

Toward a Model of Teacher Socialization in Physical Education: Entry into Schools, Teachers' Role Orientations, and Longevity in Teaching (Part 2)

Hal A. Lawson
Miami University, Ohio

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The socialization of physical education teachers begins in early childhood, results in a subjective warrant for teaching physical education and continues upon entry into teacher education programs. A host of intriguing questions surround these events, the attendant three kinds of socialization, and their relationships. This much has been established in the first of a two-part analysis of teacher socialization (Lawson, 1983), and there is more conceptual terrain to explore in this second part. For the socialization of teachers is life-long and this requires an analysis of what happens to teachers after they complete pre-service teacher education. Such an examination must include actual entry into schools as a salaried teacher, the role orientations that they exhibit initially and in later years, and their longevity as teachers of physical education. It shall become apparent that the questions raised in this second analysis can be linked to those raised in the first, and there are accompanying implications that merit the attention of teacher educators and researchers.

Entry into Schools

The Issues

When new teachers enter schools after completing pre-service education, they cross an important boundary, and all such boundary passages are points at which socialization promises to be most potent (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). It is, therefore, important to examine the transition from higher education to actual work, remaining mindful of five, related issues.

The first two are familiar and may be summarized as questions. Does induction begin or continue upon entry into schools? Is there a "wash-out effect" (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981) when teachers enter schools? The former was identified in the first part of this analysis (Lawson, 1983), and it bears upon the latter. For if teacher education programs are not responsible for at least a partial induction, as marked by teachers' temporary acceptance of a shared technical culture and a professional ideology, then there need be fewer concerns about the extent to which both are erased, or "washed-out," by school experience.

Two more issues follow suit. What is the relationship of student teaching and related field experiences to entry as a salaried teacher and the consequences (e.g., "wash-out") associated therewith? To what extent can these consequences be attributed to organizational socialization, which frequently is at odds with professional socialization in teacher education? This latter issue was introduced earlier (Lawson, 1983), and it stems in part from a wealth of literature that suggests conflicts between

professionals and bureaucratic organizations such as schools (Larson, 1977, pp. 178-207).

The last issue is this: How much confidence can be placed in the initial research on the relationship between pre-service education and actual work? After all, few published studies have searched for the persistence of *behaviors* in both settings, with a notable exception (Siedentop, 1981). Many have attended instead to teachers' *traits*, or ideological orientations, in both teacher education and schools. Although these latter comparisons provide a valuable point of departure, they are limited in three, related ways. They do not adequately examine the relationship of these traits to the socialization settings in which they are formed (Sage, 1980). Moreover, they tend not to be informed by a theoretical understanding of socializations, generally, and the role of teachers as active strategists in the face of socialization, more particularly. That is, investigators often assume that the observed traits in both settings result automatically from all-powerful socialization, rather than viewing these traits as representations of teachers' skilled acts of short term compliance and impression management (Giddens, 1979). Furthermore, these studies have only attended to teachers at the boundary passage, while failing to follow them *across* it to learn what they do later. This is another example of the failure to view teachers as active strategists who, like chameleons, display their colors as the time and conditions warrant. Together, these three limitations suggest that past research provides false leads in addition to useful findings, and there is need for caution in using these findings to illuminate entry into schools.

Student Teaching as Mediated Entry

An important question about professional education is whether it prepares students to remain students or to become professionals. Because student teaching marks a transition from preparation to actual performance, this experience offers, at least in principle, the opportunity to address this question. For as Locke (1974) has observed, student teachers confront realities of teaching that gymnasium tourists never see. Therefore, the orientation of their teacher education may be inferred from the extent to which "reality shocks" are experienced, but this question has not commanded much attention.

This is not to imply that there is little work done on student teaching. For example, in their review of research on teacher education, Locke and Dodds (1981) found a disproportionate amount of work on student teaching. Having acknowledged this fact, there remain both myths and contradictory findings associated with student teaching (Tabachnick et al., 1980) and other field experiences (Zeichner, 1980). More work needs to be completed, particularly studies with longitudinal designs and appropriately conceived and sequenced cross-sectional research such as that supervised by Siedentop (1981).

