

Toward a Model of Teacher Socialization in Physical Education: The Subjective Warrant, Recruitment, and Teacher Education¹

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The socialization of physical education teachers is finally attracting the attention of researchers after decades of neglect. Their exploratory investigations are yielding useful findings that now need to be synthesized. Attempts to synthesize findings are important because they lead first to models and later to theories. In the absence of models and theories future research falls prey to "abstracted empiricism" (Mills, 1959) which is to say, metaphorically, that investigators will not see the forest because of their attention to a single tree. Since research on socialization is used to guide practice, abstracted empiricism limits both research and practice in physical education. It is, therefore, timely and important to attempt a first synthesis of the available research findings.

The intent is to synthesize with an eye toward a model of teacher socialization in physical education. That is, the effort may lay the groundwork for a model, but in the face of needs for additional research it is destined to fall short of an elaborate model for the entire process of teacher socialization. Such a refined model will not result until such time as the number of findings equals the number of unanswered questions. A synthesis such as this one may help to make this happen.

It shall become apparent that teacher socialization in physical education covers a lot of conceptual territory; so much, in fact, that it is necessary to divide in an attempt to conquer. In this, the first of two parts, the relationship between the subjective warrant, recruitment, and teacher education is examined. A second work follows which explores the relationship between teacher education and entry into the schools, socialization in the schools, and longevity in teaching. Also included in this second work are the implications which can be derived from an examination of the entire framework for teacher socialization.

It is appropriate to begin with primary assumptions about the socialization of physical education teachers, together with the definition of some of the constructs.

Primary Assumptions

The socialization of physical education teachers may be seen as a life-long process. This assumption departs from traditional notions that teacher socialization begins with higher education and continues when people start teaching. It calls attention to early childhood socialization and especially pre-career experiences which must be linked to teacher socialization (Burlingame, 1972; Earls, 1981).

Operations in physical education are institutionalized. The rich history of physical education reveals enduring legacies, and these legacies reveal that a way of doing things often has become the way. This is a sign of institutionalization, for institutions attempt to typecast individual actors and actions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and, in so doing, set socially acceptable limits of choice. To assume that operations in physical education are institutionalized, then, is to assert that would-be and experienced teachers are subject to socialization that is responsible for their acts to reproduce operations. Institutions are, after all, instruments for social control, not social change, and so it is predictable that the socialization which accompanies them would be directed toward institutional maintenance. Having granted this point, a third assumption is in order.

Socialization is always problematic, not automatic. While institutions try to typecast individual actors and actions, people also try to transform institutions. This suggests a social tug of war between institutions and people; each has the capacity to shape the other. Teachers, then, are not passive in the face of socialization, and as Zeichner (Note 8) has suggested, they may employ one of three socialization strategies. They may engage in short-term compliance and impression management, or accept and internalize the contents of socialization, or act to change the socialization setting and, in turn, the form or contents of the socialization that first greeted them. This last strategy is, thus, *innovative*, the second *custodial*, and the first a kind of fence-sitting that may result later in either a custodial or an innovative response. But in all three cases there is good reason to suspect differences between intended socialization outcomes and actual results, as amplified further in a fourth assumption.

Prospective and experienced teachers face three kinds of socialization that often occur simultaneously. All socialization proceeds on the basis of interaction and learning and includes interplay among humans, their socializing experiences, agents, and settings (Pooley, 1975). Yet it is possible to isolate three kinds of socialization that are important for teachers.

Acculturation is the first kind, and it begins at birth. Its products are so taken for granted that they are called common sense, including rules of thumb and ready-made directives for the meanings, experiences, and actions of people. It is this same common sense that some analysts called a societal *ideology*, a system of dominant meanings that is carried by all of society's institutions. Values such as the belief that competition in life is inherently good are among the ideological freight disseminated through acculturation, and even if one refuses to accept its contents, it is nearly impossible to escape knowledge about them (Lawson, Note 1).

