TEACHER SOCIALIZATION: REVIEW AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

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This essay presents a conceptual model of the teacher socialization process, reviews empirical research on the process of teacher socialization of elementary and secondary school teachers throughout the preservice and inservice phases, and offers a conceptualization of the teacher socialization process from a communication perspective.

Teacher socialization, the complex process by which "people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills and knowledge—in short the culture—current in groups to which they are, or seek to become, a member" (Merton, Reader, & Kendall, 1957, p. 287), begins formally with the onset of teacher education and continues throughout the career as teachers adjust, adapt, and change in their perspectives, roles, and environments. As explicated by Zeichner (1980a), much empirical research on teacher socialization has adhered either to a functionalist or a dialectical perspective. From a functionalist view, "socialization fits the individual to society" (Lacey, 1977, p. 18), and teachers are considered the passive objects of socializing agents (Parsons, 1951). A dialectical perspective is "a more complex, interactive, negotiated, provisional process . . . [that] stresses the importance of man as a creative force, as a searcher for solutions and as possessing a considerable potential to shape the society in which he lives" (Zeichner, 1980a, p. 22).

During the 1980s a number of researchers began to examine teacher socialization from a dialectical perspective. Rather than viewing the process as a linear one in which one or two factors influence the socialization outcome, this approach posits a multidimensional, on-going process of mutual influence. Two recent conceptualizations of teacher socialization grounded within the dialectical perspective include a visual model (Hollingsworth, 1989; Jordell, 1987). Jordell's (1987) model, which takes into account a variety of structural and personal influences, focuses on the interaction between unique individuals and the contexts (i.e., personal, classroom, institutional, and societal) in which they find themselves. Hollingsworth's (1989) model depicts the process of learning to teach as one of undergoing changes in thinking: teachers move from global views of teaching in classrooms to understanding about context-specific student learning, such as managerial routines, subject matter content and pedagogy, and academic tasks in the classroom.

Much of the empirical research grounded in the dialectical perspective uses qualitative methodologies in an attempt to capture the complexity of the changes that individuals undergo as they become teachers. Several recent reviews describe and synthesize some of this research and offer various conceptualizations of the teacher socialization process (Carter, 1990; Feiman-Nemser,

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1983; Staton-Spicer & Darling, 1987; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Feiman-Nemser reviewed research representative of four phases of learning to teach: pretraining (prior to formal teacher education), preservice (formal teacher education), induction (the first year of teaching), and inservice (subsequent years of teaching). Staton-Spicer and Darling (1987) reviewed dialectical research in three categories—socialization strategies, selection of socializing agents, and choices made to meet individual needs—and framed socialization as "a communication process of seeking information in order to reduce uncertainty about self and task concerns" (p. 18). Zeichner and Gore (1990) discussed research from functionalist, interpretive, and critical perspectives, and reviewed three phases of teacher socialization research: influences on teacher socialization prior to formal teacher education, the socialization role of preservice teacher education, and socialization in the workplace and culture. Carter (1990) examined studies that addressed the issues of what teachers know and how they acquire their knowledge.

Although each of these reviews contributed to educators' understanding of the socialization process, none brought together the research in an effort to formulate a model of the teacher socialization process. This essay examines the process of elementary and secondary teacher socialization through: (a) presentation of a conceptual model of the socialization process, (b) review of research on teacher socialization, and (c) conceptualization of the socialization process from a communication perspective.

PROCEDURE

A five-step procedure was utilized in selecting research for review. First, we generated descriptors under which teacher socialization articles could be categorized. Descriptors used in searching the *Current Index to Journals in Education* included: classroom, communication, cooperating teachers, education majors, instruction, preservice teacher education, socialization, student teachers, teachers. Descriptors used in examining the *Education Index* were: education—teaching, professional socialization, student teachers, student teaching, teacher education, and teachers—first year, and teaching as a profession. Second, we conducted a systematic review of the *Education Index* and *Current Index to Journals in Education*, from 1980 to 1990, to identify empirical studies of teacher socialization. We examined references on both elementary and secondary teachers, but excluded articles on faculty and graduate teaching assistant socialization. Third, based on titles of articles, we made a determination as to whether the study was related to socialization.[1] For those articles about which we were initially undecided, we secured abstracts and then made a decision about inclusion. Fourth, we conducted a hand-search of each issue (1980–1990) of 15 major journals: *Action in Teacher Education, American Educational Research Journal, Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Communication Education, Educational Researcher, Elementary School Journal, Harvard Educational Review, Journal of Educational Research, Journal of Teacher Education, Review of Educational Research, Teacher Educator, Teachers College Record, Teacher Education Quarterly, Teaching and Teacher Education*, and *Theory into Practice*. Finally, we examined reference lists of important articles to identify additional relevant sources.

An inductive procedure was used to categorize the articles and construct a model of teacher socialization. First, one of us read all the studies and assigned

each to a preliminary category(ies). Second, we met to discuss each study, refine the initial categorization, and make a final determination of placement of each study. In the few instances when we could not reach agreement, we categorized the study in more than one way.

To construct a model of socialization and conceptualize the process, we relied on the emergent categories derived from over 125 research studies and our understanding of them. After all research was reviewed, the model served as an organizing framework for the essay.

MODEL OF TEACHER SOCIALIZATION

> Most models of learning to teach emphasize a single source of influence on teacher learning. . . . These models have no clear connection to the central tasks of teaching and teacher preparation. The developmental and socialization accounts do not accord much of a role to teacher educators, focusing instead on the teacher as a person and the workplace as a setting. The training model presupposes a limited idea of teacher performance and treats learning to teach as an additive process that largely bypasses person and setting. None of the models illuminates the role of prior beliefs or preconceptions in teacher learning. Nor do they take into account the influence of program features, settings, and people as they interact over time. (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1989, p. 368)

The model we constructed is responsive to Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann's indictment (1989). Our view of socialization rests on the assumption that both preservice and inservice teachers seek to become members of the teaching profession as well as members of the particular school/institution/organization in which they find themselves. Thus, socialization can be viewed as occurring in chronological phases: preservice (university coursework and field experiences), and inservice (induction year and later years).

Within the preservice and inservice phases, socialization occurs through interaction among several components: the individual (with her or his personal experiences and biography), the context, and the various agents. The context is depicted in the model as multi-layered. Consistent with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological perspective, it is necessary to consider immediate, intermediate, societal, and cultural contexts. Certain affective, cognitive, and behavioral changes occur as teachers progress through preservice education into inservice experience and develop their role as teachers. Thus, the model incorporates elements from socialization, development, and teacher training perspectives, and is grounded in the belief that teachers are involved actively in the process.

The next sections present our review of research organized according to the conceptualization of the socialization process as displayed in Figure 1. In Figure 1, *people* refers to preservice and inservice elementary and secondary teachers who come to teaching with personal histories (*biography*) as a lens for the training experiences and classroom encounters; *selectively acquire* refers to an active, negotiated *communication* process with various *agents; values, attitudes, interests* refer to affective *changes; skills* refer to cognitive and behavioral changes; *knowledge* refers to cognitive *changes;* and *the culture current in groups* refers to the *context* (physical and social environment).