Even so, there are reasons why researchers should not expect too much. After all, the student teacher is caught between two worlds, the university and the school, as reflected in the joint supervision of their performance. Furthermore, the student teacher in a sponsor school is much like the younger brother greeted with "hand-me-down" clothing; the fit is one of necessity, not ideal. Little wonder, then, that role stress and role conflict have been observed in student teachers (Luke, 1980).

In short, at this stage in the research enterprise, there are more questions than answers. Therefore, it is best to adopt a conservative posture about student teaching, how student teachers act as active strategists in this difficult role, and the extent to which they are permanently affected by the experience. Student teaching may be safely viewed for now as mediated entry into schools, nothing more and nothing less.

Ideological Shifts in Student and Beginning Teachers

Following the seminal work of Willower et al. (1967), researchers have become increasingly concerned with the ideological orientations of novice teachers. The question is: To what extent does a pupil control ideology replace a humanistic ideology? The differences between the two have been summarized by Templin (1979):

A humanistic ideology emphasizes an accepting, trustful view of pupils, and optimism concerning their ability to be self-disciplining and responsible. Humanistic teacher behavior is both patient and responsive toward students and is characterized by flexibility, tolerance and attempts to encourage student self-discipline.

In contrast, a pupil control ideology stresses a predisposition toward highly controlled settings concerned primarily with the maintenance of order, distrust of students, and a punitive, moralistic approach to pupil control. Accompanying such an ideology is behavior marked by the use of threats, punitive sanctions, and a personalized reaction toward students who misbehave. (p. 11)

The persistent finding with classroom teachers and physical education teachers has been that pupil control ideologies replace their humanistic counterparts (Templin, 1979; Wendt et al., 1981), and Templin (1979) also chronicled attendant behavioral shifts in physical education teachers.

Findings like these, coupled with an increasing amount of data on teacher planning and behavior that will be sampled later, are cause for a presumed "wash-out effect," namely the extent to which the ideology, knowledge, sensitivities, and skills gained in teacher education are erased in the face of realities in school practice. Although this conclusion may prove to be justifiable, assumptions in the pupil control studies, once identified, provide grounds for considerable caution.

For example, it is assumed that a humanistic ideology is superior, perhaps because it also is assumed that this ideology is equated with standards of professionalism (Kuhlman & Hoy, 1974). It is assumed that this humanistic ideology stands as testimony to the effectiveness of teacher education programs, when, in fact, this ideology's presence in higher education may be a function of assessing such a trait in a particular socialization setting that would be expected to nourish it. In other words, novice teachers may never have developed an enduring commitment to a humanistic ideology, and if not, then there is no reason to suspect a wash-out effect. And in the same vein, the short-term detection of a pupil control ideology may be little more than a brief reflection of assessments made in a new socialization setting, the school (Sage, 1980). And last but not least, it is assumed that observers can reliably and validly differentiate between teacher behaviors that accompany the two ideologies, again with the assumption that humanistic behaviors are superior to custodial, and despite the fact that schools, like prisons and mental hospitals, are custodial institutions with large, heterogeneous groups of clients who do not seek professional assistance voluntarily. So there is good reason to be cautious in formulating conclusions on a presumed wash-out effect when the evidence is limited to these studies of ideological shifts in novice teachers.