Professional socialization refers to the process by means of which would-be and experienced teachers acquire and maintain the values, sensitivities, skills, and knowledge that are deemed ideal for teaching physical education. These values and sensitivities have been lumped together as a humanistic ideology in some of the research (e.g., Templin, 1979), while the knowledge and skills comprise what Lortie (1975) calls the "shared technical culture" for teachers.

Organizational socialization, also called bureaucratic socialization, is often at odds with its professional counterpart, but in keeping with the concept of institutionalization. Organizational socialization refers to the process by means of which prospective and experienced teachers acquire and maintain a custodial ideology and the knowledge and skills that are valued and rewarded by the organization. In schooling bureaucracies organizational socialization also may produce a cognitive style in which the maintenance of order, the uses of proper procedures in the name of routine, and the tacit denial of the need to individualize instruction and cater to the needs of students are prevalent. Although not all organizational socialization need be so at odds with professional socialization, there is evidence to warrant the assumption that the two are different in form, contents, and consequences (Berger et al., 1973; Downs, 1976; Hoy & Rees, 1977; Templin, 1979; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

The point is that all three occur simultaneously and that they often are incompatible. This makes socialization all the more problematic, but recognition of these differences may assist in the detection and explanation of differential socialization outcomes in prospective and experienced teachers.

There are de facto differences in school programs and in teacher education programs that contribute to the complexity of the socialization of physical education teachers. That this assumption reflects so much the realities of physical education does not diminish its importance. For different programs in schools, colleges, and universities bring different mixes of socializing experiences, agents, and agencies. And this fourth assumption leads logically to a final one.

Judgments regarding what is effective or functional socialization are inherently ideological and reflect the custodial or innovative orientations of the judges. Diversity in programs and competing forms of socialization bring equally different views of what is good and necessary in physical education. All such judgments hinge on the situation and the persons making them. For example, a custodial orientation may be grounds for criticism in some schools, while necessary in others where quality programs and teaching practices deserve to be maintained. Thus, this last assumption and the other four are necessary parts of an analysis of the socialization of physical education teachers.

The Model from Medicine and Law

A model resulting from socialization research on doctors and lawyers emphasizes three stages and the relationship between them. The first stage is recruitment, the second professional education; and the third entry into work. *Discontinuity* characterizes the relationship between the first two stages; it is assumed that recruits suffer reality shocks because their perceptions of professional education are inaccurate. *Continuity* is hypothesized between stages two and three because of an assumed correspondence between professional education and actual work. Thus, induction in this model occurs in two successive steps: professional education and entry into work.

This three-stage model has informed research on teacher socialization (Lortie, 1975; Pooley, 1975), but a blind application of it to physical education promises to camouflage the latter's uniqueness (Hughes, 1958). For this reason, the model will be employed in the ensuing analysis to organize past research and to frame discussion.

Recruitment and the Subjective Warrant

When and why do people decide to become physical educators? What beliefs, characteristics, skills, knowledge, and experience are pivotal in this decision? How and why do recruits vary? Why do people choose other careers even though they are attracted to physical education? The questions about recruitment only begin with these examples, and most remain unanswered. On the other hand, valuable starts have been made (cf. Earls, 1981; Kenyon, 1965; Pooley, 1975; Sands, Note 6; Seagrave, 1980; Templin, et al., 1982; Woodford, Note 7); these works provide interesting findings that are synthesized later.

It is equally important to identify what the initial research has *not* accomplished, however, and this can be illustrated by attending to the characteristics of these first studies. Most have used experimental or quasi-experimental designs; there remain needs for qualitative designs such as case studies (Earls, 1981; Yin, 1981) that allow deeper biographical probes and yield useful generalizations stemming from across-case analysis. Further, the initial studies have used students who have already entered teacher education programs; now the need is to differentiate between early and late deciders (Helfrich, 1975), and the former requires sampling from school age students. Finally, the initial studies have utilized paper and pencil instruments that do not fully tap the subjective meanings of recruits; it is now time to attend to a construct that Lortie (1975) calls the subjective warrant, and the attention to it amplifies the need for case studies, samples of younger students, and instruments which tap more effectively the perceptions and meanings of recruits.