BIOGRAPHY

An important facet of socialization is the effect of the new teacher's biography on this process. An individual's biography is the result of inherent personal charac-

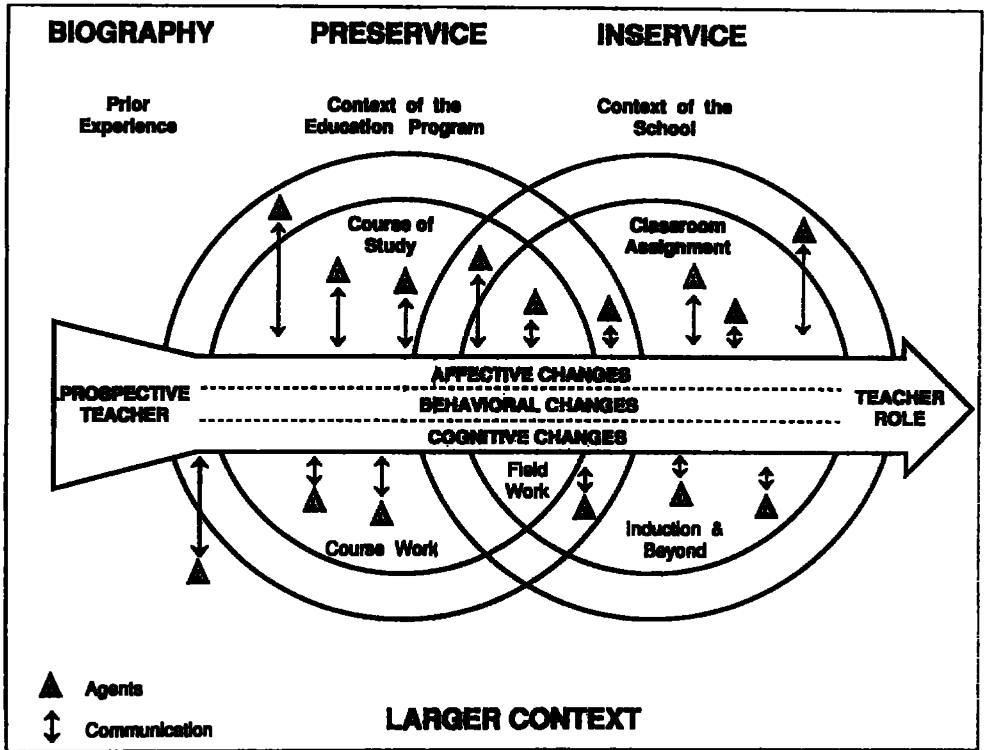

FIGURE 1

MODEL OF THE TEACHER SOCIALIZATION PROCESS.

teristics in combination with her or his cumulative social and institutional experiences (Britzman, 1986). Although earlier in the century teacher personality was examined in relation to teaching effectiveness (Barr & Emans, 1930; Medley, 1977), prior to 1975 limited empirical data were available on the effects of biography on an individual's adjustment to becoming a teacher.

EARLY RESEARCH

Notable exceptions to this trend were a group of studies on the psycho-social dynamics of prospective teachers. Wright (1959) analyzed teachers' anecdotal evidence using a Freudian model of ego identification. He concluded that different forms of identification influence the type of teacher one becomes. Role identification also was examined by Jackson and Moscovici (1963) who found that teacher education students begin to identify strongly with the teaching role prior to actual field experience. Wright and Tuska (1968) constructed a theory of teacher personality that explains individuals' choices of teaching as a career and their subsequent teaching behaviors. They found that student teachers bring positive views of self and role to the teaching experience that are enhanced during student teaching; however, these changes are reversed when confronted with the realities of the first year of teaching.

Beginning in 1969, a number of books took a new approach to teacher socialization research and provided further insights into the role of biography.

Works by Eddy (1969), Lortie (1975), Lacey (1977), Ryan (1970), and Ryan et al. (1980) used qualitative methods to study new teachers over an extended period of time to capture their experience of becoming teachers. What emerged from these studies is that teacher socialization experiences are distinctive not only because of the effects of biography, but because unique individuals interact within unique environments.

Eddy (1969) found that new teachers' expectations for students as well as for their own classroom management and teaching techniques were influenced by their experiences as students. Lortie (1975) supported this position, arguing that through years of close contact with teachers, education students internalize a model of teaching before they enter a professional training program. This "latent culture" is activated when preservice teachers return to the classroom as instructors. Case studies by Ryan and his colleagues (1970, 1980) provided evidence that differences in teachers' backgrounds show up in the way they socialize to teaching. Lacey (1977) stressed the role individuals play in selecting strategies they then actively employ to shape their experiences.

Recent Research

Biography and preservice socialization

In the last decade, as teacher socialization researchers more frequently employed qualitative methodologies, a clearer picture of the role of biography in the socialization process emerged. Tabachnick and Zeichner (1984) measured the relative contributions of biography versus context in the development of the teaching perspectives of 13 student teachers. They found that individual perspectives did not fundamentally change; rather, they developed along the lines of their original belief system. The frameworks of Hollingsworth (1989) and Feimen-Nemser and Buchmann (1986, 1989) posit that education students' prior experiences and beliefs serve as filters for processing program content and for understanding the context of the cooperating classroom. Assumptions based on previous experiences guide their initial actions in teaching or when program direction is lacking. A number of recently published case studies on preservice teachers supported these findings.

Goodman (1988a) found that the biographical experiences of 12 preservice teachers served as an intuitive screen through which they interpreted their professional education. A dichotomy between their need for openness and a conflicting need for security created an internal dialogue as they searched for a practical philosophy of teaching. When they were first exposed to new ideas they tended to evaluate them on an intuitive level rather than an intellectual one. Ross (1987, 1988) studied 21 education students in four phases of an education program and found that biographical factors accounted for more differences in teaching perspective among students than did education courses or preservice teaching experience. Interestingly, former teachers served as both positive and negative role models for student teachers, providing them with examples for what to do and what not to do. Based on the results of one elementary student teacher's reflective journal, Bolin (1988) reported that the student teacher used his privately held concept of teaching to interpret new teaching experiences. Calderhead (1988), who studied 10 middle school preservice teachers in Britain, found that the images they held of previous teachers

served as an important influence on their initial teaching performance. In a case study of a preservice high school English teacher, Shulman (1987) found that the teacher's perspective did not change appreciably because of experience; instead, she successfully drew upon previous experiences to challenge and overcome conventional forces operating in the classroom.

A growing area of research related to biography has been the subject matter knowledge student teachers possess and how this knowledge affects their teaching practices. Goodman and Alder (1985) found that official curricular descriptions of social studies presented in university coursework had minimal impact on 16 elementary student teachers' beliefs and actions in the classroom. Rather, the prior perspectives they held of the content often shaped how they taught it. In a study of four first-year social studies teachers, Wilson and Wineburg (1988) found that the way in which the teachers approached the curriculum was heavily influenced by their undergraduate training. Ball (1990) found that prospective teachers' understandings of mathematics were related to the degree of confidence they felt about themselves and the subject matter, and that this level of confidence was linked to their previous experiences as math students. Livingston and Borko (1989) and Borko and Livingston (1989) compared the cognitive schema three expert teachers held about pedagogical content knowledge with that of their student teachers. They found that student teachers, despite having expert role models, were unable to improvise because they lacked a complex, interconnected knowledge of their subject matter, which made it difficult for them to create explanations, present demonstrations, and provide examples unless they had been worked out prior to class.