Organizational Socialization Via the Schools

There is other evidence that keeps the question about washout in the foreground of any analysis of teacher socialization. Despite an increasing emphasis in teacher education on the ideal ways for teachers to make planning decisions and to execute behaviors associated with effective teaching and learning, there is an increasing amount of evidence that teachers do not plan or behave in these idealized ways (Pieron, 1982; Placek, 1982; Shavelson & Stern, 1981). Although they are seemingly

presented with what they should do in teacher education programs, physical education teachers apparently do *not*: plan lessons in advance; adapt lessons to individual students; provide students with positive reinforcement; provide activity necessary to develop physical fitness; manage time effectively; provide appropriate feedback to students; attend to student progress instead of the activity; provide clear models of the desired learning; or maintain a warm and positive social atmosphere (Locke, 1982). To be sure, there are exceptions. Pieron (1982) found a considerable amount of variability among teachers on items such as these, and Earls (1981) has completed important work on the characteristics of distinctive teachers of physical education. So there remain questions about the extent to which the wash-out effect is automatic.

Yet, it is impossible to deny these differences between the designs of teacher education programs and what teachers actually do. Faced with these discrepancies, investigators have posited some plausible explanations (Locke, 1982; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981): that biography is more powerful than teacher education, meaning that subjective warrants remain intact and teacher recruits actively reject new knowledge, sensitivities, and skills; that the knowledge, sensitivities, and skills transmitted in teacher education do not readily transfer to school practice; that organizational socialization in schools is more powerful than professional socialization. The first two explanations have been accommodated in the first part of this analysis (Lawson, 1983), so it is appropriate to turn to organizational socialization in the schools.

Schools are, to reiterate, custodial bureaucracies, the histories of which yield insights into their authority relations and the nature of teaching as work (Callahan, 1962; Spring, 1972; Tyack, 1974). Like all organizations, schools have developed ways to socialize new members; some of this socialization is formal, some is informal, but either way, its outcomes may be expected to compete with professional socialization.

For example, studies of bureaucracies have allowed the identifications of norms that are clearly at odds with professionalism. These include the standardization of technique, the reproducibility and quantification of work, the interchangeability of workers, division of labor, emotional neutrality, and orderliness (Downs, 1967). If these norms are internalized by people, they exhibit a new cognitive style (Berger et al., 1973); this includes a predisposition toward highly controlled settings concerned primarily with the maintenance of order. This is at the heart of what Templin (1979) and others have offered as a definition of pupil control ideology! There is, then, a link between organizational socialization and the presence of a custodial ideology, but since socialization is always problematic, not automatic, there is no way of knowing how permanent such an ideology may be.

There are features about the work of teaching physical education that nevertheless prompt the suspicion that organizational socialization is especially powerful for physical educators, most notably the place of physical education and its teachers in the school culture (Sarason, 1972). One study identified differences between classroom teachers and physical education teachers, suggesting that the latter may be more idealistic than their classroom colleagues (Wendt et al., 1981). In the culture of the school, mental subjects are assigned higher status than their physical counterparts such as physical education (Giroux, 1981). Further to this point, Hendry (1975) noted that physical educators enjoy role marginality in schools, and Locke (1974) has added to this picture by observing that "teaching physical education in some schools is a lonely job, awash in an endless sea of children." (p. 14). Loneliness is even greater because work is performed in gymnasias and on playing fields that often are at the periphery of the school, and the sense that physical education teaching is different is reflected in teachers' apparel and the conditions surround instruction, especially groupings of students and the allotted time. These features of the work of teaching physical education fly in the face of the content of many teacher education programs, make reality shocks likely, and, in turn, add to the power of organizational socialization.

This observation can be clarified and supported by analyzing the tactical dimensions of organizational socialization and the kinds of socialization outcomes that can be linked to each. Six such dimensions have been identified by Van Maanen and Schein (1979) who also remind researchers that *what* people learn often is a function of *how* they learn.