The Subjective Warrant

People choose a career such as physical education. When attention is directed only to people who have already entered teacher education programs, the dynamics of the choice remain largely undetected. Important antecedents -- events, experiences, people, processes -- that act and interact to influence career choice beginning in early childhood remain unexplored. Exploration may begin, however, with examinations of each student's subjective warrant for physical education.

The subjective warrant consists of each person's perceptions of the requirements for teacher education and for actual teaching in schools. It results from years of socialization. For example, each student spends thousands of hours in school gymnasias and playing fields, and this extensive contact with physical education's subject matter and teacher provides opportunities for a subjective warrant to be formed. Not all such influences are tied to schools, though. Cultural stereotypes are also influential; for example, Hendry and Whiting (1972) observed that physical educators are pictured as representing body, rather than mind. Indeed, that stereotypes are influential calls attention to one of the crucial features of the subjective warrant. It may be riddled with error, and yet it serves as an important basis for career choice.

In addition to these two exemplary influences, other factors can be identified that contour the subjective warrant. These appear in Figure 1. But it is important to emphasize that it is not just the subjective warrant for physical education that is of interest, but also the student's subjective warrants for other careers to which this person is attracted. After all, the student makes a choice from among the alternatives, and this choice will be fully understood to the extent that researchers are able to map each student's perceptions of them. It was in this connection that Lortie (1975) spoke of the silent competition among occupations, and it is also in this sense that the subjective warrant gains an added measure of significance. The subjective warrant for physical education makes more transparent the profession's otherwise invisible attempts to announce itself to potential recruits.

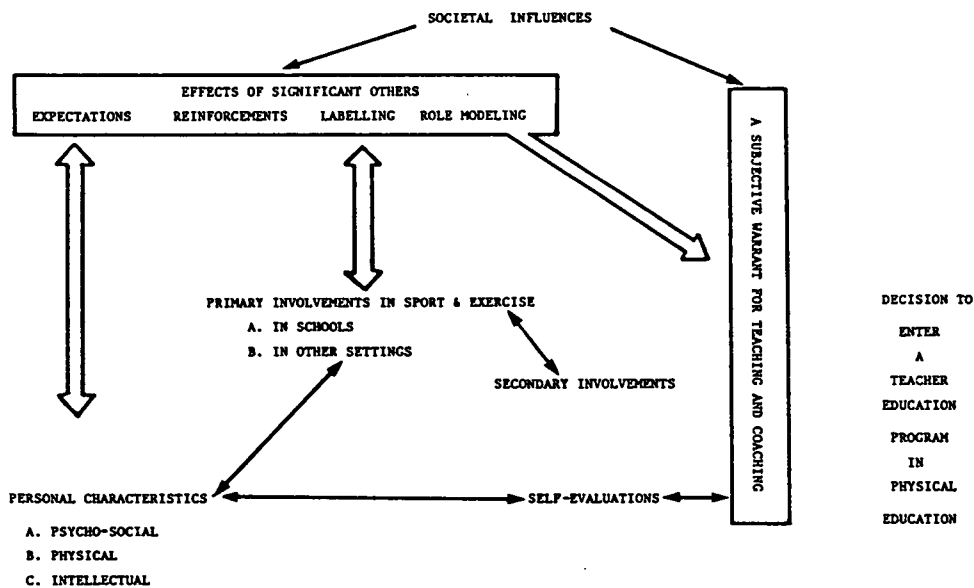


Fig. 1--A Representation of Recruitment

For it is against the subjective warrant that each person tests aspirations, presumed competencies, and characteristics. Constructed on the basis of personal biography, the effects of significant others, societal influences, and direct experiences in schools, it is as important to the understanding of identity-formation as it is to a career choice. Yet as an instrument for making a career choice, it may be responsible for patterns of pre-selection in the recruitment process. This implies that a complete understanding of the subjective warrant is prerequisite to altering persistent recruitment patterns, and furthermore, that recruits are not blank slates waiting to be filled with the contents of professional socialization. Socialization began for recruits early in life (Borow, 1966) and included acculturation as well as professional and organizational socialization. This, it shall become apparent, increases the number of challenges for teacher educators.