Biography and inservice socialization

Researchers studying the impact of biography on first-year teachers focused on its effects on the development of the teacher role. In a study to determine the origin of teaching behaviors, Clark, Smith, Newby, and Cook (1985) interviewed prospective teachers from the beginning of student teaching through their first year on the job. They found that approximately one-third of their teaching ideas were based on intuition (a component of biography). Through case studies of three junior high and high school first-year teachers, Bullough (1989) examined how teachers' self-concepts shaped the way they planned their curriculum and interacted with students. All three teachers began by drawing on previous experiences with children (or as children themselves) to form an image of their students. During subsequent interaction with students, each teacher's self-concept was important in determining how well she or he resisted stereotyping the students. Pajak and Blase (1989) asked teachers to describe factors in their personal lives that influenced their professional lives. They found that over 70% of the personal dimensions (e.g., being a parent, being married, and having spiritual beliefs) were viewed as having a positive influence on their professional role enactment.

Knowles (1988) found that university preparation had very little impact on a secondary English teacher in her first year of teaching. Rather, early instructional experiences and family members exerted the most influence over her teaching perspective, which had merely been reinforced during preservice training. Emmer's (1986) study of two reading and two math teachers at the middle school level found that first-year teachers respond differently to the

presence/absence of clear norms for instructional methods based on their personality characteristics and the nature of their teacher education experiences. Clandinin (1989) focused on the development of a first-year kindergarten teacher's personal and practical knowledge of teaching by analyzing his everyday experiences. This teacher brought with him a view of "teaching as relating to children" that early in the year served as the basis for his instructional decisions.

The Role of Biography within the Process of Socialization

The results from studies of both preservice and first-year teachers support a view of socialization in which individual differences and prior experience influence how new teachers teach and what they learn from new experiences. These recent studies do not advocate a deterministic view of socialization, however, but offer evidence for an interplay between individual choice and situational constraint (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). This finding has important implications for those concerned with teacher socialization. First, it substantiates the position advocated by Zeichner (1984), before many of these qualitative studies were published, that reports of central tendencies cannot adequately capture the teacher socialization experience. Second, those who work in teacher education need to be aware of the perspectives held by the individuals with whom they are working if future teachers are to move from subjectively to objectively held beliefs (Fenstermacher, 1979). In addition, those involved with school reform must recognize how teachers' biographies interact with common myths about teaching to perpetuate current teaching practices (Britzman, 1986). Finally, teachers themselves must realize the positive and negative roles their biography plays in the process of learning to teach (Buchmann, 1989).

SOCIALIZATION DURING PRESERVICE TRAINING

Researchers have examined a variety of forces operating within the preservice training program environment. Teacher education generally takes place in two contexts: the university setting and the field experience site (i.e., cooperating classroom), with some programs offering early field experience as a means of helping student teachers see the relevance of their course work (McDiarmid, 1990). "Context," however, is not a monolithic construction that encloses the participants; rather, context is negotiated through communication among the education students and the agents operating within its boundaries—a social environment is constructed within the physical environment. These daily, routine interactions lead to identifiable affective, cognitive, and behavioral changes that constitute the socialization process.

Context: The Teacher Education Program

Although researchers have emphasized the socialization context, little empirical data are available on how specific program variables influence the socialization process or its outcomes. Zeichner and Tabachnick (1982) found that despite the existence of a basic supervisory model, a clearly articulated program philosophy, and on-going training sessions to communicate these, variations still existed in the way supervisors interpreted and carried out their jobs. They

noted that researchers must be cognizant of the distinction between program descriptions and program implementation. Tabachnick, Popkewitz, and Zeichner (1980), in an early qualitative study of the preservice teaching experience, found that program discourse created the illusion of a professional, technical, analytical language form when in actuality what it described was trivial. They suggested that such trivial discourse led to a lack of critical analysis of teaching practices and a conformity to situational definitions. Tabachnick and Zeichner (1984) reported on program requirements, field placement characteristics, and the nature of supervision for the student teachers under study. Although the researchers did not identify how specific program variables determined socialization outcomes, they did find that the "reflexive" nature of the program allowed student teachers to take an active part in their socialization and created resiliency in their response to field placement constraints. Ross (1987, 1988) delineated the context as the social structural variables of the university program, the field placement site, and one's previous experiences as a student. He found that these contextual variables determine the organization and general nature of the preservice experience while the individual shapes her or his own development through interactive processes.

Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann (1987) compared the influence that two contrasting education programs had on learning to teach. One focused on "the importance of theoretical and subject matter knowledge and provided limited field experiences prior to student teaching," and the other stressed "generic methods of teaching and research-based decision making and offered different kinds of field experiences" (p. 257). They found that persons, programs, and settings interact to shape individual experience and change. Although students in both programs began with their own particular views about teaching as a practical activity, these views changed for some more than others, in part due to the nature of the teacher education program. These results, along with those of Griffin (1989) and Driscoll (1985), who also examined students from two different programs, seem to indicate that the impact of the education program must be understood in light of incoming knowledge and beliefs.

University coursework

In the last few years a number of studies have provided data on the effects of coursework on teacher preparation. Although findings indicate that coursework has an immediate effect on prospective teachers' concepts of teaching (Morine-Dershimer, 1989), student teachers may find it difficult to transfer this learning into classroom practice (Hodges, 1982; Hollingsworth, 1989; Ross, 1987, 1988). In addition, several studies that gathered student teacher and teacher self-reports concerning influences on their teaching downplay the importance of coursework (Clark et al., 1985; Funk & Long, 1982; Lyon, Vaassen, & Toomey, 1989; Smylie, 1989). Although conventional wisdom has maintained that this is the result of the university's focus on theory rather than practice, findings do not necessarily substantiate this view of education programs (Goodman, 1983, 1986b). Furthermore, several alternative explanations for the difficulty in transferring course work to the classroom have emerged in recent studies (Goodman, 1988b; Pinnegar & Carter, 1990; Richardson-Koehler, 1988). Grossman and Richert (1988) provided a framework that integrates the effects of coursework and fieldwork, and Grossman (1989), after studying teachers with

no formal pedagogical preparation, argued that coursework may have more impact on teaching than teachers imagine.

Early field experience

Although over a decade ago Zeichner (1980b) called for more investigations into the value of early field experience, only limited empirical data concerning this practice are available (Armstrong, 1989–1990). Findings from several surveys comparing student teachers who had participated in an early field experience with those who had not indicate that these placements have little effect on subsequent teaching performance (Henry, 1983; Scherer, 1979; Sunal, 1980). One positive outcome, however, was that students who participated in early field placements demonstrated significantly higher knowledge gains from subsequent methods courses (Denton, 1982).

Unfortunately, evidence suggests that given the nature of many programs, positive outcomes such as these may be limited. McIntyre and Killian (1986) reported that students participating in early field experience at the secondary level have limited interaction with pupils. Furthermore, both elementary and secondary participants received little feedback on their performance, a practice that limited their professional growth. In a subsequent study, McIntyre and Killian (1987) found that training cooperating teachers for their role increases the amount of feedback they provided. Other research demonstrates that the experience may actually reinforce current teaching practices and only in specific instances contribute to reflective teaching (Goodman, 1985b, 1986a; McDiarmid, 1990). Together, these studies indicate that early field experience tends to support student teachers' incoming perceptions of teaching unless the experience is carefully coordinated between the university and the placement site. The ultimate value of early field experience may lie in the contextual awareness it develops in prospective teachers that facilitates subsequent study of teaching techniques and learning processes.

