve the recruit's redefinition of self around certain recognized organizational values (divestiture).

G.2. CONTENT INNOVATION is most likely to occur through a socialization process which is (1) collective, (2) formal, (3) random, (4) fixed, and (5) disjunctive.

In other words, for content innovation to occur in a role, it is desireable to train the role recruits as a formal group wherein new ideas or technologies are specifically taught such that the value of innovation is stressed. Furthermore, it is desireable to avoid training sequences which might reinforce traditional ways of doing things but also to avoid variable timetables which might induce anxiety and promote divisive competitive among recruits in which the best way to succeed is to "play it safe." Finally, the more the role models are themselves innovative (or absent altogether), the more the recruit will be encouraged (or forced) to innovate.

G.3. ROLE INNOVATION, the redefining of the mission or goals of the role itself, is the most extreme form of innovation and is most likely to occur through a socialization process which is (1) individual, (2) informal, (3) random, (4) disjunctive, and (5) involves investiture processes.

In other words, for an individual to have the motivation and strength to be a role innovator, it is necessary for that person to be reinforced individually by various other members of the organization (which must be an informal process since it implies disloyalty to the role, group, organizational segment, or total organization itself), to be free of sequential stages which might

inhibit innovative efforts, to be exposed to innovative role models or none

at all, and to experience an affirmation of self throughout the process.

It is very difficult indeed to change norms surrounding the mission or goals

of an organizationally defined role. Therefore, it will probably only occur

when an individual who is innovative in orientation at the outset encounters

an essentially benign socialization process which not only does not discourage

role innovation, but genuinely encourages it.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

What we have presented in this paper includes: a model of the organiza-

tion and its major internal boundaries; a concept of role and role learning;

the notions of custodial or innovative responses to socialization experiences;

and, a detailed analysis of six different dimensions of the socialization

process which can be thought of as distinct "tactics" which managers

(agents) can employ when socializing new recruits into the organization

or at various boundry passages.

We have attempted to spell out, through a series of propositions, the like-

lihood that any given tactic would or would not be associated with any

particular kind of organizational boundary passage. Also, we have developed

several propositions about the likelihood of any given tactic leading to

custodial, content innovative, or role innovative responses. Finally,

we have proposed a combination of tactics which one might hypothesize as

being most likely to produce each of the specific organizational responses.

We do not consider this a completed theory in that we do not as yet

have enough empirical evidence to determine in a more tightly arranged and

logical scheme how the various socialization tactics can be more or less

ordered in terms of their effects upon recruits being initiated into organ-

izational roles. We do feel however that the six analytically-distinct

dimensions of the socialization process represent a first and important step

in this direction. We believe, then, that we have displayed some theory which can now be tested empirically.

In any event, we feel that the specification of the dimensions themselves at least opens up -- both for researchers and managers in organizations -- an analytic framework for considering the actual processes by which people are brought into new roles in the workplace. Indeed, it is time to become more conscious of the choices and consequences of the ways in which we "process people". Uninspired custodianship, recalcitrance, and even organizational stagnation are often the direct result of how employees are processed into the organization. Role innovation and ultimately organizational revitalization, at the other extreme, can also be a direct result of how people were processed. From this perspective, organizational results are not simply the consequences of the work accomplished by people brought into the organization, rather, they are the consequences of the work these people accomplish after the organization itself has completed its work on them.

NOTES

1. The view of social action taken in this paper is based essentially

   upon Meadian social psychology and is expressed most succinctly by the

   symbolic interactionists (see, for example, the work of Mead,

   1930; Goffman, 1959; Blumer, 1969; Hughes, 1971; Becker, 1970). Personal

   change within this framework always requires the analytic occasion

   of "surprise." Such surprise prompts, even if only momentarily, a kind

   of disengagement from the concerns of the moment and perhaps the

   apprehension of those affairs that the person has not hitherto noticed

   at all. Philosophically, the perspective is related closely to that

   of phenomenology. For some groundings here, see Schutz, 1970; Lyman

   and Scott, 1970; Psathas, 1972; and, especially, Zaner, 1970.

2. We use the phrase "organizational segment" quite broadly in this paper. We mean by the phrase simply the jointing of actions undertaken by different organizational members in the pursuit of certain ends. Departments are therefore organizational segments as are workgroups or project teams. Vertical and horizontal cliques, cabals, and conspiracies also fall under this rubric for their existence implies an unofficial, though nonetheless real, merging of individual efforts. See Manning (1977) and Burns (1955 1958; 1961) for a more elaborate use of this concept.