Finding About Recruits

While granting the need to learn more about the subjective warrant, the valuable findings from the first studies of recruits, once synthesized, provide a back-door entry to this neglected construct. That is, recruits who have already entered physical education display characteristics that help to operationalize the subjective warrant.

Undergraduate physical education majors have extensive backgrounds in sport, physical activity and physical education (Pooley, 1975; Templin et al., 1982), and they express enjoyment of, and attachment to, these activities. In addition to their primary involvements, recruits frequently have teaching and coaching experiences that comprise secondary involvements (Templin et al., 1982). Asked about the major reasons for their choice of physical education, they identify the influences of their former teachers and coaches, or family members, and the opportunity to sustain enjoyable involvements in sport, physical activity, and physical education. Polled for their motives, recruits cite the desire to remain physically active, the intent to help other people, and the desire to coach (Pooley, 1975; Templin et al., 1982; Woodford, Note 7).

Teaching physical education often is not identified by recruits as a primary motive for the choice of physical education, and there are two possible explanations. Since a major in physical education has meant preparation for teaching, recruits may have dismissed the need to identify it. However tempting this explanation might be, a second, tied to the subjective warrant, is better.

Recruits may not name teaching because they simply are not attracted to the role. Many only want to coach. Similarly, some see teaching to be the same as coaching (Bain & Wendt, in press), despite evidence that a conflict exists between them (Locke & Massengale, 1978) and their separate identities in the vocational guidance literature (Holland, 1973). Both the exclusive coaching orientation as well as the perception that teaching and coaching are the same amplify the importance of the subjective warrant and attest to its subjectivity. Teaching physical education in these subjective warrants earns the status of a *career contingency*; as the terms imply, what recruits want to do (coach) hinges upon their ability to be hired, requiring, in turn, their willingness and ability to teach.

That teaching may be a career contingency constitutes one piece in the recruitment puzzle, and Segrave's (1980) is another. He gave the respondents a choice between teaching and coaching, and the majority not only chose coaching, but more specifically chose coaching the sport(s) in which they were active participants. These findings suggest the need to merge three, heretofore separate, lines of investigation.

Socialization *into* sport, socialization *via* sport, and the anticipatory or pre-career socialization of physical educators, once combined, may provide a better overall picture of the recruitment puzzle. For example, sport has been identified as a carrier of conservative values (e.g., Spring, 1974; Thomson & Dayries, 1975), and if recruits have extensive primary and secondary involvements in sport, they may be, or become, highly conservative and conventional. They apparently are, particularly males (Kenyon, 1965; Nelson, 1970; Pooley, 1975; Thomson & Dayries, 1975). Like Lortie's (1975) sample, few apparently enter physical education to change existing practices

(Templin et al., 1982), and they value authority and discipline (Hendry & Whiting, 1976).² Thus, by merging these three lines of inquiry investigators may gain the ability to explain, not just describe, the orientations, characteristics, and actions of recruits and trace their career patterns, beginning with their socialization into sport and continuing their socialization via sport in combination with other pre-career socializing experiences.