The organizational socialization of teachers may be *collective* or *individual*; with others, they experience the "we're in the same boat" feeling, which makes socialization more powerful than if the individual faces it alone. Second, socialization may be *formal* or *informal*. Third, it may be *sequential* or *random*; that is, it may proceed in a planned, step-wise progression or characterized by an absence of such an order. Fourth, socialization may be *fixed* or *variable*; it may proceed according to a well-developed timetable or there may not be a fixed time frame. Fifth, socialization may be *serial* or *disjunctive*; teachers may be taken "under the wing" of an experienced mentor who doubles as a role model or confronted with a "sink or swim by oneself" situation. Finally, socialization may include *investiture* or *divestiture*; new sensitivities, knowledge, and skills gained in teacher education may be welcomed and accommodated, or ridiculed and rejected. These are six tactical dimensions of organizational socialization (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979) that may assist socialization researchers in identifying and attending to the processes that greet new and experienced teachers.

Armed with these distinctions, and with the organizational socialization of a beginning teacher in mind, the place of physical education in the school culture gains added significance. In this perspective, the new teacher's socialization is likely to be individual and disjunctive because teaching physical education is lonely work; it is likely to involve divestiture, especially if the new teacher's new sensitivities, knowledge and skill, acquired in teacher education, are not immediately apparent in the way experienced teachers perform their work; it is probably informal more than formal as well as random; and it would be fixed in the sense that the timetable for permanent certification was known in advance, but variable in the sense that the time necessary for the organizational "outsider" to become a socially accepted "insider" would not be known in advance. Clearly, then, the new teacher is literally bombarded with organizational messages acquired through a diverse range of socialization tactics. This person has not only failed to receive adequate preparation for the experience in teacher education, but also, must frequently face organizational socialization alone. Add in the fact that organizational socialization began for teachers while they were students in schools, only to be briefly interrupted (if at all) in teacher education programs, and the result is a better understanding as to why organizational socialization may be so powerful.

There is added significance to organizational socialization and its tactical dimensions because the latter may be linked to the orientations of teachers; again, what people learn is often a function of how they learn it. Consequently, some tactics are associated with custodial orientations, while others are associated with their innovative counterparts. In the interests of brevity and clarity, Van Maanen and Schein's (1979) seminal, detailed work may be captured in two summary hypotheses about the socialization of physical education teachers.

1. Schools with socialization tactics that are collective, sequential, variable, serial, and involve divestiture will breed custodial orientations in new teachers.
2. Schools with socialization tactics that are individual, informal, random, disjunctive, and involve investiture, will nurture innovative orientations in new teachers.

Thus, for some new teachers who retained a custodial orientation during teacher education programs, entry into schools marks a return to familiar territory. These new teachers enter schools with a custodial orientation and often find socialization tactics in these schools that produce the same orientation. For recruits with innovative orientations after the completion of teacher education programs, these same schools

make necessary personal strategies to cope and survive. Confronted with organizational socialization that is linked to a custodial orientation, new teachers must engage in short term compliance and impression management (Zeichner, 1979). This personal strategy allows an effective social masquerade that apparently can be removed after two or more years of teaching (Locke, 1982; MacArthur, 1978, 1979). Even with such an innovative orientation, the power of organizational socialization is such that the tension between role-taking and role-making may persist.

All this implies that while a "wash-out effect" may be real, it is not automatic. This means, in turn, that the concept of induction as it is lived by recruits (as opposed to what the professional socialization literature suggests that it should be) is also highly variable; for some teachers induction begins in teacher education and stage two continues upon school entry; for others, induction begins in schools because teacher education programs prepared people to remain students rather than to become professionals. In all cases the organizational socialization tactics emerge as not only powerful, but also often opposed to the ideal notion of professional socialization. But new teachers can become active social strategists who resist organizational socialization while making the necessary boundary passage in the work organization of the school. Studies that only attend to people at this boundary passage, failing to follow people across it, will continue to miss this important part of teacher socialization in physical education that attests to the value of teacher education and the role of individual teachers in creating change.

Other Role Orientations

Teachers may have innovative or custodial role orientations, and the latter also are encouraged by the actions of students (Templin, 1981) and forms of teacher supervision in which control and effectiveness are equated (Hoy & Rees, 1977). But to return to the subjective warrants of physical education recruits, there is another dimension to teachers' role orientations. Physical educators are asked to teach and coach, and some are more oriented to one than to the other.