Field experience: Culture of the classroom and the school

Findings on the context of the cooperating classroom reinforce those of the early field experience research. It is the exceptional cooperating teacher or program that truly challenges student teachers' perceptions during field placement, and the unusually reflective student who can meet the challenge. Experience in the cooperating classroom tends to reinforce a utilitarian perspective of teaching with outside constraints—such as the need for a good grade or favorable recommendation (Calderhead, 1988; Goodman, 1985a, 1988b; Hollingsworth, 1989; Tabachnick et al., 1980), the lack of actual teaching time (Goodman, 1988b; Hodges, 1982), the ecology of the classroom (Copeland, 1980), and/or the pressures of the school bureaucracy (Barr, 1978; Conforti, 1976; Goodman, 1988b; Hodges, 1982; Tabachnick, 1980)—limiting the student teacher's ability to break out of that pattern.

Griffin (1989) and Richardson-Koehler (1988) observed that a certain "ethos" exists in the cooperating classroom where expectations, satisfaction, performance ratings, and evaluations depend on the quality of interpersonal relationships rather than a systematic, codified knowledge base. Neither supervisors nor cooperating teachers offer much feedback to their student teachers. Instead, the focus of discussion is on activities that can be immediately applied to the

classroom (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1987). Furthermore, student teachers can be constrained by existing classroom routines that have been put in place by the cooperating teacher (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1985; Hollingsworth, 1989).

How much impact the school context ultimately has, however, is still questionable. Tabachnick and Zeichner (1984) found that although pressures in some cases halted student teacher development, in no instance did the school context fundamentally change students' incoming perspectives. Furthermore, in almost every study researchers recorded instances of individuals who overcame institutional norms and pressures to develop their own reflective, learner-centered teaching style (Goodman, 1985a; Goodman & Alder, 1985; Shulman, 1987; Tabachnick, 1980; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985).

AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION

Much of the research on agents of socialization up until the 1980s focused on the influence of cooperating teachers and university supervisors on the student teacher (Corbett, 1980). Typically, researchers sought to determine the effects of various agents on certain socialization outcomes (e.g., changes in attitudes toward those of the cooperating teacher). During the last decade, qualitative research designs have been used to elaborate on the relationship between the student teacher and certain agents.

Cooperating teacher

Cooperating teachers generally appear to have more influence on student teacher attitudes and teaching practices than other agents (Bunting, 1988; Funk & Long, 1982; Karmos & Jacko, 1977; Mahan & Lacefield, 1978; McIntrye & Morris, 1980; Seperson & Joyce, 1973; Staton-Spicer & Darling, 1986), and this influence seems to have both positive and negative dimensions. A positive aspect is that cooperating teachers can serve as role models, mentors, and resources (Fishman & Raver, 1989; Tannehill, 1989). This apprenticeship model, however, can impede the professional growth and innovation of new teachers because of the emphasis placed on maintaining classroom control (Tabachnick et al., 1980). In addition, cooperating teachers are often unable or unwilling to provide analyses of their own or the student teacher's teaching practices. Instead, as previously noted, feedback is routinely limited and focused on activities that can be immediately implemented in the classroom (Borko & Livingston, 1989; Calderhead, 1988; Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1987. 1989; Griffin, 1989; Livingston & Borko, 1989; Richardson-Koehler, 1988).

A consistent finding of the various qualitative studies was that not all cooperating teachers are alike. They differ on what they see their role to be (Griffin, 1989), their readiness to engage in feedback (Richardson-Koehler, 1988), and their willingness to turn their classroom over to the student teacher (Goodman. 1988b; Griffin, 1989; Hollingsworth, 1989). Participants in Goodman's (1988b) and Shulman's (1987) studies identified this freedom to experiment as an important factor in their professional growth. Magliaro and Borko (1986) found that the student teacher who imitated her cooperating teacher was less effective than the one whose teaching style reflected her personally held beliefs. In addition, student teachers may experience more growth if they are placed with cooperating teachers who hold a teaching perspective contradictory to their

own in that this forces them to examine and justify their own perspective (Hollingsworth, 1989). From these findings, it appears that student teachers may benefit most from being placed with cooperating teachers who share their own insights, question the student teacher's practices, and provide the opportunity for them to test their perspectives through experimentation in the classroom.

University supervisor

Several studies have identified the university supervisor as having an important, though minor, function in the preparation of teachers (Boydell, 1986; Friebus, 1977; Morris, 1983; Staton-Spicer & Darling, 1986). Morris (1974), for example, compared student teachers who did not have a university supervisor with a group that did and found no appreciable difference in classroom performance or adjustment. Due to the structure of the field experience, the university supervisor has a secondary role to that of the cooperating teacher, with limited contact making it difficult to establish a trusting, reciprocal relationship (Richardson-Koehler, 1988; Zimpher, DeVoss, & Nott, 1980). Shulman (1987) found the supervisor spent very little time with the student teacher, and the feedback provided was neither useful nor inspiring. Studies by Tabachnick et al. (1980), Zeichner and Liston (1985), and Griffin (1989) reported supervisor discussions focused primarily on the observations they had just made in the classroom, with little reflection and only superficial analysis. Few studies have indicated that supervisors use feedback sessions to bridge the chasm between coursework and fieldwork.

There are, however, exceptions to these findings. Tannehill (1989) found that experienced cooperating teachers turn to the university supervisor for information, support, and guidance as well as a second source of feedback on student teacher performance. Furthermore, teachers identify this relationship as an important component of a successful field placement. Hollingsworth (1989) found that supervisors can play a salient role by communicating an expectation that student teachers apply what they learned from coursework and by encouraging cooperating teachers to allow student teachers to innovate.

Along another line of inquiry, several studies asked whether student teachers are more appropriately placed with university supervisors who hold similar or dissimilar attitudes. Although little research in this area has been conducted in the last decade, Thies-Sprinthall (1980) analyzed the quality of university supervisor ratings of their student teacher performance and found that a mismatch between supervisors of low psychological development with student teachers of high development produced a misunderstanding of their performance capabilities. Contradictory findings, however, are available from Mahlios (1982) who found that a mismatch in cognitive styles produced higher effectiveness ratings of student teachers. Zeichner and Liston (1985) concluded that the cognitive structure of the student teacher was most important in determining the nature of interactions with the supervisor. Additional research that focuses on the perspectives of supervisors—such as that of Zeichner and Tabachnick (1982)—should further the understanding of the function of this relationship during socialization.

From these studies it appears that increasing the amount of interaction university supervisors have with both student teachers and cooperating teach-

ers, prior to and/or during field placement, would improve teacher preparation. Furthermore, increased communication would have the added benefit of improving the articulation between the coursework and fieldwork portions of students' education program.

Other agents

A limited number of studies indicate that other agents, such as the building principal (Frye 1988; Vann, 1988–1989), peers (Hart & Adams, 1986; Staton-Spicer & Darling, 1986; Su, 1990), designated mentors (Cunningham & Shillington, 1989–1990), and persons outside the program, such as, friends and family members (Staton-Spicer & Darling, 1986), may play an important, though restricted role in a teacher's development. In case studies of 12 secondary student teachers, Staton-Spicer and Darling (1986) found that family and friends outside of the school environment were an important network of social support, providing catharsis, acknowledgment of the student teachers in their new role, and affirmation for their actions. In addition, researchers who interact with preservice teachers in interview situations also can serve as socializing agents (Shulman, 1987). A final agent is that of the pupils themselves. Although pupil influence can be assumed in studies where student teachers' actions are viewed in response to pupil behavior (Copeland, 1980; Hodges, 1982; Hollingsworth, 1989), only Shulman (1987) directly discussed their influence as important agents during preservice preparation.

Changes during Socialization

Research has focused on changes that occur as education students progress through education programs and go on to inservice teaching. Although there is wide disparity in the types of changes examined, they can be categorized as cognitive, affective, or behavioral. In the sections below, research investigating several changes is briefly discussed: ideology (affective and cognitive), teaching perspective (affective, cognitive, and behavioral), knowledge (cognitive), orientation toward reflective teaching (affective, cognitive, and behavioral), and concerns (affective).