That this merger may yield important insights is suggested in other findings about recruits that complement their apparent conservatism and conventionality. Sage (1980) reviewed work that found physical educators scoring lower than comparison groups on tests of aesthetic, artistic, and intellectual values. Like a broad sample of prospective teachers (Vance & Schlechty, 1982), recruits in physical education do not fare well in comparative studies of their intellectual aptitudes and abilities (Bookwalter, 1941; Kenyon, 1965; Templin et al., 1982). Confronted with these findings, Bookwalter (1941) singled out an over-emphasis on interscholastic athletics, a phenomenon Earls (1979) has called "The Athletic Syndrome." But in both accounts the effects of a sport system are under scrutiny, legacies of what Lewis (1969) documented as the "accommodation" of physical education to sport. The roots of this accommodative process are in Victorian England, and Mangan (1981) has shown how the emergent sports and games ideology became distinctly anti-intellectual. In short, these institutionalized, cultural traditions gained through historical analysis help to illuminate findings about the intellectual abilities and conservative orientations of today's recruits. These are among the advantages of merging sport studies with the study of the professional socialization of physical educators.

Hypotheses

Four hypotheses and their corollaries serve to synthesize the preceding findings and discussion.

1. Students with extensive primary and secondary involvements in sport, physical activity, and physical education will be attracted to physical education.
2. Students who actually enter physical education programs will display lower mean intellectual aptitudes and abilities than students in non-teaching majors.
 - 2a. Female physical education recruits will display higher mean intellectual aptitudes and abilities than males in the same program.
3. Students with extensive primary involvements and achievements in interschool sports will be attracted to coaching, not teaching.
 - 3a. These students will attach importance to their personal athletic skills, citing them as instrumental in their choice of the career and success in it.
 - 3b. These students will view teaching physical education as a career contingency.
 - 3c. These students will possess a custodial orientation.
4. Students with more primary and secondary and secondary involvements in physical activity and physical education than in sport will be attracted to teaching, not coaching.
 - 4a. Some students will attach importance to a shared technical culture and a professional ideology.
 - 4b. These students will view coaching as a career contingency.

4c. Many of them will possess an innovative orientation.

The final group of hypotheses (4-4c) helps to account for variation among recruits, and there is empirical grounding for some (Segrave, 1980; Templin et al., 1982). Segrave (1980) found that subjects who were not involved in intercollegiate sport were oriented more toward teaching than coaching, and Templin et al. (1982) cite examples of recruits who plan to change programs. It is thus possible to follow Zeichner (Note 8) and expect recruits with three orientations: fence-sitting, custodial, and innovative. Since operations in physical education are institutionalized, it is likely that most recruits will possess a custodial orientation, and this is what the research has indicated.

Teacher Education Programs

Analysts frequently assume that pre-service teacher education programs perform three, related functions: disseminating the shared technical culture and a professional ideology; providing recruits with a new self-image (the first step in induction); and attracting only suitable recruits (gatekeeping). Analysts also assume that practice will be improved if all three functions are discharged effectively. But are they?

Recent reviews on teacher education in physical education help to synthesize past research and may stimulate future efforts (Locke & Dodds, Note 4; Locke, Note 3).³ There are, in addition, retrospective accounts by experienced teachers (Chu, 1980; Earls, 1981; Lortie, 1975). It is nevertheless impossible to definitively answer the above question because there is insufficient amount of data. On the other hand, it is possible to analyze the role of teacher education in the socialization of teachers by assuming, with Lortie (1975), that:

The lack of potency in the formal socialization system means that earlier, conservative influences are not systematically offset in the course of induction. Teachers do not, apparently, acquire new standards to correct and reverse impressions, ideals, and orientations. (p. 81)

Lortie suggests, then, that biography and pre-career experiences are more important than teacher education.

In other words, recruits' subjective warrants resist efforts by teacher educators to change them, and teacher education programs are less effective as a consequence. Others have agreed (Earls, 1981; Petty & Hogben, 1980) and there are more indications that this may be so. For example, Kelley and Lindsay (1980), having located "knowledge obsolescence" in experienced teachers, turned their attention to graduating seniors in physical education; there were no significant differences between students and teachers, suggesting that formal coursework in teacher education is not as potent or permanent as educators have hoped. Thus, it is possible to assume, with Lortie (1975) and others, that teacher education has low-impact, remaining mindful of two qualifiers.