The combination of teaching and coaching means long hours in the workplace, known as role overload (Carre et al., 1980). There is also a conflict in what people have to know and be able to do in teaching and coaching; role conflict in teacher-coaches has been detected in past research (Bain, in press; Chu, 1980; Locke & Massengale, 1978; Templin, 1980). Teacher-coaches are faced with the necessity of making decisions about who to apportion their time and effort, decisions that are no doubt made with reference to intrinsic and extrinsic rewards that they perceive to be important (Chu, 1980; Johns, 1982). Some may have made these decisions from the time they decided to seek an undergraduate major in physical education. Thus, the question is whether teaching, or coaching, earns the status of a career contingency. Studies of the occupational sub-culture of American coaches (Massengale, 1974, 1977) suggest that for many males it is teaching that is the career contingency, but a recent Canadian study found just the reverse (Johns, 1982). In both cases, teachers are "placed in a unique professional dilemma which centers around their professional interest and expertise on the one hand, and the applied forces manifested in a set of institutional expectancies on the other" (Johns, 1982, p. 343). This is a challenge that characterizes role bargaining, and it is made easier because there is so much role ambiguity; the joint responsibilities are as much matters of informal expectation (Johns, 1982) as they are formally constituted in writing.

For example, Johns (1982) concluded that while coaching may be studied as a career contingency, a focus on the teacher reveals "an endless series of personal adaptations to social structure" in which expectancy was changed into opportunity, while "tolerating the disadvantaged status role of class physical education teacher and adopting symbols recognized by the social institutions in terms of personal effectiveness" (p. 344). Teachers adapt and cope! They are active social strategists.

There are, nevertheless, high personal costs. For in the cases of teaching and coaching, there appear to be different role expectations held within and across groups, both inside and outside schools. Expectations differ not just for what teacher-coaches should *do*, which is the essence of role conflict, but also for what they should *be*, which is a question of personal and professional identity (Kleinman, 1981). Rather than finding a merger of personal and professional identities in one "master role" (Kleinman, 1981), which is the sign of successful induction, the confusion over master identities tends to result in role distancing, in which people withdraw from the role, protecting their "real" selves. And there is a ripple effect when this kind of role distancing occurs. Their occupational commitments, which influence longevity and effectiveness in teaching, hinge in large part on teachers' willingness to risk their personal identity with their professional identity when they make "side-bets" (Becker, 1952); the greater the number of side-bets, the greater is the commitment to teaching because personal investments in the career have proceeded too far to allow the person to turn back without losing face and identity. Thus, people may cope and survive in the teaching-coaching conflict, but the costs are high. The following hypothesis exhibits this point of view.

1. Teachers who view teaching as a career contingency will:

- a. Possess custodial orientations;
- b. Have low career commitments to teaching;
- c. Conduct classes in which academic learning time is low;
- d. Operate without formal curriculum guides and related indices of effective instruction.

In other words, these are the teachers who contribute to findings such as those recently reported by Kneer (1983); 65 % of her respondents said students' fun was the most important determinant of curriculum, and there was no formal curriculum in one-fourth of the schools in her sample. In addition, one-third did not take students learning into effect when assigning grades, and many did not test students or use appropriate feedback because of such commonly cited reasons as "I don't believe in tests" and "It's not necessary." These are part of the socially constructed realities of school programs. They serve to maintain the low status of physical education in the school culture. Teachers play a major role in all cases. Thus the following assertions:

2. Teachers who view coaching as a career contingency will:

- a. Be as likely to possess innovative orientations as custodial ones;
- b. Have higher career commitments than teachers oriented to coaching;
- c. Conduct classes in which academic learning times are higher than those conducted by teachers oriented toward coaching;
- d. Have prepared formal curriculum guides and strived to implement other provisions for effective instruction.

In short, these hypotheses are directed toward people that Earls (1981) would call "distinctive" teachers of physical education, and although some would fall short of this status, their efforts should be detected.