Ideology

A number of longitudinal studies assessed preservice teachers' attitudes before and after the student teaching experience. Using the Pupil Control Ideology Form (PCI), several researchers reported student teachers shifting from humanistic to more custodial attitudes about students (Hoy, 1967; Hoy & Rees, 1977; Hoy & Woolfolk, 1990; Roberts & Blankenship, 1970; Templin, 1979). Similarly, Muus (1969) found attitudes were less positive after student teaching than before. Jacobs (1968) reported changes in attitudes from liberal and democratic toward more rigid and formalized, and Hoy and Rees (1977) reported student teachers became more bureaucratic in their orientation. Despite this trend, certain studies found no changes in attitudes. Zeichner and Grant (1981) found that student teachers did not become more custodial, and Tiene and Buck (1985) found that attitudes toward authoritarianism did not change before and after student teaching.

Different kinds of changes in ideology were found to occur during a year of

education training (excluding student teaching). Gibson (1972) found that preservice teachers became more open in their conception of teacher roles and more progressive in their view of curriculum and method as they advanced through their coursework. Similarly, Kremer and Moore (1978) reported a change from traditional to more progressive from the beginning to the end of the first year of training.

Other longitudinal studies examined shifts in ideology from the preservice to the inservice phase. Attitudes measured prior to student teaching and again at the end of the first, second, or third years of teaching indicated a shift from humanistic to more custodial (Hoy, 1968, 1969; Paschal & Treloar, 1979).

Finally, several studies investigated differences between attitudes of preservice and inservice teachers. Brosseau, Book, and Byers (1988) found preservice teachers to be more optimistic overall than inservice teachers, and Strahan (1989) found inservice teachers to be more student-centered in their views of teaching than preservice teachers. In contrast, Helsel and Krchniak (1972) found no differences in level of professional orientation.

Teaching perspective

Many of the qualitative studies undertaken during the last decade on teacher socialization focused on changes in teaching perspective participants experience over time. The construct "perspective" was developed by Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss (1961) in their study of the socialization of medical students. Many socialization researchers found this concept particularly useful in that it integrates participant beliefs with actions, which are then amenable to study through both interviews and observations. Studies applied various labels to the perspectives of student teachers that emerged from their data. Tabachnick et al. (1980) focused on perspectives in the areas of "teaching as a problem of knowing," "teaching as a problem of doing," and "teaching as a problem of being." Goodman (1985a) reported similar findings, but labeled the perspectives "teaching as the transmission of utilitarian skills," "teaching as management," and "teaching as a craft." In a more recent study, Goodman (1988a) found that preservice teachers emerged from their coursework espousing a philosophy of teaching similar to one another, which was organized into two broad perspectives: "teaching as a problem of control" and "teaching as the facilitation of children's growth." Through observations, however, he found that each participant interpreted these concepts in her or his own way based on incoming beliefs, prior experiences, and contextual constraints. Thus, although it appeared at first that student teachers held a similar teaching perspective, in practice their actions were quite different.

A study by Tabachnick and Zeichner (1984) developed a more discriminant measure of teaching perspective that researchers may find useful. They identified 18 dilemmas experienced by student teachers in the areas of knowledge and curriculum, teacher role, teacher-pupil relationship, and student diversity. Finally, Goodman and Alder (1985) examined student teachers' perspectives of social studies as a subject and found that program conceptions of content had limited impact on student teachers' beliefs or actions in the classroom. Rather, how they chose to approach the subject was based on perspectives held at the time they entered the program.

Knowledge

An important goal of teacher education is to provide prospective teachers with the knowledge necessary to teach. This can, therefore, be a useful indicator of changes during socialization. Grossman and Richert (1988) provided a framework for understanding the different types of knowledge teachers develop through education programs: conceptions of subject matter knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, theoretical principles of general pedagogical knowledge (which are all affected by coursework), and practical survival skills and an understanding of student diversity (which are both developed through field experience).

Hollingsworth (1989) presented four case studies that illustrate how personal, program, and contextual factors influence intellectual change in a predictable pattern. She found that incoming beliefs act as a filter for processing experiences from coursework and field work. Student teachers need to establish "general managerial routines" before they can focus on "subject specific content and pedagogy." Once managerial and academic routines are integrated, they turn their attention to "students' learning from academic tasks." Each new level of knowledge student teachers achieve, in turn, changes their original beliefs. This finding was supported by Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann (1989) who reported that in making a shift to pedagogical thinking, education students not only develop new practices and perceptions, they also change old ways of thinking.

Reflective teaching

Researchers interested in reflective teaching agree that education students need an opportunity to identify and test their assumptions and program content so that they will be able to evaluate and synthesize research findings into their own practice (Armaline & Hoover, 1989; Morine-Dershimer, 1989; Roth, 1989). Whether education programs provide that opportunity, however, is questionable. Qualitative studies have found limited evidence for the support of reflective practice (Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1987; Goodman, 1988b; Griffin, 1989; Richardson-Koehler, 1988). Stout (1989) surveyed 98 teachers graduated within seven years prior to the study to determine the reflective nature of their student teaching experience. Looking back, they generally felt encouraged to reflect on their teaching practices and their effects on students, but reported they had received little encouragement for inquiry into ethical/political principles, application of research, and solicitation of student feedback.

Researchers have reported on education programs that go beyond technical and managerial mastery and examined their effects on prospective teachers' reflective abilities. Morine-Dershimer (1989) studied the impact of a generic methods course designed to promote reflective teaching and provide practice in instructional decision making, and Hart and Adams (1986) described a program in which student teachers developed reflective teaching skills through their field placement. Results from both indicted significant development in reflective decision making skills and professional growth.

Focusing on the individual, Goodman (1988b) studied the preservice experience of 10 education students identified as particularly reflective and active. He found that not all were able to move beyond the tactic of critical compliance, that is, accepting "the status quo by teaching their lessons in the traditional man-

ner . . . [but] at the same time critical of these instructional programs" (p. 32). The interplay among a number of factors (commitment, talent, and knowledge of the student teacher; curriculum policies; the cooperating teacher; education courses; time constraints) either facilitated or constrained the development of reflective teaching skills. How this occurred, however, was largely left unanswered.

Concerns

A final dimension in which socialization researchers have charted changes is that of teacher concerns. As conceptualized initially by Fuller (1969) and later refined (Borich & Fuller, 1974; Fuller & Brown, 1975), there are three developmental stages of teacher concern: the self as a teacher, the task of teaching, and the impact of one's teaching on others. A variety of research has indicated that preservice and inservice teachers differ in their stages of concern, with preservice teachers more likely to express concerns about self (e.g., credibility, competence, and anxiety about teaching) and task (e.g., how to design a lesson, how to lecture), and inservice teachers more concerned about impact (Fuller, Watkins, & Parsons, 1973). Staton-Spicer and Bassett (1979) found that students in education courses without field experience expressed primarily self concerns, whereas student teachers reported self and task concerns, and inservice teachers articulated most concern about impact. Staton-Spicer and Darling (1986) discovered that in their talk about teaching, student teachers expressed self concerns about such aspects as the pressures of teaching, evaluation of their teaching performance, role discrepancies, and anxiety about keeping discipline. Task concerns were in the areas of lesson planning, procedures and protocol, and classroom management. In contrast, there was very little talk reported about impact concerns. Additional studies found only partial support for Fuller's developmental progression (Adams, 1982; Evans & Tribble, 1987; Griffin, 1989; Marso & Pigge, 1989; Pigge & Marso, 1988; Reeves & Kazelskis, 1985; Silvernail & Costello, 1983; Wendt & Bain, 1989).