The first is that it is a testable assumption that merits research. Second, it is foolish to assume that *all* teacher education programs have low impacts on *all* recruits, just as it is inappropriate to assume that all recruits are alike. To assume low impact in teacher education, then, *is a temporary measure necessary to launch an analysis*. Exceptions to it may be sought as three, related influences on teacher education are singled out for discussion: the orientations and actions of recruits; conceptions of the shared technical culture and the curriculum for its dissemination; and the orientations and actions of teacher educators.

Orientations and Actions of Recruits

Investigators have traditionally assumed that profession education in general and teacher education in particular are all-powerful, an assumption related to others. It also has been assumed that professional socialization is the only kind of socialization

for recruits and that all such socialization is one-way, with recruits serving as passive, willing recipients of its contents. Indeed, the prevalence of these assumptions helps to explain the absence of research on teacher education.

New assumptions, some identified previously, provide an alternative view. For example, socialization is always problematic, not automatic, and professional socialization competes with other kinds. And perhaps more importantly, recruits are not blank slates, nor are they passive, willing recipients in the face of professional socialization. They are active agents whose custodial, innovative, or fence-sitting orientations result in actions that directly influence the effectiveness of teacher education programs. For example, Placek (Note 5) found dramatic differences between undergraduates' conceptions of successful teaching and those offered in the literature by teaching researchers. Thus, the orientations and actions of recruits affect induction via teacher education programs, as the following hypotheses indicate.⁴

5. Induction is most likely to occur with recruits who are oriented toward teaching.
 - 5a. Induction will be partial at best for recruits oriented toward coaching.
 - 5b. Induction is not likely to occur for recruits committed only to intercollegiate athletics.

This last hypothesis is more a product of the legacies of teacher education programs in large universities than it is from the past research. Nevertheless, experience in these universities suggests that athletics serve as a prerequisite stepping stone to a career as a professional athlete, and many such athletes choose a major in physical education. Their effects on these programs and the programs' effects on them should not go unnoticed in an analysis of teacher socialization.

The Shared Technical Culture and Teacher Education Curricula

Teacher education programs differ (Lawson, 1981) because of school administrators,⁵ institutional constraints such as quota systems, and above all, the vested interests of faculty. Disagreements among faculty appear to be the rule both within and between programs, and they affect these programs in two ways. First, students in the same programs are likely to receive contradictory expectations, information, and sanctions, and these limit program effectiveness. Second, a shared technical culture is difficult to identify because faculty have conflicting views of schools, teaching, and the appropriate knowledge and skills (Glazer, 1974; Rein & White, 1981).⁶ It is unfortunate that one of the few characteristics that many teacher education programs share is the absence of an agreed-upon, shared technical culture for prospective teachers.

Another frequently shared characteristic is the absence of a conceptual framework for teacher education curricula. These curricula tend to be collections of courses that students complete in interrupted time sequences. Indeed, a growing literature on professional socialization suggests that even if there was agreement on a shared technical culture for teachers, most existing curricula would not effectively disseminate it. Effective dissemination and the eventual use in practice appear to hinge on: the *integration* of knowledge and skills; their *modes of transmission*; their *correspondence* to and *utility* in schools (Bishop, 1977). In addition *collective* socialization is more powerful than individualistic approaches; that is, recruits should feel that "everyone is in the same boat" rather than being isolated and alone (Becker, 1964; Bishop, 1977). The hypotheses below amplify these and other influences upon program effectiveness.

6. Programs in which a shared, technical culture and professional ideology have been agreed upon and made explicit will have a greater impact on recruits than programs in which this has not occurred.

- 6a. Curricula that integrate knowledge, skills and ideology that correspond to teaching and transmit accordingly will have greater impact on students than curricula that do not.
- 6b. Curricula that make professional socialization a collective experience will have greater impact on recruits than those that do not.
- 6c. In all cases, the impact of professional socialization will be greatest for recruits oriented toward teaching.