3. In general, any form of adult socialization, including the organizational variety, is analogous to that of childhood socialization, but

   an adult socialization process must contend with the individual's "culture of orientation" which may stand in the way of the organization's efforts. For an introduction to the various forms of adult and organizational socialization, see, for example, Becker and Strauss, 1956; Schein, 1961, 1964, 1968; Becker, 1964; Caplow, 1964; Brim and Wheeler, 1966; Roth, 1963; Moore, 1969; Inkeles, 1966; Manning, 1970; and Van Maanen, 1976. For an earlier statement of some of the ideas in this paper, see Van Maanen and Schein, 1977. Another introduction to the topic can be located in Porter, Lawler, and Hackman (1975) under the partially misleading chapter title "Adaptation Processes".

4. To some extent, those adjustments that turn out to be nonadaptative fall under the classification of what Platt (1972) calls a "social trap." In brief, such traps may involve, first, a time delay before the ill effects of a particular adjustment are felt as is the case with smoking and lung cancer or industrial pollution and environmental decay. Second, social traps also describe situations wherein strong

individual incentives (or disincentives) seemingly prohibit people
from acting in their collective best interest as exemplified by the
infamous Kitty Genovese slaying in New York City or in game situations
marked by the "Prisoner's Dilemma."

5. To wit, psychologists of a developmental stripe emphasize cognitive
    learning (e.g., Erikson, 1959; 1968; Piaget, 1962; 1969; Kroll et al.,
    1970; Keen, 1977) whereas psychologists more concerned with individual
    differences emphasize the matching of persons and setting in their
    socialization studies (e.g., Holland, 1966; Roe, 1957; Super et al.
    1963). On the other hand, political scientists seem most concerned with how
    newcomers gain "control of things" (e.g., Hyman, 1959; Bell and Price,
    1975; Edelman, 1967). Students of complex organizations nearly always focus
    on the effectiveness of the newcomer (e.g., Berlew and Hall, 1966; Feldman,
    1976; Schein, 1978). Anthropologists, when they consider adult
    socialization at all, tend to be far more interested in transitions

    across particular societies than those occuring within a society (e.g., Taft, 1975;
    Kimball and Watson, 1972; Stonequist, 1937) or with those passages within a society
    that mark a youth's transition into adulthood (Van Gennep, 1960; LeVine, 1973). All

    this is to say that these diverse studies provide some very rich
    descriptive materials but rarely do the theoretical accounts of the
    socialization process go beyond disciplinary boundaries. We have tried
    at least in small measure to transcend these boundaries in this paper.

6. To be sure, even if we accomplished fully these ends, our theory would
    still be of only the middle range (Merton, 1957). A comprehensive
    theory must also consider the origins and alterations in the historical
    patterns of organizational socialization as well as the differential

effects of the process upon people of widely diverse backgrounds, cultures, and situations. The importance of a comparative and historical approach to the design of socialization studies cannot be underestimated. While we have a number of longitudinal accounts of the process as it occurs in a particular organization or occupation (e.g., Dornbush, 1955; Lieberman, 1956; Evan, 1963; Light, 1972; Van Maanen, 1973; Rosenbaum, 1976), these remain solitary case studies complete with their own idiosyncratic conceptual frameworks. Some good examples of the type of comparative and historical empirical work needed in this regard are provided by Lortie, 1975; Faulkner, 1974; and Kanter, 1968.

7. The most general process model of socialization is the Lewinian model with its three phases of "unfreezing, changing, and refreezing." Both Schein (1961a,b; 1968) and Van Maanen (1976) have relied extensively on this general formulation when describing the organizational socialization process from the individual's perspective.

8. This is, of course, taking an anthropological or cultural perspective on complex organizations which requires the suspension of belief in formal pronouncements or inductive fiats as to what organizations are about until detailed empirical study has been conducted into the workings of any given organization. Such an approach has much to recommend it. Indeed, the various studies which refer to the differences between the intentional and unintentional consequences, the manifest and latent goals, the theory-in-use and theory-in-practice, and the explicit and implicit objectives of an organization

all would seem to point in this direction (e.g., Gouldner, 1954;
Blau, 1955; Crozier, 1964; Burns, 1961; Schein, 1970; Argyris and
Schön, 1974; Blankenship, 1977).