Other researchers investigated teacher concerns, but did not examine them developmentally. Cunningham and Blankenship (1979), for example, found that older student teachers had lower levels of self concern than younger ones. Lasley and Applegate (1985) identified the most important problems of student teachers: classroom management, working with a cooperating teacher, and dealing with student needs.

Although the progression of concerns from self to task to impact may not always occur as conceptualized by Fuller (1969), the concerns of teachers can be said to develop and change during socialization from preservice to inservice teacher. Finally, it may be that the very process of socialization itself is one that involves interaction with others (gaining information and reassurance) in order to resolve self, task, and impact concerns (Pataniczek & Isaacson, 1981; Staton-Spicer & Darling, 1987).

SOCIALIZATION DURING INSERVICE TEACHING

Although most studies have examined teachers during their first year, typically called the induction period, a few go beyond this time to consider subsequent years of inservice teaching. This section takes much the same format as the previous one, that is, consideration of the classroom context, as well as the forces

of the wider school environment, is followed by examination of studies on interactions with agents and the research on changes.

Context

Culture of the classroom

In a nationwide survey of 1789 teachers, Smylie (1989) found that direct experience in the classroom was rated the most effective source of learning regardless of level (elementary, middle, and secondary school) or location (rural, urban, and suburban). Blase (1985, 1986), in one of the few cross-sectional qualitative descriptions of teacher socialization, found that experiences in the classroom have the most profound influence on shifts in teaching perspective. Many teachers leave training and enter the classroom with a simplistic view of students—a view that changes rapidly during the first few years under a constant barrage of unrelenting routine problems. (The role students play in these changes is examined in more depth in the section on "Agents.")

Culture of the school

The institutional context within which teachers work can either foster or restrict opportunities for professional development (Barr, 1978; Bullough, 1987; Guzzetti, 1989; Wildman, Niles, Magliaro, & McLaughlin, 1989; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985) employed Edwards' three institutional control mechanisms—personal or direct, bureaucratic, and technical—to examine formal attempts by the school to direct the actions of teachers. Their results were subsequently supported by Kilgore, Ross, and Zbikowski (1990) who found that school environments that value reflection are led by supportive administrators who establish norms of continuous improvement. Without this support, beginning teachers have only their incoming perspectives on which to rely (Bullough, 1987). Blase (1986) found that over time teachers often adopt the institution's values as their own, eventually merging self with role. The institution also has a strong impact on socialization through much more mundane features, such as, teaching assignment (Bullough, Knowles, & Crow, 1989; Emmer, 1986; Wildman et al., 1989), formal time structure (Blase, 1985; Clandinin, 1989), and the number of noninstructional role demands it requires (Blase, 1985; Bullough, 1987).

Agents of Socialization

Principal

Although principals rarely exert direct control over new teachers, they have a strong hand in shaping the context within which teachers operate. Teachers do not necessarily look to their principals for guidance (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985) or focus on them as a reference group (Gehrke, 1981). Instead, principals affect the socialization of new teachers indirectly by setting expectations (Rosenholtz, Bassler, & Hoover-Dempsey, 1986; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985), determining classroom assignments, handling disruptive students and their parents, providing opportunities for professional development (Wildman et al., 1989), and determining the amount of autonomy teachers have (Kilgore et al., 1990). Furthermore, they create a social environment that either reinforces traditional

practices (Blase, 1985) or fosters innovation and reflection through autonomy (Kilgore et al., 1990).

Colleagues

In Smylie's (1989) survey, consultations with and observations of colleagues (as well as individual study) were grouped together as the second most useful sources of learning to teach. Grant and Zeichner (1981) found teachers rated colleagues, particularly at the same grade level, among the most valued sources of support. Gehrke (1981) identified colleagues as the reference group for several of the secondary teachers in her study. Collaboration with colleagues was also important in teachers' perceptions of successful skill acquisition (Rosenholtz et al., 1986).

The particular role peers play in induction appears to be based primarily on the support they provide. Wildman et al. (1989) found they can offer emotional support by reducing new teachers' uncertainty and thereby lowering their level of stress, and instrumental support by reducing new teachers' workload through timesaving suggestions and materials. To be most beneficial, however, this support must be suggestive in nature rather than prescriptive (Kilgore et al., 1990). Furthermore, having a few colleagues who share similar values and support new teachers in dealing with the dilemmas they face appears to be critical to the development of reflective teaching practices (Kilgore et al., 1990; Newberry, 1978). Emmer (1986), in particular, found that the support of one's peers in lesson preparation can mediate some of the negative impacts of a mismatched classroom assignment. It should be noted, however, that one's relationship with peers is a two-edged sword: Applegate, Flora, and Lasley (1980) identified a number of unsupportive behaviors of colleagues that have a negative impact on how new teachers view themselves and their work, and that can ultimately contribute to their leaving the profession.

Mentors

A literature review (Galvez-Hjornevik, 1986) and several surveys (Fagan & Walter, 1982; Gehrke & Kay, 1984; Huffman & Leak, 1986), as well as at least one qualitative study (Wildman et al., 1989), have explored the role a mentor can serve for a beginning teacher. Galvez-Hjornevik (1986) argued that if mentors are assigned rather than being allowed to emerge voluntarily, they serve primarily a coaching role. Furthermore, age, role, and gender are important traits that must be taken into consideration when these assignments are made. In assessing the value of a mentor program, Huffman and Leak (1986) questioned 290 participants and found 96% felt formal mentors were helpful in addressing their needs as new teachers. To be most effective, however, mentors should teach in the same content area or grade level as the beginning teacher. Wildman et al. (1989) observed that expert teachers can serve as valued mentors to beginners; also, mentor relationships that evolved through informal collegial networks were found to be most effective. Exploring mentoring relationships that had arisen voluntarily, Gehrke and Kay (1984) gathered questionnaire data from 188 teachers and conducted follow-up interviews with 41 of them. They identified a variety of people who had served as mentors for teachers, including college professors and supervisors, school principals, former teachers, and coworkers. These individuals served different roles within the relationship,

including teacher, role model, developer of talents, sponsor, door-opener, and protector. Fagan and Walter's (1982) survey of 107 teachers indicated that most beginning teachers benefitted from the guidance of at least one mentor, usually a senior colleague, and that having such a relationship had a positive effect on job satisfaction.

Pupils

Many researchers have identified pupils as the primary agent of socialization during inservice teaching. Some 25 years ago, Haller (1967) argued that forms of speech may be a useful indicator of socialization and went on to demonstrate that interactions with pupils decrease teachers' speech complexity even in their interactions with adults. Gehrke (1981) found that for most neophyte teachers, students serve as the primary reference group. For some, these relationships are what motivate them to continue teaching.

More recently, teachers in Deal and Chatman's (1989) survey identified students as their primary socialization agents. The kindergarten teacher in Clandinin's (1989) narrative account found himself turning to his students for support and feedback since it was not forthcoming from other agents. Through qualitative methods, Wildman et al. (1989) identified students as the most influential factor in teachers' early career development. They found that the extent to which new teachers' incoming beliefs and expectations were confirmed had a significant impact on subsequent teaching perspective, self-confidence, and job satisfaction. A similar dynamic was posited by Etheridge (1989), who argued that teachers make adjustments in their teaching because of student behaviors.