A fitting way to close this part of the discussion on teacher education programs is to return to the subjective warrants of recruits, for these are partly influenced by the same, diverse teacher education programs. When there is diversity among programs, disagreement over a shared technical culture, and a curriculum that leaves much to be desired, there is little hope in attracting a more homogeneous group of desirable recruits. In short, the gatekeeping function of teacher education is severely eroded.

Orientations and Actions of Teacher Educators

Some analysts have suggested the importance of teacher educators in understanding teacher education programs (Lawson, Note 2; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981), and others have called for research on them (Hall & Hord, 1981; Locke & Dodds, Note 4). Yet, little is known about them.

And there is a definitional problem. Who are they? Since most faculty instruct prospective teachers, they may see themselves as teacher educators. This liberal definition includes disciplinary scholars and coaching or performance specialists, and in some programs these faculty may outnumber those for whom the art and science of pedagogy constitutes their sole interest. It is this latter group of faculty that may be called more precisely the teacher educators. Aside from their strong investments in school programs and teaching, a growing number have completed the specialized education and training necessary for pedagogical research. Their efforts, more than those of others, will produce the shared, technical culture and appropriate ideology for teachers.

On the other hand, the subjective meanings and identities of other faculty should not be sacrificed because of such an externally imposed definition. That many faculty members continue to see themselves as teacher educators affects programs by giving recruits an implicit message: There are no pedagogical specialists, nor is there an agree-upon, shared technical culture, and consequently, one person's view of teaching is as good as another's. To reiterate, this is a basis for fragmentation, not integration; conflict, not consensus, and program effectiveness is further limited.

The available evidence, moreover, does not include precise distinctions among physical education faculty, but it does begin to explain selected effects of teacher education programs upon the subjective warrants of recruits. For example, recruits oriented toward coaching, or who perceive few differences between teaching and coaching (Bain & Wendt, in press), often find a ready reinforcer in the role definitions for faculty. Some 70 percent of the men and women faculty double as coaches, and most are physical education graduates (Sage, 1980). Furthermore, conservative recruits may find a comfort zone in physical education. Sage (1980) cites the finding that only agricultural faculty are more conservative than those in physical education and concludes that physical educator/coaches have somewhat conservative social and political attitudes and values (p. 117). Similarly, Nelson (1970) found conservative value orientations in fourth-year male students and their male faculty. Together, these findings suggest that some faculty reinforce the subjective warrants of recruits and reduce the impact of teacher education programs.

And like recruits, faculty may have custodial, innovative, or fence-sitting orientations. Although these orientations have not yet been identified in the research, it seems plausible to propose that their apparent conservatism breeds a custodial orientation. After all, many were first socialized into the role of teacher, and there are

few examples of recruits who wish to change existing practices (Lortie, 1975; Templin et al., 1982). Their formal teaching experiences would likely contribute to the same orientation. Both kinds of experiences yield a second kind of subjective warrant: one for the teacher education faculty member. The question in the majority of cases is thus whether graduate education can produce an innovative orientation in the face of this, second subjective warrant. If not, then there are direct implications for the kind of shared technical culture that is produced (if one is produced at all), its dissemination in pre-service programs, and the impact of these programs on recruits.⁷

A related set of questions stems from the institution's expectations for new faculty in teacher education and the extent to which new faculty accept them or make them subject to role bargaining. These questions also help to illuminate the orientations of faculty.

But in all of these cases, there can be little doubt that faculty affect the impact of teacher education programs, and the following hypotheses are framed to reflect this fact.

7. Programs in which faculty conflicts have arisen from competing programmatic and scholarly priorities will have less impact on recruits than those in which faculty have reached consensus.
8. Programs in which most of the faculty also coach will have less impact upon recruits than programs in which most faculty only teach.
9. Programs in which faculty have an innovative orientation will have a greater impact on recruits oriented toward teaching than those in which faculty are custodial.