9. Looking to the functional and hierarchical boundaries, this would
   appear to be the case because immediately after entrance to a new
   position, the individual is too wrapped up in learning the requirements
   of the job to have much, if any, influence upon those
   requirements themselves. And, just before passage, the person is
   probably too caught up in the transition itself to have (or desire
   to have) much influence on the position being left behind. Across the
   inclusionary boundaries, the situation is similar though perhaps less
   clear. Immediately after entry, the person knows few people and
   will have developed little of the sort of interpersonal trust with
   others on the scene which is necessary to exert meaningful
   influence. But, after having achieved a central and visible position
   within the particular setting, it is likely that such a position
   is premised upon the individual's almost total acceptance of the
   norms and values of the group. As anthropologists are prone to say,
   the person may have "gone native" and has consequently lost the sort of
   marginality and detachment necessary to suggest critical alterations
   in the social scheme of things.

10. A more specific example is useful here. Police organizations
    come to mind for there are some interesting case examples.
    cases, newly appointed so-called "progressive" or "reform" Chiefs of
    Police have, after purging the top administrative ranks and inserting

personnel who were sympathetic to their preconceptions of what the organization should be about, tried to insure that only the "right types" (those who were also likely to share the Chief's vision) would be promoted in the system. Thus, "old timers" who had very central and influential positions within their respective ranks and functions were no longer in favorable positions to rise in the organization. Policy changes around the structure of the promotion board oral examinations, and the educational requirements for particular ranks seemingly worked in this regard. Yet, given the short lived tenure of the instigators of these reforms and the short lived period of the reforms themselves, moving these departments from the top down proved to be quite difficult, if not impossible. Indeed, lower placed members in these departments were able (through a variety of inventive means) to block reform in the long run by either forcing the new Chief out entirely or by "snapping" the Chief back into a position where the values of organizational members once again fell more or less along a plumb line dropped from the top of the organizational cone. See Daley, 1973, Fishgrund, 1977 and Beigel and Beigel, 1977 for case materials bearing on the rather remarkable resistence to change exhibited in police organizations.

11. For some further treatments of this role, position, and claims made by occupations commonly thought to be "professional", see, Wilensky, 1964; Goode, 1969; Vollmer and Mills, 1966; Hughes, 1958; and, especially, Blankenship, 1977.

12. Aside from the strategic matters considered directly in the text, the poles of each tactical dimension represent differences in the amount of prior planning engaged in by members of the organization, differences in the level of commitment of organizational resources to a given socialization pattern, and differences in the number of agents actively involved in the process. However, situational and historical consider-ations unique to any given occupation or organization limit the kind of generalizations we can make on these matters. In other words, in some lines of work, the choice of say an _individual_ mode of socialization may require more planning, be more costly, and require more agents than the choice of a _collective_ mode. In other endeavors, however, the case may be reversed. "Quality control" may be a crucial aspect of the organization's choice of tactics wherein due to the exacting, dangerous, or consequential nature of the task to be performed by a newcomer to the field, standardized outcomes (promoted by collective processes -- see following section) are, if not required, at least socially desireable as is the case in medicine or firefighting. Needless to say, comparative studies are crucial in this regard.

13. The strength of group understandings depends, of course, upon the degree to which all members actually share the same fate. In highly competitive collective settings, group members know that their own success is increased through the failure of others, hence, the social support networks necessary to maintain cohesion in the group may break down. Consensual understandings will develop but they will buttress individual modes of adjustment. Junior faculty members in

publication-minded universities, for instance, follow group standards, although such standards nearly always stress individual scholarship, the collective standard being, as it is, an individual one.

14. A corollary to this proposition can also be suggested. Namely, the longer recruits remain together as a collective entity, the less likely role innovative responses become. Van Maanen (1978) refers to such lengthy collective processes within which transfer rates in and out of the recruit group are low as "closed" socialization. On the other hand, "open" socialization, according to Van Maanen, also involves collective socialization but the mode is marked by changing personnel across time within the recruit group. An interesting study in this regard is reported by Torrance (1955) who examined the decision-making abilities of Air Force flight crews who had trained together for some ten weeks. After training the crews were scrambled (open-collective socialization) whereas the remaining crews stayed intact (closed-collective socialization). To Torrance's surprise, the scrambled crews were far superior on the performance of various task-related problems than were the intact crews. Interpreting these results, he concluded that the relative lack of power differentials and social status among the scrambled groups allowed for a more open and honest consideration of alternative solutions to the problems facing the group than would be possible when power and status were established and relatively fixed as was the case for the intact crews. Janis (1972) has recently reported some very similar findings.