These observations are supported in a number of recent studies. It appears that teachers are often unprepared to deal with the diversity and complexity they encounter within their students' lives. The range of needs and abilities can lead them to simplify instructional practices; student's lack of ability often leads to a lowering of performance standards. Furthermore, when certain students persist in not learning, teachers redirect their teaching efforts toward others (Blase, 1985; Bullough, 1987; Kilgore et al., 1990). Blase (1986) labeled this the "rationalization of teaching," a process involving "long term teacher adjustments" related to classroom management and instruction, with teachers becoming more conservative (p. 101). In addition, he identified a powerful humanizing effect that students have on teachers as a result of their interpersonal interactions with students. This humanization process leads to teachers becoming more tolerant and empathic toward the personal problems of students. Forced to deal with diversity and complexity, teachers develop a more elaborated cognitive framework from which to understand students and, in turn, themselves. Much of this process was evident, as well, in a case study by Bullough et al. (1989) of three beginning teachers.

Parents of pupils

The effect that parents have on new teachers' socialization has received limited study, although results have indicated much variation among teachers. Gehrke (1981) found that two of the 11 teachers in her study, early in their careers, exhibited a focus on their students' parents: they demonstrated a concern about negative reactions to classroom events and gained a great deal of support

through parents' positive feedback. Wildman et al. (1989) also found that some new teachers were much more dependent on parent's reactions than others. Overall, however, teachers who did not have children of their own were unprepared to deal with parents. In his cross-sectional study, Blase (1985) found that the expectations of parents had a direct effect on teachers by encouraging the use of more traditional and conservative methods. Parents also had an indirect effect when their opposition prompted teachers to be more cautious in discussing sensitive subject matter.

Other agents

Empirical studies have not focused specifically on the influence of outside agents, such as teachers' parents and friends, on socialization. Yet surveys (Grant & Zeichner, 1981) and qualitative studies (Bullough, 1987; Knowles, 1988; Wildman et al., 1989) have recorded that interactions with these individuals are important sources of support for beginning teachers.

Changes during Socialization

Ideology

Ideological changes during the socialization of inservice teachers have been examined in several longitudinal studies. Socialization outcomes at the end of the induction year were similar to those reported at the end of the student teaching experience, that is, teachers became more bureaucratic and less professional (Kuhlman & Hoy, 1974), had less desirable attitudes toward teaching (Day, 1959), and became more custodial and less humanistic in their attitudes (McArthur, 1978, 1979). Also, inservice teacher attitudes about autonomy changed during the first six months of teaching in the direction of the supervisor (the one responsible for evaluating), a finding with implications for the role of the evaluator as a socialization agent.

Teaching perspective

One's teaching perspective has typically been viewed as an outcome of the interplay between background and context. Results of Zeichner and Tabachnick's (1985) study of the teaching perspectives of four first-year teachers called into question the degree of influence of context. None of the four had changed her or his perspective as student teachers, and although all ended up working in contexts quite different from their student teaching assignment and in conflict with their stated perspectives, only one demonstrated a shift in response to institutional demands. Clandinin (1989) detected shifts in one teacher's perspective of "teaching as relating to children" as it came in conflict with the school's routine and regulated management of time. Over the course of the school year, the teacher was able to develop a sense of rhythm and, as a result, experienced fewer dilemmas that, in turn, led him to reassess his self-image. He eventually became concerned, however, that his new knowledge of teaching conflicted with his original perspective of teaching in that with more experience, he no longer focused on his students as individuals in order to prepare activities.

As mentioned previously, in a study of teachers at two secondary schools, Blase (1985, 1986) found that students had a rationalizing as well as a humanizing effect on their teachers' perspectives. Many new teachers entered the classroom with a naive view of their students, considering them almost as peers.

After years of socialization, however, as a result of the diversity and complexity they encountered, teachers' perspectives changed and they came to rely on structured, simplified lessons that focused on the transmission of basic knowledge. Their relationships with students were friendly, although detached.

Knowledge

In addition to focusing on changes in teaching perspective, Clandinin (1989) discussed the development of the teacher's personal and practical knowledge of teaching. He found that the regulated nature of time in school constrains teachers and often creates dilemmas for the neophyte. As Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985) note, however, these dilemmas actually create opportunities for professional growth and are critical for reconstructing teachers' incoming knowledge of teaching.

Reflective teaching

Although the concept of the reflective practitioner is well represented in research on preservice teachers, a study by Kilgore et al. (1990) was the only one that explored this concept during the first year of teaching. These researchers discovered that reflective practice was best sustained in supportive environments in which the teacher was given the freedom and encouragement to attempt various solutions to classroom problems. Even in environments that were less supportive, two teachers were able to retain reflective approaches. These teachers had a great deal of self-confidence, enjoyed the support of several like-minded peers, and located their dilemmas in the situation rather than in themselves or the students. At the end of the year, the four reflective teachers felt they had made some progress with their students and had a better understanding of themselves as teachers.

Concerns

Several studies have focused on the concerns of inservice teachers. Kremer-Hayon and Ben-Peretz (1986) found that beginning inservice teachers had self concerns about their professional identity, abilities, relations with colleagues, planning and classroom management, their status as newcomers, and group identity. Marso and Pigge (1989) found that inservice teachers had high levels of impact concerns and that their concerns about self decreased with experience. Odell (1986) identified concerns of teachers (e.g., resources/materials, emotional, instructional, and management) by recording the actual assistance and support they received. Additional studies examined the nature and type of inservice teacher concerns, problems, and dilemmas (Ben-Peretz & Kremer-Hayon, 1990; Dropkin & Taylor, 1963; Kremer-Hayon, 1987; O'Sullivan, 1989; Veenman, 1984; Wendt & Bain, 1985). Most of these focused on the beginning teacher and self and task concerns, for example, gaining respect for themselves as professionals, knowledge of subject matter, classroom discipline, organization and management issues, and relations with parents and colleagues. Additional research on concerns of inservice teachers beyond the induction year is needed.

Teacher role

Compared to research on preservice teachers, inservice teacher socialization research places less emphasis on teaching perspective, knowledge growth, and reflective practice, and more on role development. Wildman et al. (1989)

identified two roles that beginners have: teaching effectively and learning to teach. They found that the 15 beginning teachers in their three-year study expended a great amount of time, effort, and resources to handle both of these roles, although the second one (learning to teach) did not receive as much official recognition or support.

Several studies explored more deeply the relationship of self and role in the socialization process. Gehrke (1981) found that one of the earliest role-personalizing behaviors enacted by new teachers takes place with the choice of primary reference group. Teachers select one of three orientations—client, colleague, or administration—each of which occurs in a generalized (e.g., students in general) and specialized (e.g., students who participate in the sport coached by the teacher) form. This study and others stressed that the process of role selection and enactment is unique for each individual. A more useful finding, however, is that a strong, well formulated concept of self contributes to successful socialization in a number of ways: it affects teachers' willingness to take instructional risks, shapes their view of students, influences their response to contextual constraints, and ultimately structures their enactment of the teacher role (Bullough, 1987, 1989; Bullough et al., 1989; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985).

A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

The biography a person brings to teaching is a result of prior experiences in combination with unique personal characteristics. Researchers have discussed a wide range of biographical features that appear to have an impact on the teacher one becomes, including attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, skills, aptitudes, expectations, commitment, motivation, intuition, self-concept, perspective, and philosophy. One's biography acts as a screen or filter through which new experiences are interpreted. This filter serves a sense-making function, helping to fit new learning into previously held conceptions. It also can distort, change, and negate messages that are incongruous to patterns already in place. Thus, biography is an ongoing accumulation of experiences, constantly reconfiguring to take into account new input.