Longevity in Teaching

Apparently, many teachers leave teaching. For example, Carre et al. (1980) found that 62% of the secondary physical education teachers in their sample planned to leave teaching within 5 years, citing role overload as the major reason. Frustration with "the system" may also be a factor; Stinnett (1970), for example, suggested that the most capable and potentially innovative people dropped out, leaving behind the least intelligent and most custodial teachers. The pressure of lateral roles (e.g., husband and father) may also be instrumental in such a decision; here, economic and social constraints are instrumental factors. And there is the problem of teacher burn-out that has professionals in search of modes of prevention and curing (e.g., O'Brien, 1979), with the suspicion that burned-out teachers drop-out. Finally, there are examples of vertical mobility. Some teachers may become teacher education faculty members in colleges and universities, while others may become coaches in higher education.² A few teachers may follow the familiar route from instructor to school administrator. In sum, there are a variety of reasons why people may leave teaching. They engage in career change because of personal aspirations or environmental pressures, or some combination thereof; thus, they may "drift-out, opt-out, bow-out, or be forced out" (Thomas, 1980, p. 178).

Yet, people remain teachers, and this fact should not be lost in any analysis of teacher socialization. Unfortunately, little is known about who stays, why they stay, and what they do.

There are examples in the literature that merit replication and expansion. For instance, Kelley and Lindsay (1977, 1980) have done exploratory work on knowledge obsolescence in physical education teachers, finding that teachers in the field did not perform adequately on paper and pencil tests of current knowledge. This kind of work has implications for continuing learning in the field. .

Becker's (1952) classic work on the careers of public school teachers merits special notice. He observed that teachers who could move to better schools, (i.e., schools in which the mix of parents, teachers, students, and administrators was favorable) could get on with the innovative and professional roles that they envisioned; colleagues who had remained in schools located in less desirable areas, by contrast, felt compelled to lower their expectations for selves and students and adjusted their behaviors in order to cope and survive.³

Earls' (1981) work on the qualities and perceptions of distinctive teachers also merits attention and emulation. He has documented their professional activities and included useful information about their biographies. His conclusions are especially noteworthy: distinctive teachers love children and they must contend from the start of their careers with the pervasive influences of "an athletic syndrome" (Earls, 1981, p. 68). But contend they do, and Earls suggests that the love of children prevails.

Faced with the absence of evidence, it is not possible to offer hypotheses about longevity in teaching. It is only possible to call for more research on this neglected area by emphasizing its importance.

Summary and Conclusions

Teachers who enjoy long lives as professionals exert a profound influence on the entire process of teacher socialization. Their personal appearance and attitudes, together with their thoughts and actions, affect their own students' subjective warrants for physical education, just as their former mentors influenced the subjective warrants of these experienced teachers. And there is a snowballing effect. By influencing students' subjective warrants, these teachers affect recruitment into physical education; this influence is pervasive because, as we have seen, recruits impact the effectiveness of teacher education programs, and in turn, future school practices. These interconnections attest to the importance of learning more about people who stay in teaching and demonstrate at the same time that teacher socialization must be analyzed against an institutionalized back-drop; for these interconnections are the very

substance of an institutionalized framework. They are responsible for social regularities.

There is, however, an obvious and important amount of variability among teachers, school programs and practices, and teacher education programs. This state of affairs is both exciting and perplexing for socialization researchers, exciting because of the challenges posed by so many unanswered questions and perplexing because of the methodological and conceptual difficulties caused by this variability.

Having acknowledged this variability, it is appropriate to conclude by identifying socialization patterns and alternatives that have emerged from this two part analysis because these are the raw materials out of which future models may be forged.