But it bears repeating that there is a substantial amount of diversity in teacher education programs and among faculty. In the face of this diversity, it would be useful to dissect some types of pre-service programs (after Blau et al., 1979) and compare the effects of each on different types of recruits. The preceding hypotheses may assist investigators with this important task.

The Effectiveness of Teacher Education and the Induction Issue

Lortie's (1975) assumptions about the ineffectiveness of teacher education programs launched this discussion, and it is useful to return to them now. It may well be the case that these programs are more effective than Lortie assumed. His work was influenced by the model drawn from medicine and law in which induction is presumed to occur first in professional education and later in practice. But in the case of physical education there is reason to doubt that such an induction occurs in teacher education. Many teacher education programs may reinforce, not alter, recruits' subjective warrants; may not even identify, let alone disseminate effectively, a shared technical culture and a professional ideology; and may not perform a gatekeeping function.

Yet programs may be effective in the sense that their design and conduct often mirrors existing school programs (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981). Therefore, the question of effectiveness is tied to the criteria that are employed in rendering the judgment. In Lortie's (1975) terms, programs are low-impact enterprises because no apparent induction results from them. To the contrary, if a goodness of fit between teacher education and selected programs is the criterion, teacher education programs are quite effective. Perhaps this is why some analysts (Hall & Hord, 1981; Locke & Dodds, Note 4) reserve the term "induction" for actual entry into the schools as a salaried teacher, while calling teacher education "pre-service training."

Yet there are custodial biases in these analyses. If a persistent problem in teaching is the absence of a shared technical culture and an appropriate ideology, then where will the void be filled if not initially in teacher education? After all, there are

few examples of this technical culture and the ideology in current school programs, and this unfortunate fact is revealed in the subjective warrants of recruits. The point is that there stands to be a difference between what teacher education programs currently accomplish and their potential effects on the process of teacher socialization. By accepting the former as a given, analysts who see induction restricted to school entry seemingly preserve the *status quo* in both teacher education and school practice.

The concept of successful induction is one in which a recruit's inaccurate subjective warrant is replaced by a new self-image forged out of new ideological commitments and newly-acquired knowledge and skill. Both raw materials are now being provided by physical education's pedagogical researchers at the same time that there is a growing amount of evidence about how to make teacher education programs more effective. Thus, while teacher education is not the only or the most important step in induction, it is a first and most necessary one. This promise for teacher education is important in analyses of teacher socialization, and it shall become apparent that its relationship to school practice and longevity in teaching only serves to amplify its significance.

Footnotes

1. I am grateful to Lawrence Locke, Patricia Vertinsky, Alan Ingham, Thomas Tempelin, and Neal Earls for their criticism and encouragement.
2. There seems to be grounds for the assertion that differences between males and females are more pronounced than the findings from the initial research reveals. Aside from data in physical education (Kenyon, 1965; Widdop & Widdop, 1975), the literature on vocational choice suggests that women may be quite different (e.g., McLure & Piel, 1978; O'Bryant et al., 1978). The mediating effects of socio-economic status should not be neglected in such comparisons of men and women.
3. A detailed analysis of these excellent reviews is not possible, and so readers are urged to contact Professor Locke.
4. These and other hypotheses are based on the assumptions that teacher education programs are oriented more toward teaching than coaching (Chu, 1980), and that any induction is into teaching. But to reiterate, there are differences among teacher education programs, and it is likely that some programs are so oriented to coaching that any induction that occurs is into this role.
5. School personnel appear to exert stronger influences on teacher education programs when there is an over-supply of teachers. How and why they are able to affect these programs, particularly in limiting innovation, are questions worthy of analysis.
6. Conflicts and dilemmas are especially likely in fields like physical education where disciplinary scholars, teacher educators, and coaching/performance specialists try to co-exist (Glaser, 1974).
7. Light (1979) suggests that professional faculty members may seek out this role because they could not effectively perform as practitioners. Studies of teacher education faculty might look for similar findings, and studies of teacher education can be informed by Light's work.

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