Prospective teachers who step into the context of a particular teacher training program bring with them a roughly formed teaching philosophy that guides their interpretations of what is taught. As they work their way through the program, articulating their philosophy is a necessary component of learning to teach. One way this happens is through experiencing dilemmas that create cognitive dissonance and uncertainty. (Dilemmas arise from a variety of sources, such as students, time, subject matter, and lack of resources.) As prospective teachers experiment with different strategies to reduce uncertainty and discomfort, both their self-awareness and professional perspective develop.

In ideal circumstances, student teaching provides an opportunity for such experimentation. Hollingsworth (1989) found that those student teachers placed with cooperating teachers who held opposing teaching perspectives, yet allowed and even encouraged student teachers to test their own perspectives, demonstrated the most growth in learning to teach. Furthermore, the emphasis placed on concepts by university instructors and follow-through on using them by university supervisors helped these students transfer textbook learning to the

classroom. Research indicates that both the university supervisor and cooperating teacher must openly discuss and challenge the prospective teacher's incoming beliefs for change in perspective to occur. Such discussions are critical if student teachers are to reevaluate their perspectives in light of new experiences.

Research also shows, however, that these types of discussions rarely occur. One reason may be that teaching norms tend to stress individualism and egalitarianism, leaving teachers unwilling to critique other teachers. Another possibility is a commonly held philosophy of learning based on affect: since teachers place considerable emphasis on their relationships with learners, cooperating teachers and even supervisors may be reluctant to threaten a relationship with their student teacher through negative feedback in the belief that it is counterproductive to learning. Researchers have identified a variety of coping strategies student teachers employ in reaction to constraints imposed when socializing agents do not encourage, and even restrict, learning experiences (Goodman, 1988b; Lacey, 1977; Ross, 1987, 1988; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985). These strategies serve as active mediators of socializing forces (Ross, 1987, 1988; Shulman, 1987).

As teachers make the transition from preservice to inservice, self-concept, beliefs, expectations, prior experiences with children, and other biographical features continue to shape their reactions to the first years of teaching. Often there is a period of disequalibrium in which teachers feel disoriented and uncertain. In particular, those who lack self-awareness or who are inexperienced with young people have difficulty dealing with the complexity and diversity they encounter once they take charge of their own classroom. Just as in the preservice phase, conflicts or dilemmas that arise are often opportunities for professional growth. Furthermore, although there is as yet no empirical evidence, we suggest that the degree to which one successfully works through such problems during preservice teaching (as opposed to ignoring them) influences the nature and severity of the problems one encounters during the induction year. Because of the nature of teaching, however, dilemmas do not end with the successful completion of the first year or subsequent years. Lyon's (1990) conceptualization of the teacher development process identifies the ongoing interplay among self-concept, teaching craft, relationships with students, values, and ways of knowing. It is the give-and-take among these elements that gives rise to the ethical dilemmas that teachers experience.

Interaction with students appears to be the most frequent source of dilemmas, and thereby one of the strongest catalysts for change. Teachers tend to address these problems through trial and error, drawing on intuition or principles learned in coursework to identify solutions. How reflective teachers are during this process is, at least partially, a function of contextual factors. Principals communicate their expectations to new teachers; some may allow more freedom to experiment than others. Colleagues can either be supportive of reflective practice or supply prescriptive advice, which often implies there is one "right" solution. Parents of students subtly and often not-so-subtly communicate their expectations as well. Furthermore, outside demands, time constraints, and teaching assignments influence teachers' efforts as well.

Through this process of communication with a range of people, teachers develop a greater understanding of their students, their subject matter, contex-

tual constraints, and themselves as teachers. As a result, they perceive fewer dilemmas, experience less anxiety, and are better equipped to cope with unexpected events. Through communication, then, their teacher role develops. As Jordell (1987) indicates, this development occurs as an outcome of daily interactions in the classroom. He argues, however, that students do not influence teacher development directly, but rather the structure, functions, and intensity of the work induce change. He maintains further that this is an affective process that occurs because of the teacher-student relationship as well as students' informal power.

CONCLUSION

This essay presented a model of teacher socialization, a review of empirical research, and a discussion of the socialization process. As depicted in Figure 1, formal socialization begins with preservice training and continues on through inservice teaching. Prospective teachers bring their prior experience (biography) to the preservice context. As they progress through preservice and inservice teaching, they communicate continuously with others (agents). Changes (affective, cognitive, and behavioral) occur as a routine aspect of the socialization process, as prospective/beginning teachers develop their teacher role.

Results from the studies reviewed indicate that the changes one experiences during the socialization process occur through an interplay among internally held beliefs, the forces of the context as communicated through agents, and the actions one takes in consideration of these forces. Over time, teachers' instructional and interpersonal approaches change so that although biography is a strong influence at the outset of teaching, it is elaborated and transformed by practical classroom experience. Those teachers who enter the profession with a consistent, well-grounded understanding of the institutional context, themselves, and their teaching philosophy have a greater likelihood of enacting the role of teacher successfully. These factors interact to influence a teacher's willingness to take instructional risks, reshape their views of students, influence their response to contextual constraints, and ultimately structure their enactment of the teacher role.

Additional research is needed to enhance our understanding of the intersection of these various factors. In response to Zeichner's (1980a) call for qualitative research on the process of socialization, a wealth of such descriptive, empirical studies were conducted during the decade of the 1980s. These studies have provided insight into the influence of biography, context, and the nature of affective, cognitive, and behavioral changes. But we still do not have a clear picture of how these changes occur: the actual communication patterns, the communication strategies, the language used, the speech situations, and the meaning of communication events for prospective/beginning teachers and agents.

As illustrative of research that is needed, we suggest several questions. We advocate these and others be addressed by careful, longitudinal, qualitative examination throughout the preservice and inservice phases of teaching.

1. What is the nature of the talk among prospective/beginning teachers and various agents? What are the topics of talk, functions of talk, and places for

talk? What are the communication strategies used to accomplish socialization goals?

2. How does communication with various agents in particular contexts affect cognitive, affective, and behavioral changes? How do these various changes occur?
3. What is the nature of the influence of prospective/beginning teachers on the classroom and school context and on various agents?
4. What is the communicative process by which prospective/beginning teachers construct a new role and make sense of a new teaching environment? What does it mean to be a prospective teacher, a beginning teacher, a veteran teacher? How does the teaching role change as one moves from novice to veteran?

A communication perspective allows the complexities and subtleties of the socialization process to be usefully scrutinized and illuminated. Communication is the process "by which people attempt to negotiate shared meanings," one in which "interactants attempt to discover the expectations of others, as well as let their own expectations be known, for appropriate roles and behaviors" (Staton, 1990, p. 11). A research emphasis on communication focuses on the ways in which meaning is constructed among prospective/beginning teachers and agents, including not only the influence of agents on prospective/beginning teachers, but the reciprocal, mutual influence, as well. Such a focus is responsive to Zeichner and Gore's (1990) recent call for research to address "how . . . teachers [are] shaped by, and in turn influence, the structures into which they are socialized" (p. 341). Thus, it is a communication perspective that we advocate.

NOTES

[1]In conducting our search, we were unable to examine systematically the *Journal of Education for Teaching* or secure copies of several articles from the journal that seemed (from the titles) to be relevant to our review. We were able to locate, however, copies of three specific articles from the journal.

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