There is a direct relationship between existing school programs and practices, on the one hand, and recruitment pattern into the profession, on the other. Remaining mindful of variability, there are three types of programs and practices and each promises to be responsible for a kind of recruit. The first type of existing program and its practicing teachers are professional to the letter; students know that enjoyable learning is the object of physical education, and the actions of teachers reinforce this impression. Recruits from such programs may be expected to be oriented toward teaching more than coaching and possess innovative as well as custodial role orientations.

The second type of program, together with the orientations and actions of teachers, provide recruits with mixed messages. Teaching and coaching are not well differentiated, nor is there an identifiable distinction between interschool sports programs and instructional physical education, in part because all athletes are excused from physical education classes. Recruits from such a program, particularly male recruits, may be expected to be oriented to coaching more than teaching, while possessing custodial role orientations.

The third type of program is dwarfed by interschool sports and places little emphasis upon instruction in the gymnasium. Physical education is thus little more than a feeder system for the after school program. Recruits from this program promise to be oriented toward coaching and toward a career in professional sports.

Recruits with these orientations then enter into teacher education programs. These latter programs also fall into three ideal types, depending upon the identification and presence of a shared technical culture and a professional ideology as well as upon the curricular effectiveness with which both are disseminated. Some are high on both counts, some are high on the first, but low on the second, and some do not do either. Consequently, the extent to which recruits experience induction in teacher education hinges upon their own orientations, the organization and conduct of teacher education programs, and the interaction between them, as suggested in Table 1.

Having finished teacher education programs, recruits return to the world of school practice. Here, too, the same three kinds of programs and practices that spawned these recruits greet them after their formal preparation for teaching. As suggested in Table 2, their role orientation after teacher education may be altered in the school setting and must be viewed in relation to the setting. For example, a new teacher who experienced a complete induction in teacher education programs would exhibit a different role orientation (custodial) in the school program that already is characterized by a high degree of professionalism than that (innovative) in the other programs that are in need of improvement.

TABLE 1

Extent of Induction Via Teacher Education Programs as
Influenced by Recruits' Role Orientations

Teacher Education Programs' Professional
Standards and Curricular Effectiveness

Recruits' Role Orientations	High/High	High/Low	Low/Low
Teacher/ Innovative	Complete	Partial	Partial
Teacher-Coach/ Custodial	Complete	Partial	Failed
Coach/ Custodial	Partial	Partial	Failed
Athlete	Partial	Failed	Failed

TABLE 2

Teachers' Role Orientations as Influenced by
Teacher Education and School Programs

Recruits' Induction Via Teacher Education	School Programs		
	Professionalism	Mixed	School Sports
Complete	Custodial	Innovative	Innovative
Partial	Custodial	Custodial	Innovative
Failed	Innovative	Custodial	Custodial

Once these teachers begin their work as salaried teachers, acting to change programs or accepting and protecting what they find, the cycle starts all over again as new potential recruits develop their subjective warrants.

Faced with these interconnections, everyone in the profession may have to examine anew their fundamental assumptions about their work. Teacher educators, for example, cannot assume that their programs are all-powerful, nor can they ignore the fact that practicing teachers are important partners in the process of attracting and preparing new teachers. Practicing teachers must become mindful of their important role in portraying the role of physical educator and may even begin professional preparation classes in secondary schools. Researchers interested in teacher education, teaching behavior, and curriculum studies must pay greater attention to teacher

socialization because it allows them to move from description to explanation in their work. And finally, all change-oriented persons in the profession must face the enormous challenges associated with the institutionalized framework that characterizes today's physical education. Multilateral approaches to change appear to be in order, and if they are effective, then future work on teacher socialization will bear witness to this fact.

Footnotes

1. Locke (1982) is more venturesome when he states that practicum experiences reveal a great deal on being a teacher, but little on how to teach.
2. Mobility into college coaching may be quite restricted, however, because the vacancies in elite institutions are filled by persons from other elite institutions; this is a sponsored, not a contest, mobility system, as the work of Loy and Sage (1978) revealed.
3. Similarly, Holmen and Parkhouse (1981) have identified differences between physical educators located in suburban and inner city schools.

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