15. Part of the difficulty for recruits in this matter is that they normally have very little to offer experienced organizational members in exchange for being taught the norms of a particular role. It is not the case that veteran members dislike or distrust novices (though in some instances they may), but it is merely the case that recruits have nothing substantial to contribute to the matters at hand. Thus, newcomers in the informal mode must often first behaviorally demonstrate their value to their would-be teachers by, say, performing "go-fer" like duties such as fetching work materials, snacks, and coffee, running little necessary, but inconsequential errands, doing the "dirty work" others on the scene wish to avoid, and displaying an "eager" or "good" attitude when engaged in such tasks. In exchange for this willingness, a teaching relationship may then emerge. See Lortie, 1975; Haas, 1972; and Rubenstein, 1973 for some good examples in this regard.

16. This suggests that many socialization programs begin with universalistic concerns in which standards are taught as well as the uniform application of these standards. However, perhaps almost as many programs end with very particularistic concerns where recruits are taught that there are shifting standards which are applied uniquely to individual cases. This certainly reflects the typical content of the two socialization phases (formal and informal) mentioned in the text. Consider too that in many organizations the strict adherence to the rules (such as what is usually taught in a formal socialization process) may well reflect a sort of cultural incompetence when the recruit actually "goes to work" rather than competence since, as all "good" members of the organization know, it is necessary to know the operating rules about the rules to perform

adequately on the job. A further consideration of this popular and frequent formal-to-informal socialization sequence is presented on the following pages of the text.

17. Some illustrations are perhaps useful here. Consider the fact that in many organizations employees misrepresent their overtime statements or expense allowances; budget makers pad their budgets with either fictitious expenses or exaggerated amounts for a given item; and supervisors invariably overrate the performance of their subordinates. None of these practices are likely to be conveyed during the first wave of formal socialization. Moreover, a member who strictly adheres to the formal or correct practices (the proper) rather than the social practices currently in use within the work setting (the smart) is likely to be considered by others to be an "organizational dope" until the second wave of socialization provides the recruit with the necessary learning. In other words, the "organizational dope" is one who has not been fully socialized.

18. As Professor Barry Staw (personal communication) rightly suggests, the degree to which the substantive base of a socialization process can be presented in a sequential fashion depends, in part, upon the availability to those directing the process to call upon a fully developed and shared intellectual or disciplinary paradigm. Thus, when classifying socialization processes in educational institutions, mathematics or physics are far more likely to be presented sequentially to student-recruits in those fields than are, for example, history or sociology. In work organizations, the use of sequential processes leading to a given organizationally defined role will also vary according to the degree that agents have recourse to shared knowledge about and/or experience with

the target role. From this standpoint, financial analysts or production supervisors are perhaps more likely to be socialized in a sequential manner than are organizational development specialists or new product line managers. However, we can press this analogy too far because in work organizations, as in educational ones, pedagogical disputes over the proper sequence of learning are indeed quite common even when there exists a widely accepted paradigm among socialization agents.

19. **Fairy tales may sometimes come true but certainly not all disjunctive socialization processes have happy endings. An informative and perhaps limiting case is provided by Klineberg and Cottle (1973). They note that first generation rural-to-city migrants suffer a serious break between their past and present experiences. So serious is this break in fact that the migrant's image of a better future usually lies un-connected to any concrete activities toward which the migrant can direct his present efforts. It would seem therefore that extremely disjunctive experiences risk demolishing that most delicate bridge between means and ends. If this occurs, anomie and alienation are sure to result (Van Maanen, 1977a).**

20. **We should note that in these summary propositions we do not take a position on all socialization tactics. When a particular tactic is not explicitly mentioned in the proposition, it is because we feel that the tactic could go either way depending on more specific cir-cumstances. In the first proposition, for example, formal-informal and collective-individual socialization tactics are not mentioned because we feel that their use, in any combination, neither adds to nor detracts from the prediction as stated. To include these tactics**

would require more information -- information of the sort partially
spelled out in the proposition itself. To wit, formal-individual
processes are potentially the most powerful, but also the most expensive
and capable of producing custodial as well as innovative responses.
On the average, formal-collective processes are probably
likely to produce custodial orientations but they can also facilitate
the development of group prespectives which are highly innovative.
Informal-collective processes are not at all common and therefore
are quite hard to predict. And, while informal-individual processes
are relatively common, the results of such processes are at best am-
biguous without first specifying both the individual's initial orienta-
tion toward the particular role he or she is being prepared to assume
and the other tactics to be associated with the process.

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